GREATER HARTFORD NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
1029 Main Street
Hartford, Connecticut

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 16, 1952

Hartford, Conn., Climaxing one of the most heated controversies in the history of this city, Paul Robeson appeared in concert last night before an enthusiastic audience at the Weaver High School. Mr. Robeson's concert, sponsored by the Peoples Party of Connecticut with the cooperation of the Greater Hartford Negro Labor Council, attracted hundreds of music lovers from throughout the state, who turned out in spite of the repeated newspaper admonitions to citizens to boycott the concert.

The public debate around Robeson's right to sing in the school building arose immediately after the School Board, by a vote of 6 to 3, granted the audtiorium to the sponsors. A few veterans organizations urged that the school be withdrawn and the Hartford City Council voted to request the Board of Education to reconsider its decision. However, the vast majority of citizens in Hartford supported the Board of Education action in letters to the newspapers and a flood of letters, telegrams and phone calls to the Board of Education and to the City Councilmen. Among the backers of the great artist's right to perform were a group of distinguished Connecticut citizens including: retired Chief Justice William M. Maltbie, of the Connecticut Supreme Court; former Mayor Cyril Coleman, of Hartford; Councilwoman Elizabeth Knox, Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Rev. Payson Miller, Rev. Kenneth L. Maxwell, Rev. E. Kingsland VanWinkle, Rev. Morris Silverman and many others.

Support for the concert also came from the Hartford Chapter of the American Veterans Committee, chaired by Attorney George J. Baxter. The AVC declared in a statement:

"To deny the basic rights guaranteed by our Constitution to the minority group is to lay the seeds for the loss of those rights by larger segments of our population."

The Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress, the Hartford Section of the National Council of Jewish Women and leaders of the Connecticut Council of Churches were also active in supporting the School Board's action. The Executive Board of the Colt Arms Factory Local 376, United Auto Workers - CIO, defeated by a vote of 17 to 3 a resolution in the local calling upon the School Board to deny use of the School Auditorium to Mr. Robeson.

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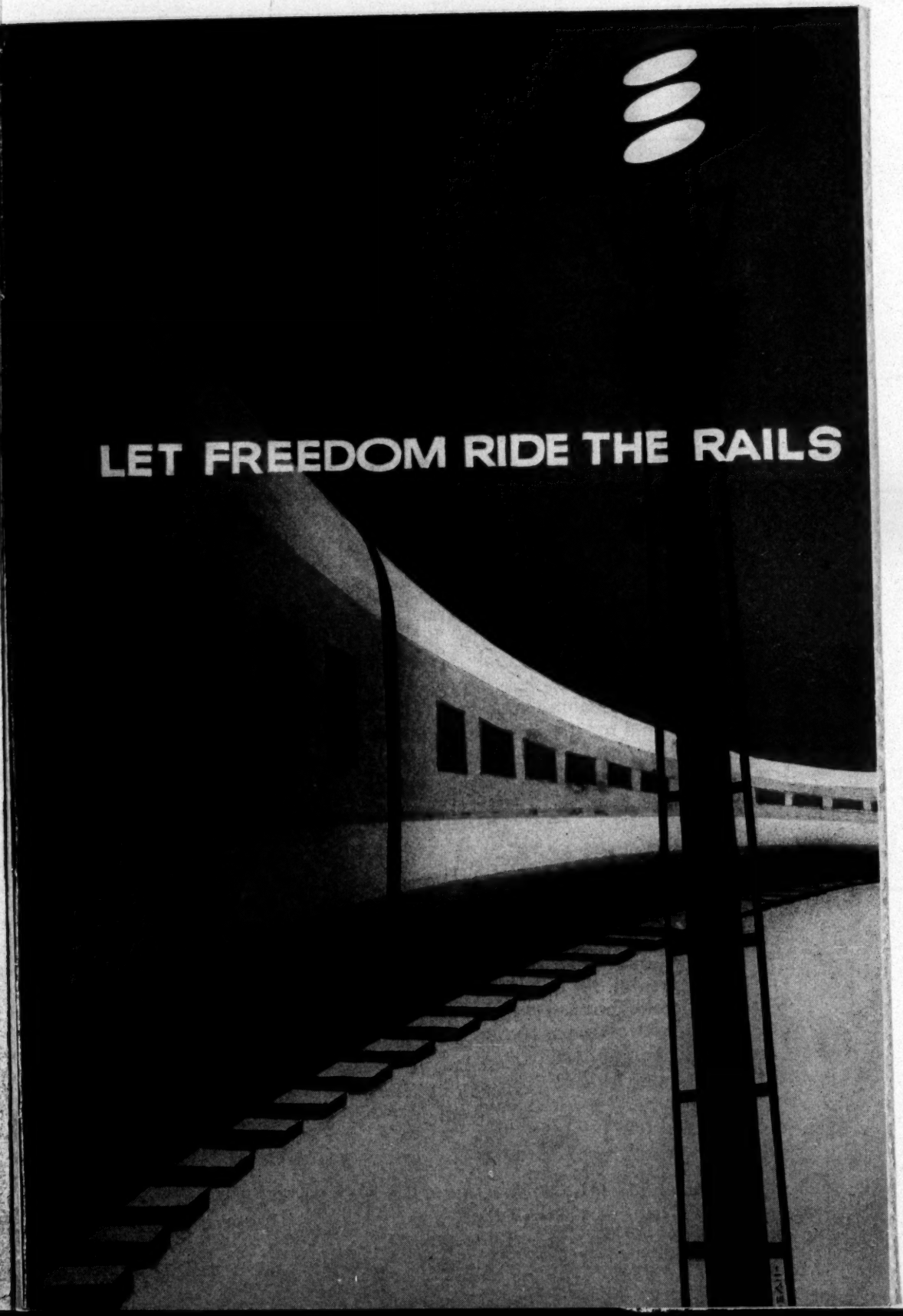

LET FREEDOM RIDE THE RAILS

JIM CROW PAYS RAILROADS

Railroads, the arteries of commerce and life stream of a great industrial nation, today employ more than 1,000,000 workers. Their gross operating revenues exceed 5 billion dollars. In 1951 they boasted a net capitalization of more than 15 billion dollars. Here is Big Business with a capital "B".

The profits they take in are steadily going up. These profits are based in large part on government contracts—OUR TAX MONEY. Their net income has steadily increased since World War II despite a decline of roughly 30 per cent in passenger mileage (The government paid out billions of dollars to the railroads for transporting soldiers and material during the last war.) But even so these giant corporations take in many more millions today than during the height of the global war. There's gold in those rails.

The total national net railroad income for the first six months of 1953 was 549 million dollars. This was an increase of 24 per cent over the first six months of 1952. The New York Central alone reported eight times as much income for the first six months of 1953. The Pennsy for the same period tripled its income. That's not hay, even for billionaires.

No industry holds greater drama in the struggle of the Negro people, past and present, than does the railroad industry. If Negro and white trade unionists and other democratic groups are willing to seize upon this history, upon this drama, we can present to America the most far-reaching democratic jobs campaign ever witnessed in America. We believe they are ready.

Coleman A. Young
Executive Secretary
National Negro Labor Council

Issued by: NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
410 Warren Blvd. Detroit, Mich.

EVERY TIME John Henry swung his mighty hammer, more miles of track stretched into the wilderness until the rails linked the Atlantic with the Pacific, and here was no wilderness anymore. John Henry and his hammer could lay track and ties faster than any hundred men, and nothing but death could stop John Henry. He died with his hammer in his hand.

So goes the great workingclass legend of John Henry—the Paul Bunyan of the railroads.

But today the grandsons and granddaughters of John Henry have a rough time trying to get work on the roads built by the mighty man and his hammer. John Henry was a Negro.

It is no accident that the legendary hero of the great era of railroad expansion was a Negro worker, for it was largely the Negro working people, together with the Irish immigrants who performed the tremendous job of constructing the vast network of rails that physically united this country.

The tremendous job performed by the Negro people as pioneers in the true sense of the word is largely ignored or hidden in the history books.

But there is no hiding or ignoring the brutal jim crow setup on railroad jobs today. And no plan for Negro freedom by '63 can be complete without spelling out the program for victory over railroad jim crow.

That was why the fight to run jim crow off the rails was a keynote issue at the 1953 Convention of the Negro Labor Council in Chicago and why NLC Executive Secretary Coleman Young declared: "No industry holds greater drama in the struggle of the Negro people than does the railroad industry."

RAILROADS ARE GOING BACKWARDS

While America moves forward against jim crow, the railways are moving backwards.

Jim crow in its crudest form prevails on the nation's railroads, North and South. Nine out of ten Negro railroad workers are in common labor and service categories—as waiters, gang laborers, car cleaners, pullman porters, cooks, red caps, baggagemen.

Negroes are flagrantly excluded from jobs like telegrapher, dispatcher, ticket agent, and other office personnel. There are no Negro conductors, no Negro engineers, and only a handful of Negro roundhouse and maintenance men. Negro women are almost 100% excluded from railroad employment.

But it wasn't always so

For many decades, the heritage of John Henry was a strong one, and tens of thousands of Negro workers contributed to the running of the nation's railroads in almost every phase of these operations.

Employment of Negro workers by the roads was not due to any democratic instincts among the railroad monopolies. On the contrary, the railroads hired Negro workers in the decades after the Civil War because the Negro worker was forced into a posi-

tion where he could be exploited as "cheap labor."

Until World War I, it was usual for the railroads to use Negro firemen and trainmen on many of their southern and border runs, always being careful not to promote them to the engineer or conductor categories. The companies were even more careful to keep the wages of the Negro workers down, and by doing so to drag the level of all railroad workers—Negro and white—in the South and in the border areas down.

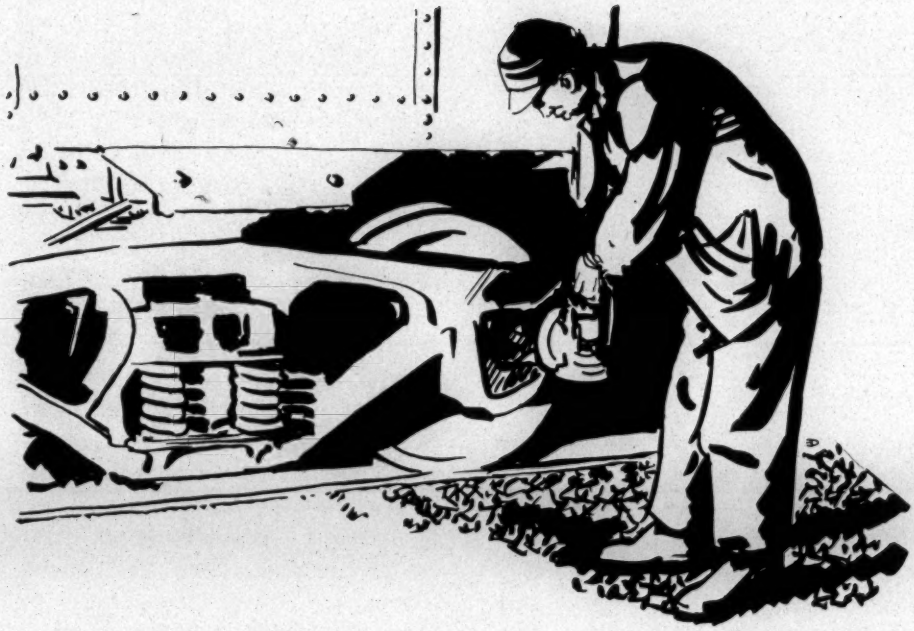
This was the wedge that the men who made millions in the railroad industry painstakingly drove between the Negro and white workers, laying the groundwork for the trap of white supremacy into which the railroad brotherhoods have tumbled.

The corporations used every weapon at their command—from subtle racist propaganda to outright Ku Klux Klan terrorism to prevent unity of all workers on the railroads. In this way, the companies were able to use the prejudices and animosities they fanned to make the railroad unions — the Brotherhoods — as instruments to drive the Negroes off the roads or into the labor and service categories. Just how completely the railroad brotherhoods were infected with the poison of white supremacy can be best illustrated by the story of the World War II FEPC hearings, when the companies and the unions actually teamed up to thwart the efforts of the Negro people and of liberal forces to bring democracy to the rails. This happened at a time when the nation was engaged in a worldwide struggle against Nazi racism, and when unions in many other industries were making a tremendous fight to wipe out the American version of this racism in industry.

THE FEPC STORY

During World War II the nation suffered a critical manpower shortage. Joseph Eastman, director of the Office of Defense Transportation, proposed as a solution the use of women workers, Mexican workers and war prisoners. He did not recommend the obvious solution, democratic hiring of Negro workers, many of them fully qualified by experience for railroad jobs.

However, the democratic tide was too strong for this to be the last word. Recognizing the crucial need of the nation to rally everyone to the defeat of fascism, President Roosevelt in 1941 issued Executive Order 8802, establishing an FEPC. Although this was a step forward,



this first FEPC did not provide the necessary enforcement provisions.

It was not surprising that militant Negro railroaders, *faced* with the prospect of being driven completely out of the industry by the combination of the profit-hungry operators and the jim crow brotherhoods, should turn to the FEPC for help.

In 1943, hearings scheduled for the railroad industry were suddenly postponed "indefinitely" by War Manpower Commissioner McNutt. These hearings had been in preparation for more than a year, with a veteran fighter for equality, the late Charles H. Houston as one of the special counsel.

Liberal, labor and minority groups vigorously protested McNutt's action. Scores of delegations of Negroes and their allies went to Washington to protest. Meanwhile, the FEP Committee established by Executive Order 8802 died. Houston resigned from the Committee and wrote to President Roosevelt:

> "It may be for the present that due to disenfranchisement in the South, the Negro by himself cannot muster as much political pressure on the government as the railroad industry and the railroad unions. But if the government thinks it has purchased domestic peace and has satisfied reactionaries by this surrender of

principles, it has forgotten the lesson of history, including Chamberlain at Munich."

New Committee Set Up, Railroad Hearings Held

The struggle for job rights of the Negro people mounted. War Manpower Commission chairman McNutt was forced to declare that the railroad hearings would be rescheduled. President Roosevelt then issued another FEPC order (Executive Order 9346) establishing a new Committee under the chairmanship of Monsignor Haas.

The people had won the second round.

Discrimination on the railroads constituted the most difficult and crucial problem facing the Committee. Hearings in the matter had been postponed three times and their scheduling had been the first Committee's undoing. In the camp of the railroads were powerful financial and political interests, strongly organized labor unions, and influential southern forces. The battle was joined on September 15, 1943. The hearings opened in Washington, with 22 railroads and 14 unions as defendants. They were attended daily by an audience of more than 400 persons.

Bartley Crum, chief counsel, referred to the hearings as "undoubtedly the most important ever held so far as minority groups are concerned, either in this country or abroad." Crum added that the hearings were needed because "the denial by the railroads of equal job opportunities to Negroes and other minority groups stultifies our moral leadership of the democracies, provides strong material for Axis propaganda against us, and is seriously hampering our effective prosecution of the war." The elimination of Negro firemen was being carried out, he asserted, by means of the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Agreement (Washington Agreement), executed on February 18, 1941. The agreement had been reached under the aegis of an agency of the United States government, the Railway Mediation Board, as the culmination of negotiations involving the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and a number of southern railroads. Other Negro railroad workers discriminated against were brakemen, flagmen, baggagemen and yardmen.

An outstanding and historic case presented at the hearings was that of Bester W. Steele. This fireman on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad had been illegally squeezed out of his job as a result of the Washington Agreement. Steele had first petitioned the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers. When the union refused to bring his case before the Railway Adjustment Board, this fighting Negro railroad worker

took his case as an individual to the newly-created FEPC. Along with Steele, scores of Negro railroad workers testified at the FEPC hearings. Included among them were men having twenty or more years' seniority who had been driven from their jobs.

The unions boycotted the hearings. Sidney S. Alderman, the companies' lawyer, brazenly admitted discrimination against Negroes. The arrogance of the railroads was so great that at one point in the proceedings the railroad lawyers even proposed that all witnesses be dismissed "since the railroads were not denying the prevalence of discrimination." Alderman declared that the railroads had to abide by the white supremacy practices of the areas they served.

This company lawyer further argued that the jim crow agreement had been concocted "by processes under the Railway Labor Act and earlier controlling United States labor laws, often with governmental assistance and approval." In all this he was unfortunately "dead right."

Committee Issues Directive

On December 1, 1943 the FEPC released to the public its directive to the 20 railroads and seven unions, ordering them to

cease their discriminatory practices and to advise the Committee "within 30 days . . . the steps taken or efforts made to comply" with the directive. Ten of the carriers and one union were directed to set aside the Southeastern Carriers' Conference Agreement as a violation of the executive order. The unions cited in the directives were accused of maintaining a policy which "discriminates against Negroes because of race, in regard to membership, thus rendering it impossible (for said Negro workers) to have any adequate voice or representation with respect to grievances and the negotiation of agreements affecting working conditions, employment policy, practices and opportunities." They were directed to "cease and desist" from "discriminatory practices affecting the employment of Negroes." Both carriers and unions were advised that in the event they refused to comply with the directives, the matter would be referred to the President.

Railroads Defy Government And President

The railroads flatly rejected the government order, calling it interference with the existing collective bargaining contracts. They declared: "your committee is wholly without constitutional and legal jurisdiction and power to make and issue the directives which it made and issued, and for this reason the said directives are without legal effect."

In spite of the arrogance of the railroads, however, the people had won a victory, including, among other things:

1. The railroads did not succeed in killing the Committee. Rather, a stronger second Committee emerged.

2. The hearings were held and the directives were issued and, for the first time, a government agency in the form of the Committee stood on the side of those discriminated against, and had the backing of a strong President.

3. Some of the railroads, including the Union Pacific, the Pennsylvania and the New York Central, expressed a willingness to cooperate with the Committee in correcting the abuses of which they had been accused.

Subsequent to this matters of discrimination were dealt with successfully by the Committee in the Philadelphia Rapid Transit case and in the railway and street car cases in Los Angeles and Chicago.

Thus for an all too brief period, the government, impelled by the worldwide struggle against fascism and its racist basis, was cast in the role of a fighter against jim crow. A closer look at the history of Negro employment on the railroads shows that it was an unaccustomed role for the federal authorities.

HOW DISCRIMINATION PAID THE RAILROADS

We have already noted that up until World War I Negro workers were employed on the railroads in many categories long since closed to them. We have noted too that the large railroad corporations used Negro employment for two main purposes, specifically:

1. As a source of cheap labor.

2. As a means of disuniting rail workers by on the one hand hiring Negroes at substandard wages, and on the other fostering the vilest forms of racism backed by the argument that the exploited Negro workers were unfair competition for the *almost* equally exploited white workers.

It was a classic example of jim crow serving the profit greed of big corporations. Here are just a few of the hundreds of examples of the working of this exploitation:

—In 1909 the Georgia Railroad fired 10 white hostlers whose wages were $1.75 a day, and replaced them with Negroes at a 50c cut.

—In 1917 several Southern carriers made agreements to pay Negroes $1.75 for the same run that white firemen were paid $2.27—a 52c hourly difference.

—Negro train porters have been used for a long time to do brakemen's work. While the porter receives a few cents more for doing this added work, his pay is much less than that of the brakeman.

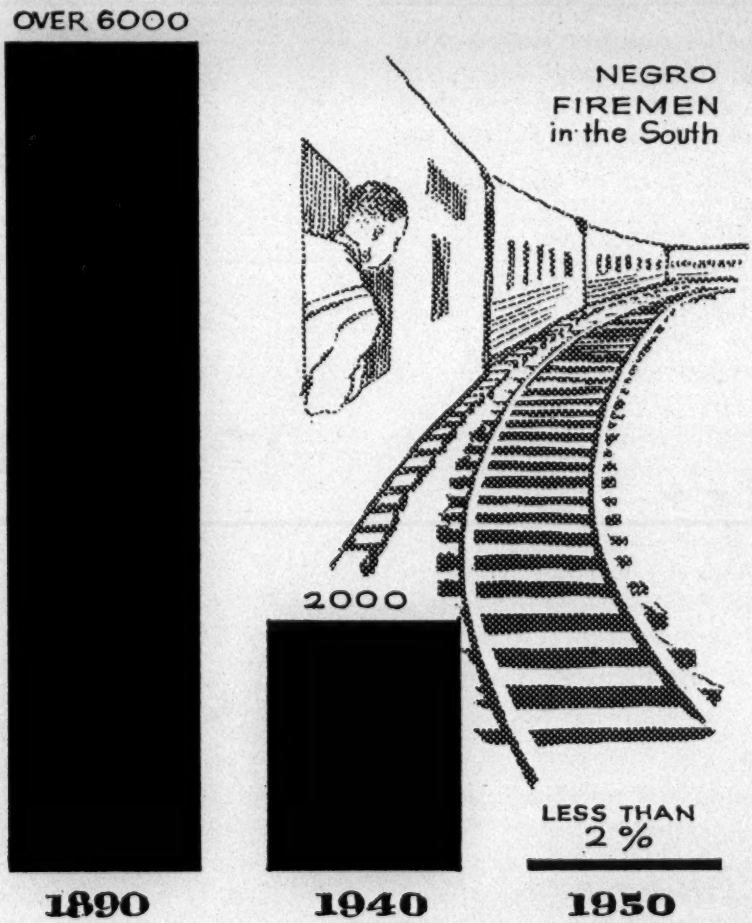
—Similarly, Pullman porters have worked as supervisors-in-charge of trains, but have not received conductor's pay. Dining car waiters have run "in-charge," but have been denied steward's pay.

—In the railway maintenance shops, Negroes have generally been hired as helpers. Seldom have they had the chance to become apprentices and be in line for promotion to mechanic. (With increased mechanization of the roads, Negro laborers are fast being wiped out.)

NEGROES IN RAILROADS

The railroads hired and increased the number of Negro workers as a source of "cheap labor" from the time of the Reconstruction Era until World War I. It was during World War I that the Negro railroad workers got their first chance to hit back at the cheaper rates they were paid. Jobs in the great northern and western industrial mills and factories were opened up to them and they left the railroads in droves.

To halt this exodus, William Gibbs McAdoo, war-time railroad coordinator, issued his famous equal pay order. It will be observed that prior to this time not a single collusive agreement had been entered into by the roads. Although the railroad unions had mistakenly started campaigns to get Ne-



groes "off the lines" (instead of organizing them) as early as 1892, they did not succeed until after the McAdoo order was issued and the war was over.

Negroes Driven Out After World War I

During the Reconstruction Era and right up to World War II, Negroes were hired throughout the South as firemen and trainmen.

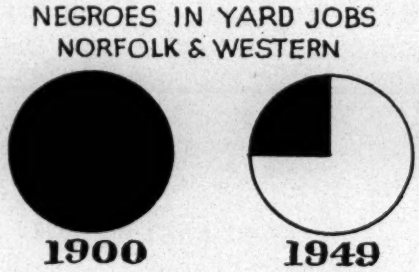
In 1890 there were more than 6,000 such workers. By 1940 this number dropped to 2,000. Ten years later, in 1950, Negroes were less than 2% of the southern firemen.

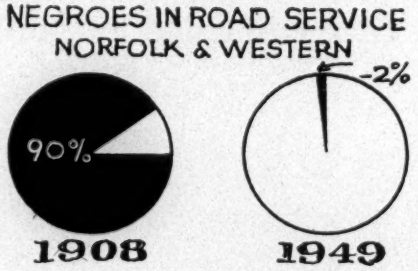
At the turn of the century, practically all the yard jobs on the Norfolk and Western Railroad were held by Negroes. But in 1949 they held only one-quarter of these jobs. The decline since has been steady. In road service on this same road in 1908, Negroes were 90 per cent of the workers. In 1949 they held only 2 per cent of the jobs.

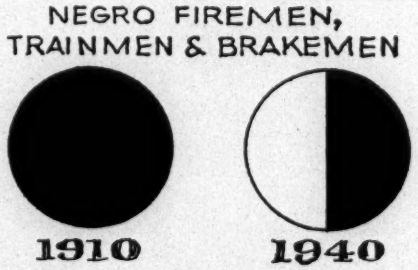
In the period between 1910 and 1940 the number of Negro firemen, trainmen and brakemen has been cut by more than one-half.

No wonder that Charles H. Houston, courageous counsel in many cases of Negro railroad men, summed up this shameful history during the 1949 House of Representatives hearings on FEPC before Harlem's Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., in these words:

. . . The history of Negroes on the railroads has been a history of exploitation on the part of the carriers and suppression on the part of the Brotherhoods. The carriers always used them when they could hire them for fractional percentages or substandard wages.







By now skilled Negro workers have been virtually driven from the railroad industry that they

helped to build, back to other markets as a continual source of cheap labor.

Negro Women Excluded

The railroad companies in extending their brutal jim crow policy have completely excluded Negro women. We have searched high and low for their employment in any of the clerical-office categories without success. Is not this practice bringing shame upon our country?

YES, OPERATION EXTERMINATION HAS BEEN THE PLAN OF THE WHITE SUPREMACISTS.

OPERATION EQUAL RIGHTS IS OURS.

THE UNIONS

In many instances, the railroad owners camouflaged their own role and purpose by maneuvering the unions to the front as a "cause and source" of friction between Negro and white workers.

The Role of The Brotherhoods

Under the false illusion of protecting the jobs of their own members, the unions' leaders yielded to white supremacy, and played into the hands of railroad management. The unions then must share some of the responsibility for making the railroad lines of our country jim crow locals instead of a "Freedom Express."

There are four main operating railroad brotherhoods in the industry. They are the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (BRT), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLFE) and the Order of Railway Conductors (ORC).

The Big Four Brotherhoods have historically had color bars in their constitutions which exclude Negro workers from membership. Practically all of the other railroad unions (except the Negro unions) have similar restrictions. In some instances, jim crow auxiliaries were set up with Negro members paying dues to the parent bodies, but having no representation on them or any genuine collective bargaining rights.

Negro Workers Sounded Unity Plea

In their age-old fight for first class citizenship, Negro workers have persistently fought for their place in every organization which seeks to promote the wel-

fare and the progress of all—particularly in the unions.

The fact that this fight goes far back into the history of our country is attested to by the stirring speech delivered by Isaac Myers, Negro Workmen's Association delegate to the National Labor Union (first American labor federation) convention in 1869. In a stirring appeal, Myers asserted:

". . . Gentlemen, silent but powerful and far-reaching is the revolution inaugurated by your act in taking the colored laborer by the hand and telling him that his interest is common with yours, and that he should have an equal chance in the race for life . . . .

"I speak today for the colored men of the whole country, from the lakes to the Gulf—from the Atlantic to the Pacific—from every hill-top, valley and plain throughout our vast domain, when I tell you that all they ask for themselves is a fair chance; that you and they will dwell in peace and harmony together; that you and they may make one steady and strong pull until the laboring men of this country shall receive such pay for time made as will secure them a comfortable living for their families, educate their children and leave a dollar for a rainy day and old age.

"Slavery, or slave labor, the main cause of the degradation of white labor, is no more. And it is the proud boast of my life that the slave himself had a large share in the work of striking off the fetters that bound him by the ankle, while the other end bound you by the neck."

Spoken 85 years ago, these words of Isaac Myers would have no less urgency today were they uttered at a union convention—particularly if it were a convention of one of the railroad brotherhoods.

The appeals of Myers and of other far-seeing men and women, Negro and white, went unheeded. As early as 1892, major railroad unions entered into agreements aimed at shutting Negro workers out of employment. With the companies exploiting the antagonisms thus created to the hilt, there were instances in which the fratricidal struggle actually resulted in the murder of Negro railroad workers.

From the turn of the century up to the infamous "Washington Agreement" of 1941, contracts were negotiated with some twenty-odd railroad companies to deprive Negroes of equal employment rights. The most devastating agreements included the following provisions:

—"Non-promotable" clauses to bar Negroes from promotion, and even from being hired in some of the lower classifications.

—Maximum percentage quotas on employment of Negro firemen.

—Banning on some lines of Negroes from any work as baggagemen, flagmen and firemen.

—Designation of areas in which Negroes are denied hiring rights to fill new runs and vacancies.

—"Examination" provisions which state that "promotion examinations" are to be held for fireman to engineer. Those who decline to take the examination, *after having met all other requirements* for promotion, or who fail to pass the examination, are dismissed from service.

What has been the cost of all this to white workers? Lower wages, less food, poorer houses, fewer opportunities for the kids.

Negro Workers Forced To Act Alone

With the scales so heavily weighted against them, the heroic efforts of Negro firemen, trainmen and brakemen to protect their jobs, stand out as one of the greatest chapters in American history. Much has been written about this or that cowboy hero, but nothing about these brave men who built the railroads, and upon whose backs the riches of our country were established.

In the non-operating crafts such as Pullman porters, dining car waiters and red caps—almost exclusively Negro, Negroes founded their own unions. Negro firemen and trainmen, barred from membership in the major unions, were forced, as a matter of self-protection, to establish their own unions. The Railway Labor Executives Committee, composed of the Association of Colored Railway & Locomotive Firemen, Colored Trainmen of America, Dining Car & Food Workers Union, and the Southern Association of Colored Railway Trainmen & Firemen, came into being and for many years helped to coordinate their work.

Despite great odds, these Negro unions succeeded in winning contracts and making some gains. In a limited number of cases, there was some cooperation between the Negro and white unions as white workers began to recognize the toll exacted by surrender to race-dividing, white-supremacist tactics. But such was not the general pattern.

Time and again these Negro workmen were forced to face violence and terror because the railroads had succeeded in pit-

ting Negro against white. In one strike alone on the Cincinnati, New Orleans, Texas and Pacific Railroad in 1911 ten Negro and white firemen died. Negro firemen were kidnapped and flogged. As late as 1933 Frank Kincaid, a Negro fireman on the "Creole," a crack train, had his head blown off as the crews changed at Canton, Mississippi. A few days later another Negro fireman, Ed Cole, got down from his cab on the same division to throw a switch at the Water Valley, Mississippi, junction. He got a full charge of buckshot in his side. Another Negro victim of the railroads' greed.

From their ranks came men like A. Philip Randolph and Milton P. Webster, who gave leadership to the fight for FEPC in 1941 through the powerful March on Washington movement. Webster was a member of the first and second FEP Committees.

Theirs is a glorious tale of the fight for democracy and first class citizenship in our country.

TODAY'S PROBLEMS FACE ALL

Today the entire trade union movement is under attack. Present or proposed restrictive legislation is a threat to every union. Organized labor is in deep battle to maintain and improve working conditions. At this critical time, labor urgently needs the support of all sections of the population, including the 16 million Negro people. The railroad unions today simply cannot afford to brush aside the overall sympathy which millions of Negroes feel for, and are prepared to extend to, labor unions which practice democratic policies.

Government: Guilty As A Tool of The Railroads

The railroad industry is a public institution subject to public control. The railroads admitted this when they fought for free public lands and government subsidies. They have also made this claim whenever the railroad workers prepared to strike for better conditions.

Our government, and its agencies, has been involved very deeply in the barriers that have been set up against Negro workers in the railroad industry.

Charles H. Houston

One flagrant example of this is the record of the National Railroad Adjustment Board, a government agency. Ever since 1926 collective bargaining in the entire industry has been conducted under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act. The National Railroad Adjustment Board, which considers disputes, is composed of only Brotherhood members and carrier representatives. Thus Negroes are barred.

The courts have ruled that individuals cannot bargain with the railroads. Not only are Negro workers and the associations representing them barred from representation on the Board. They are not even permitted to appear before the Board when their cases come up.

Equally anti-Negro in character is the Mediation Board, which is part of the Railway Labor Act machinery. This Board certifies the bargaining agent following election among unions in a given craft. It also has control over the handling of all grievances and the policing of contracts.

The late Charles H. Houston, at the 1949 House of Representatives hearings on FEPC, raised this pertinent question :

"What possible chance does a Negro have to bring his complaint before a board where fifty percent of the members are taken from unions whose official policy is to drive them out of service?"

In fact, as one authority, Herbert R. Northrup, put it in his book, "Organized Labor and the Negro," the National Mediation Board's practices create the impression that the Board "regards collective bargaining in the train and engine service as strictly a white man's affair." Northrup further reports that "any attempt on the part of Negro firemen or trainmen to avail themselves of the provisions of the Railway Labor Act by organizing unions for their own protection is looked upon as disruptive and to be avoided."

For example, on June 8, 1936,

Dr. William L. Leiserson, then chairman of the Mediation Board, advised the all-white Brotherhood of Engineers and Firemen to pull out of an election for bargaining agent because the Negro workers were a majority on that line and might influence the outcome of the election.

Again, to quote Northrup, whose opinion many others share:

"... Because of the serious injustices suffered by Negroes by the provisions of the Labor Act, sound public policy demands that this law be drastically amended, rather than serve as a model for future labor legislation."

The government's record has been equally bad in other instances. During World War I, faced with an acute labor shortage when the government took over the railroads, William Gibbs McAdoo, railroad coordinator, issued his "equalization of pay" order. Negro porters who had been doing brakeman's work were classified as porter-brakeman, and received brakeman's pay. But when the seniority lists were consolidated, new white workers were eligible for porter-brakeman jobs, but Negroes were barred from the brakeman classification.

After the war, when the railroads were returned to private management, and when unemployment increased, Negroes were "bounced" from the porter-brakeman category, but they continued to do brakeman's work at porter's pay. In 1926, the Railroad Adjustment Board ruled that "use of porters who do not hold seniority as brakeman violates the seniority rights of brakemen."

As usual, the railroads raked in huge profits by getting all this extra work done at the lower rate paid to porters. (Braking is 90 to 95 per cent of the Negro train porter's duties.)

This persistent bias on the part of the government and its agencies responsible for handling important questions affecting the working conditions of Negro workers as well as white workers obviously demands serious examination and prompt modification. As things now stand, at no level—through the key unions or the government—are Negro railroad workers permitted representation, voice or vote. This air-tight exclusion is not defensible on any ground. It must be changed.

Fight In Courts Slow Process

Hemmed in from all sides, Negro railroad workers have turned to the courts for relief and redress. Here, too, they have found little comfort, despite

many brilliantly presented cases. As reported by Northrup in "Organized Labor and the Negro":

"The courts, however, have not felt that the exclusion of Negroes from unions alters the situation. State courts have dismissed cases brought by Negro firemen on the ground that, by working under a firemen's union agreement, they had ratified it, and were bound by its modifications; that discrimination is not shown merely because one contract is less favorable to a group of employees than a preceding agreement . . ." Federal courts refused relief to Negroes displaced by secret contracts of the same organization on the ground of no jurisdiction.

Another authority, Dr. D. H. Mater, revealed that of 57 seniority cases of Negro railroad men that came before the courts before 1940 only eight had been decided in their favor.

Undaunted by earlier court rulings and by capitulation of the federal government to the railroads, Bester W. Steele continued to fight. Along with Tom Tunstall, another Negro railroad man, and with Houston as counsel, they took their cases to the courts.

Finally on the historic day of December 18, 1944, Steele and Tunstall, latter-day John Henrys, struck a hammer blow at jim crow on the rails when the U. S. Supreme Court supported their job fight and ruled that in view of the existing national non-discriminatory policy, all railroad contracts were invalid and illegal insofar as they discriminated against Negroes.

The significance of this ruling was that now for the first time the law was on the side of the democratic job rights of Negro railroad workers, and railroad jim crow was on the defensive. But jim crow does not die easily.

The arrogant railroad industry ignores the Supreme Court ruling, with the lily-white unions tagging along like a caboose.

A court decision alone is not enough to end job discrimination on the railroads. The collusive agreements are so widespread that it would take hundreds of court cases and tens of thousands of dollars to fight each case through the courts.

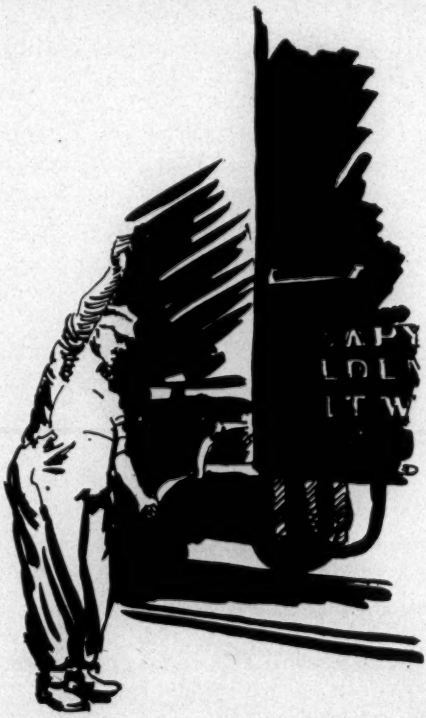
Then, too, the court decisions only confirm the job rights of Negro workers already employed on the roads. They do not affect the rights of Negroes to democratic hiring opportunities at all levels.

It is clear that a mass campaign must be initiated to implement not just individually, but on a wide scale, the court decisions preserving and protecting job rights of Negroes already at work, and to win the fight for democratic hiring.

THE FIGHT ON CONTRACT COMPLIANCE

In 1951 President Truman created a Committee on Government Contracts. This was a substitute for a real FEP law, designed to take the political heat off the Democrats for their failure to carry out their promises on civil rights. The Truman committee never functioned. In August 1953 President Eisenhower reorganized the committee, with Vice-President Nixon as its chairman. This committee, which is specifically charged with the task of "improving compliance with the federal government's fair employment policy practices in performance of government contracts," in more than a solid year of operation has failed to discover one single instance of job jim crow by companies holding government contracts.

Vice-President Nixon has found time to travel half-way around the world finding "threats to our democratic way of life" at every turn in the road, but has not found time to deal with or even to recognize the brazen and continued defiance, especially by the railroads, of "government fair employment policies" right under his nose.



As long ago as February 24, 1954, and as an initial action in

the National Negro Labor Council's campaign for freedom on the rails, a communication was addressed to Vice-President Nixon, which, following an indictment of the railroads, made the following demand:

"We would like to call your attention at this time to a long-standing, most flagrant and widespread violation of federal non-discriminatory requirements in government contracts, carried on, without exception, by the various railroad systems throughout the length and breadth of the United States. No industry in America draws a greater revenue from government subsidy than do the railroads. And it is a matter of public knowledge that no industry more arrogantly defies all executive, legislative and judicial precepts, as well as publicly recognized moral concepts, of fair employment practices.

"As the federal agency specifically formed for this purpose we urgently request that you immediately launch a full scale investigation, with open public hearings, of the discriminatory hiring and employment practices of the railroad industry, with the view of recommending the withholding of all federal funds from the railroads until such time as they live up to the federally required non-discriminatory clauses in their contracts."

The President's Committee continues to duck the issue.

In addition to the NNLC's demand for a general investigation of railroad job jim crow, several specific cases involving Negro railroad workers have been filed with the committee.

Clarence Watkins' Fight To Be A Fireman

One of these cases is that of Clarence Watkins of Denver, Colorado, who is currently employed as a hostler on the Union Pacific Railroad. For several years he has been given the run-around by all responsible parties in his attempt to win up-grading to fireman. Watkins' experience as a hostler qualifies him for the 10-run training course given to all firemen. For a year and a half he was given the run-around by the union and the company. He then appealed to the President's Committee on Contract Compliance, which is using the dodge of "no jurisdiction" to avoid handling his case.

Mr. Watkins has enlisted the assistance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, as well as the intervention of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Here is Mr. Watkins' story in his own words:

"I first asked for the job of fireman on the Union Pacific Railroad in July of 1952, having been told by the Engineer's

griever that the possibilities of the application being accepted were very good. Whereupon I asked the District Foreman about the job. I was told then that all applications had been cancelled, only to find the next morning that applications were still being accepted. I then approached Mr. R. J. Dunn, and from him I was sent to Mr. Shimel, who at that time was out of town. From Mr. Shimel I was sent to Mr. Searle, who told me that he could not do anything without the "OK" of Mr. Shimel. I was then referred to Mr. H. T. Snyder, Master Mechanic, who was at that time in Kansas City, as everyone knew except myself. After a second attempt at securing an application from Mr. Dunn, I asked if race or color had anything to do with the refusals of my requests for application. After being convinced that race or color was not the problem, it was suggested by him that I get my organization behind the move.

"Again in July 1953, I asked for the identical job, and was told "to write an application" on a blank piece of paper, and submit it to the District Foreman. Through all my attempts of securing this application, all efforts and attempts by me were being kept a matter of strict secrecy by the company and the Brotherhood. My associate and myself were working alone with only the help of one member of the Urban League until the appointment of the Government Contracts Committee.

"In an interview with the Denver Post, Mr. R. L. Baker, International Vice Chairman of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, made this statement: "It is up to the railroads to promote their personnel. He can't get into the union, but we would have to represent him." Mr. A. E. Stoddard of Omaha, Nebraska, the U. P.s President, told the Denver Post "We have a lot of colored persons employed on railroads, but we have never had anything like this charged against us. However, I would like to withhold further comment until we can have this case investigated. We will investigate it right away."

"On September 8, 1953, Mr. R. L. Baker was in Denver to address a union meeting. After contacting Mr. Baker, asking him to address the Brotherhood, I was kept waiting one hour and a half to be told that I could not be entertained because I was not a member. Later at the same meeting, the Brotherhood was assured by Mr. Baker that I would not be hired as a fireman. Also Mr. Baker stated "The day the Union Pacific hires a Negro fireman, not a train will move." I have an eye witness who was present and will testify publicly or privately that this statement was made by Mr. Baker."

ACTION - NOW!

And so today, in 1954, the Negro railroad workers face bitter battles. Before them still lies the most far-reaching campaign that has to be waged to win first class citizenship on the economic front. Jim crow barriers must be destroyed in the railroad terminals and other places. Especially must they be smashed in employment.

What is needed is a positive program of action supported by all true believers in democracy, and particularly by the railroad Brotherhoods. The National Negro Labor Council proposes and will do its share to bring these demands and steps to life:

1. Demand on companies of the hiring, training and promotion of Negro railroad workers in all categories on all railroads.

2. Unqualified admission of Negroes to railroad training schools.

3. Encouragement of Negro applicants, both men and women, to apply for jobs on every railroad.

4. Democratic demand upon forthcoming executive boards and conventions of all railroad unions to admit Negroes as full and equal members.

5. Immediate and uncompromising enforcement of the President's Contract Compliance order and acceptance of jurisdictions over railroads.

6. Full support to Clarence Watkins to get Committee to hold hearings on his case.

7. Nation-wide public hearings on the employment policies of railroads to be called promptly by the Contract Compliance Committee.

8. Passage of strong national FEPC legislation with penalties and enforcement power.

9. Revision of the Railway Labor Act to insure fair representation for Negro railroad workers.

10. Use and enforcement of all local FEPC laws in railroad cases.

11. Full support to Negro railroad labor groups in their fight for justice.

12. Support from all unions, church, fraternal, community and other organizations in this far-reaching jobs campaign.

The struggle of Negro railroad men and women for the right to work has been a sharp and continuous one for over 50 years. With the scales so heavily weighted against them, the heroic efforts of Negro firemen, trainmen, brakemen and others

to protect their jobs stand out as one of the great, but unfinished, chapters in American history.

Negro railroad workers have always demanded just the simple rights fought for and won by all other railroad workers. Theirs is a symbolic struggle today in a nation that preaches democracy to the world, demanding the role of world leadership while withholding equality from one-tenth of its own citizenry.

Our united efforts can make it possible for every Negro boy who plays with an electric train to be confident that, if he wishes, he too will have a "fair shake" at becoming an engineer at the throttle of a main-line train, or a conductor walking the aisles; that his sister can be the worker selling tickets at Grand Central Station, and in the railroad stations in Birmingham, Mobile and Dallas.

The challenge is before us. The historic U. S. Supreme Court decision against school segregation shows what can be achieved. We *can* make the "Freedom Train" roll — faster and faster—to bring democracy to the rails.

These things for which we *fight* shall be ours.

Issued by: **NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL**
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FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT
October 30, 1952

REMARKS OF PAUL ROBESON
AMERICAN LABOR PARTY MASS MEETING
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK
October 27, 1952

Well, President Truman was up in Harlem the other day -- talking about civil rights.

He promised.

And last Saturday, General Eisenhower condescended from Morningside Heights to Harlem -- talking about civil rights.

And he promised.

And Mr. Stevenson -- the papers say he's coming up to Harlem -- to talk about civil rights.

He's going to promise, too.

FEPC? --naturally! Anti-lynching?--absolutely! Jobs, housing, equal rights? -- Positively!

They come and they go -- these Democrats and Republicans. And they hope to go on forever. Promise and forget. Pledge and betray. Bow in -- and sell out. Grin in your face and stab you in the back. Last election -- this election -- and the next one too, they hope.

Eisenhower? -- well, it seems that my people don't like Ike, or Nixon either. Stevenson? -- well, the best I can hear about him is from those folk s who say, "He doesn't mean us any good but that's more than you can say for that other one." And as for Sparkman -- well, they figure that the best thing to do is to keep him out of Harlem and just pretend that he's a smear invented by the other gang!

But I'm here to say this: On Election Day I'm not going to vote for any kind of evil -- not the 5-star evil or the no-star evil.

Brass-hat or silk hat -- Jim Crow has got to go!

I say: no more of this double-talking, double-crossing business! No more of this lowdown game of the higher-ups! No more of this double-deal of the two old parties of white supremacy!

I say: vote for Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, that remarkable contemporary Sojourner Truth!

I say: get out the vote next week for the people's candidates of the

---more

Progressive Party, the American Labor Party and Local civil-rights and peace tickets!

And I want to say something else too, in answer to those who warn about "wasting your vote" if you don't intend to vote for some kind of an evil that has a chance to win.

There is a lesson here for all progressives from Negro history. My people have been in this struggle for a long, long time. Yes, a hundred years ago we were, as we are now, a minority in this land. Enslaved, we fought for freedom. We founded the abolition movement. We said that slavery had to go. We said that our minority interest in that great struggle was, in truth, the majority interest of the American people. My people persevered on that line from the very beginning. When they got a chance to vote in the North, despite all of the restrictions, they supported those minority freedom parties that first raised the anti-slavery banner.

Did they waste their votes? Did they do wrong by not choosing a "lesser evil" brand of slavery?

No -- and all Americans since that time, and we progressives here today, owe them much for whatever freedom we now have.

Their slogan was -- abolition of slavery! and they refused to settle for less.

Our battle cry is -- Civil Rights Now! -- and we aren't going to settle for less. And certainly not for some "lesser evil."

Yes, it's a long, long road, a battle all the way, and we are not going to stop after the ballots are counted this coming Election Day. I know I'm going to stay in there fighting. I promised a dear friend of mine that I'd carry on and I'll never let Ben Davis down.

Yes, we are a minority -- and our party here is a minority -- but we are a minority that represents the rights and interests of the majority of the American people.

Millions of people around the world have come to see that truth. What about the Negro in America? That question -- rising from every part of the globe -- confronts and confounds the rulers of our land. Not all of the jabber about Marshall Plans, Atlantic Pacts, and Point Four, can drown out the clamor of that single question: when will the Negroes in America be free?

And behind that question is something more: it rises with the tide of colonial liberation that is sweeping the continents of the world.

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Yesterday's Times -- did you see it? There was a map and the title was "Troubled Africa". But it seems that it was the Times that is troubled about what is happening over there in what they called "Six areas of tension."

French Morocco -- the trouble there was labeled "Drive for Independence". (That's bad trouble)

Tunisia -- the caption read: "Dispute over home rule." (The Tunisians want Tunisia.)

Egypt -- "Conflict over Suez." (Old Pharaoh's people want to be let go too.)

Anglo-Egyptian-Sudan -- that's a "Dispute over Control."

Kenya -- labeled "Campaign of Violence". (The British are shooting down the Africans who are "conspiring to teach and advocate" freedom).

And finally, there is South Africa: that is called "Clash over Racial Policies". The Africans call it defiance of white supremacist rule.

Trouble -- yes, plenty of trouble for the ruling classes of the so-called Free Nations - and for the Wall Street money-lords, who reap all the profits. (No share for the gentlemen on the London and Paris Stock-Exchanges.)

We might recall the recent editorial in the Wall Street Journal which pointed out "that we (the Bankers and Industrialists) have more than a moral interest in South Africa. We have $137 millions invested there and shiploads of uranium on the way"; yes, on the way, from those "beautiful" mines with further stakes in copper, manganese, chromium - diamonds and gold. (Boy oh Boy!)

What do these fellows plan? See page one of the New York Times of October 27 - British troops marching in Kenya. Another Korea? Only slightly in reverse: This time the British will initiate the deal -- soon they'll send to the United States for help (I know that the United Nations Command dare not play with this). Are you going? Will you support this vicious attack against the Freedom aspirations of our African, Indian and Colored brothers and sisters? Or will you join the fight for Peace to ease world tension; will you enter the fight not only for peaceful co-existence between nations - but for mutual trade, cultural and scientific exchange; friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the New World of this historic period -- with the hundreds of millions of citizens of the New Peoples Democracies, of the New China - and with the history-making peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

You see, Africa and all of the oppressed colonial peoples -- in Viet Nam, in Korea, in Malaya, in the West Indies -- are having an election campaign, too.

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They are electing to be free!

Over here they say that the various predictors and pollsters don't know how our little election campaign is going to turn out -- but one thing is certain: the world-wide "election campaign" I'm talking about is going to be decided in favor of the real peoples' choice -- freedom.

Trouble? -- well, gentlemen of the New York Times and your Wall Street bosses -- YOU AIN'T SEEN NOTHING YET!

We've all got a big job to do here at home. On Election Day to really turn out a rousing vote for peace and civil rights. After Election Day -- to buckle down for the struggle ahead.

I mean, to get those promises fulfilled.

I mean, not to take no for an answer.

I mean, to finally answer the question about Negro rights in America.

I mean, nothing less, nothing "lesser", than CIVIL RIGHTS NOW!;

~~Than the~~ And I mean moving toward full freedom for all of us - whose families came from many lands to build this America - for the Negro People, for the brave Jewish People, for the Puerto-Rican People, for those of various language groups - together with the toiling and aspiring millions of this land. This too, is our America, and to save it, we will march forward, under the leadership of Hallinan and Bass, to a Smashing Vote for Civil Rights - Peace - Decent Lives and Human Dignity - on this Nov. 4th.

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
410 East Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

For Immediate Release

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Meeting of the National Council
of the
National Negro Labor Council
at the
Hotel Theresa, New York, N.Y.
September 25-26, 1954

REMARKS OF PAUL ROBESON

It is always an occasion of great importance to me to take part in the activities of the National Negro Labor Council. My mind goes back to your great conventions - Chicago last year; Cleveland in 1952; the founding convention in Cincinnati in '51; and even before that the great gathering of trade unionists in Chicago in June of 1950 which gave birth to the idea of a militant, mass organization of the Negro workers fighting courageously for their economic needs and for the rights of their entire people.

You said that this organization was called for because there was a crying need for somebody to pay consistent attention to the job problems of the breadwinners of our people. Somebody had to give top priority to the questions of discrimination in employment, FEPC, growing joblessness, and the shameful spectacle - in this nation which boasts of leading the so-called "Free World" - of not only single plants, but whole industries which eliminate Negroes either altogether or from the skilled, better-paying jobs. It was time, you said, not only to talk about being the last hired and first fired - but to do something about it.

And who could do this job for the Negro workers better than Negro working men and women themselves? The answer was obvious the, and is just as obvious now: "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

Of course, you never sought to do the job alone. You knew that the initiative had to be yours, but you knew just as surely that your crusade had to involve thousands and eventually millions of others if it was going to succeed. And so you proclaimed a doctrine in Cincinnati that got right down to the heart of the matter, and that brought the delegates right up on their feet. You said, to paraphrase a slogan which has been the rule of your organizational existence, "We do not need or ask anybody's permission to fight for our own livelihood, our own security, our own lives, but we seek everybody's cooperation.

You sought first of all the cooperation of the labor movement with its 15 million Negro and white workers in AF of L, CIO and independent unions. And of equal importance, you sought the support and cooperation of the long-established organizations of Negro life - the church, our fraternal bodies, the NAACP, the Urban Leagues and our business institutions.

And, realizing that cooperation is a two-way street, you offered the resources of your organization in support of those who were engaged on other fronts of the battle against Jim Crow. You could be counted on to join the mounting fight against segregation in education, housing, health, recreation- in all phases of American life.

But all the while you have kept your big guns turned on the fundamental issue - jobs and economic security for our people. You have realized that it's on the production line that the whole ugly practice of segregation and discrimination bears its most bitter fruit; and that in the end the battle to lick Jim Crow in production will largely determine its fate everywhere else.

When the Dixiecrats decree that Negro and white children shall not go to school together they are preparing the ground for the day when they will not be allowed to work on the same machine together. They they decree that Negroes must ride in a hot, grimy railroad car - half baggage and half coach - while whites ride in air-conditioned comfort, they are setting the stage for public acceptance of the fact that Negroes can be porters and waiters - servants - on the railroads, but not engineers, conductors, trainmen and clerks.

Oh, yes, it's at the point of production and at the pay-window of the American economy that Jim Crow pays off for those who love it most. It pays off in $4½ billion every year in super-profits for the monopolies, sweated out of the toil-worn bodies of Negro workers.

-MORE-

That is why, though I manage to keep busy with many responsibilities, I always feel a special urgency to do what I can to advance the program of the National Negro Labor Council. That is why I have said before, and repeat today, that whenever you call upon me for service I will be there, shoulder to shoulder with you, the finest sons and daughters of the Negro people and of the entire working population of this land.

That is precisely what I meant when, in 1947 at a concert in St. Louis, I announced that I would put aside my formal concert career for the time being to enter the day-to-day struggles of my people and the working masses of this country. I meant the struggle for our daily bread - such battles as I had been part of on the picket lines on the Mesabi iron ore range, with the auto workers in Cadilac Square, the gallant tobacco workers in Winston-Salem, the longshoremen, cooks and stewards in San Francisco, the furriers, electrical workers and a host of others.

No, of course, I'm not the only one who has recognized your importance and your potential. Among the first to pay tribute to you, in their own way, have been the traditional enemies of our people and of American democracy. They've complimented you by leveling against the NNLC and its leaders the most vicious and unprincipled attack.

Because you fight all-out for the rights of Negro workers they say you somehow endanger the nation's security. That's a lie.

Because you proclaim your solidarity with African and Asian workers and call for the independence of all colonial peoples they say you somehow betray our national interests. That's a lie.

Because you preach the truth - that the Negro's well-being is served by peace, not war, by building schools, homes and roads, not guns, tanks and bombs - they say you lack patriotism. And that's a lie.

They would like to hound you out of business if possible - discredit your leaders, make you register with the so-called Subversive Activities Control Board, stop you from publishing literature, holding meetings, arousing the nation in support of your program.

They'd like to shut you up while Talmadge defies the Supreme Court on segregated education and spouts his arrogance over nationwide radio and TV hookups, and while a new rash of hate groups, including the recently formed National Association for the Advancement of White People, flood the mails with filthy "white supremacy" propaganda.

But here you are meeting today - a fighting, democratic organization, determined that "just like the tree that's planted by the water, you shall not be moved."

And while I know that nobody in this room has ever had any doubt but that you'd be here, I think this is a fitting moment to say that the NNLC - despite all the attacks, including a few from leaders of our own people who should know better - despite the difficult times we've had, always with insufficient money and often with little encouragement - despite all this the NNLC is needed today more than ever, and our best days lie just ahead of us.

I think I know how great the need is. For I live in Harlem, and as I sit in the parish house of my brother's church Mother AME Zion, and as I walk up and down the avenuse or visit with friends, the signs of hard times are everywhere. In New York State the production index has dropped 10 per cent in the past year and unemployment insurance claims have steadily risen.

Even in so-called "good times" the vast majority of Negro workers live at a bare subsistence level. Our family income is still - after all the economic "progress" of the World War II period - just one-half the family income of white workers. And when the firing starts Negroes - by statistical count - lose their jobs twice as fast as anybody else.

What's true of New York is doubly true of the major industrial centers in Pennsylvania, the middle West and the West Coast. The president of the United Steelworkers of America recently announced at their convention that one out of every three steelworkers in the nation is either out of work or working part-time. And it's difficult to pick up a newspaper without reading that a couple of auto plants have merged and "merged" a few thousand workers out of jobs; or that another company has "retooled" thousands more onto the breadlines.

It's bad enough that the Eisenhower administration started out by giving away our national wealth in tideland oil, public power and tax concessions to the monopolies, but when they start taking away our jobs and telling us that the pain in our stomachs is not really hunger but imagination, then it's really time for something drastic to be done.

I'm glad that raised your voice with that of the labor movement, and I know that you are unique in Negro life, in putting forward a comprehensive anti-depression program to stem the downward trend of the economy and provide jobs for the unemployed.

It seems to me that instead of giving the AF of L a political lecture, as he did at their convention, Secretary of Labor Mitchell ought to be forced to say where he stands on the AF of L proposal for a billion dollar appropriation for building public schools as a part of the implementation of the Supreme Court ruling against segregation.

And when it comes to housing - why we could use the 300,000 housing units authorized annually in the administration bill among Negroes alone and we'd still be in a terrible fix for a decent place to live.

Another way to fortify our economy against depression would be to open the doors to two-way worldwide trade, which means specifically trade with China, the Eastern European democracies, and the Soviet Union. But, oh no, says our government, we don't like their politics. Well, I'm not here to say we must like the politics of these nations, for that's not necessary for normal commercial relations. But isn't it true that our government fosters trade with fascist Spain and with Malan's South Africa. So if politics is to be the yardstick in international trade it means that the U. S. government is saying to 15,000,000 Negroes that it approves the politics of the most oppressive, racist dictatorship on the face of the globe today.

If this be true, perhaps we Negroes ought to take a long second look, not only at our economic situation and our civil rights position, but at the foreign policy of our government and its effect on our daily lives. Now I don't intend to do that now - I'm going to stick to the agenda - but I must say that it seems to me that such a searching appraisal is in order for the whole Negro people today.

Of course, the embargo on trade with China, dictated by McCarthy, Knowland and the China Lobby, is having an opposite effect from that intended. They think that by embargoing China they will starve the government out and eventually get the discredited Chiang Kai Shek off the little island of Taiwan (Formosa) and back into business as an American puppet on the mainland.

But China's trade and economy and well-being are constantly expanding. Trade delegations are constantly going to and from Britain and many other Western nations, excluding only the United States among the great powers. And the ones to feel the brunt of the policy are the American workers who, instead of walking the streets in search of work, could be making the tractors, farm implements, tools and structural steel which New China needs and is ready to buy.

Of course, a comprehensive program for the economic welfare of Negroes depends not only on fighting to hold on to what we have and to prevent unemployment. If that were the extent of our program we'd always remain at the bottom rung of the ladder.

We must always be breaking new ground. And you couldn't have picked a better place to break it than on the nation's railroads. Railroad men have always played a big part in the life and legend of our people. John Henry would certainly be proud to know that you are launching a campaign to guarantee that hiring will be color blind on the railroads which he and his fellow workers built.

This campaign should stir Negro life and the nation as few crusades in the past. Every Negro leader who has worked for a while carrying bags or waiting table while preparing for his career ought to lend the weight of his prestige to your efforts. For instance, Dr. Ralph Bunche once worked on the railroad to help pay his way through school. Now, as long as Negroes are barred from the skilled trades in the industry the implication is plain that the man who holds the highest position of any American in the United Nations is unfit to collect tickets, or yell All Aboard or turn the throttle on an American railroad - because he is a Negro.

I hope that Dr. Bunche and many other outstanding Negroes who at one time labored in the dirty end of railroading will consider this an insult to them personally as well as to their entire people and will throw their weight behind the Council in this campaign.

-MORE -

But not only are there those who once worked on the roads. There are the thousands of Negroes who work there now. They enjoy a highly respected position in our communities throughout the nation. Their activities touch on the lives of the millions of our people. They are to be found in every church, lodge, club and society. It is here that we must take our message, spread our pamphlet and other literature, secure signatures for the petition to Vice President Nixon and the Contract Compliance Committee. If this campaign is taken to the bed rock of Negro life, to the heart of our organizational activities, there is no question in my mind but that we'll stir this nation, place the railroads magnates on the spot where they belong, and wind up with some Negroes driving trains as well as sweeping them, selling tickets as well as buying them, giving orders as well as taking.

As this campaign gets into high gear be sure that you can count on me.

I notice among the banners on the wall one that calls for the restoration of my passport. I want you to know how deeply grateful I am for this action on your part. As you know, a campaign has been mounted on this issue. We're just getting under way here in the United States; but alread all over the world - from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America - messages are being sent to the State Department by thousands of organizations and individuals, meetings of scorse of thousands are being held, demanding that our government restore the elementary right to travel which any citizen should enjoy.

The case will soon be placed before the federal courts. And I shall sue, not only for the right to travel abroad to fulfill the artistic commitments which await me, but also to visit where I please, say what I like and associate with the friends whom I choose.

This is the essence of democracy, the base on which this government was founded in a deadly battle with tyranny, and it is the shame of these times that citizens must now sue in the courts and raise movements of public protest to regain that which was so dearly bought 178 years ago.

But fight we must, on this front and on many others if we are to restore and expand this democracy of ours. I know we'll win and I intend to keep on fighting until we do. It is one of my greatest sources of pleasure and pride to know that as I do I am fighting side by side with the men and women who are the members and leaders of the National Negro Labor Council. You can be sure we'll be seeing a lot of each other as the battle sharpens and broadens in the days ahead.

30-30-30-30-30-30-30

Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread

THE RIGHT TO WORK in our highly industrialized society is the most burning issue of our time. Yet one tenth of our nation—the black sons and daughters of America—are in a constant struggle to obtain jobs and walk in dignity alongside their white brothers and sisters.

THIS IS NOT ACCIDENTAL. It is only possible because of the blind greed of a few powerful corporations who play upon the concept of white supremacy for the sake of profit. These corporations are driving down the living standards of the American people, especially in the South.

INDUSTRY EXPLOITS THE SOUTH

The big Companies have started a decentralization program. They are closing plants in the North and moving South to take advantage of the low wages there.

These corporations intend to pay Southern workers up to 60 cents an hour less than Northern workers for doing the same work. This despite the fact that they sell their products for the same price everywhere—and it costs just as much to live in the South as in the North.

In carrying out this program, industry is trying to make the Negro people the scapegoat. Wall Street has joined hands with the crooked politicians to fan the flames of disunity and prejudice. This serves the purpose of the companies as it has served the purpose of the Southern politicians for many generations.

The disunity and prejudice brought about as a result of this program results in mob violence, the denial of the right to vote, and the excluding of the Negro people from industry. It prevents black and white workers from uniting to fight for higher wages.

As a result, the Negro workers are paid an average of $1,286 a year less than white workers, a difference of almost $25 a week. For the Negro, the struggle to earn enough money to buy bread is a constant nightmare. The toll in human suffering is tremendous.

THEN COMES THE BIG PAYOFF

The Negro people are not the only sufferers from job discrimination. The effects of such discrimination are most dramatically proved by the situation of the white workers in the South. The South is the area where Big Business has made its greatest effort to spread the poisonous myth of white supremacy; where the tactic of divide and conquer has been most successful.

In the South, white families and single individuals were paid an average of $648 a year less than white workers in the North. In other words, Southern white workers pay a 20 per cent cash penalty because of discrimination against Negro workers.

For Southern white workers, as for Negro workers, this cash differential translates itself into poor housing, low health standards, disease, and early death. A Louisville, Ky. newspaper recently reported that one third of the white draftees from Kentucky were turned down because of illiteracy.

SUFFERING IN THE SOUTH

RUNAWAY PLANTS – THE BIG STEAL

The big companies not only benefit from the conditions they have created in the South. They are also able to take money out of the pockets of the people through a system called the rapid tax amortization program.

This is a deal worked out between Wall Street and the crooked politicians under which tax money helps to build the plants that are running away to the Southland.

So far the big companies have built about 25 billion dollars worth of plants under this program. The plan allows the company to write off the cost of the plant in a period of 5 years when making out its income-tax return. The saving is tremendous—and the people have to make up the difference by paying higher taxes.

The main tax load is borne by the workers, farmers, professional people, and small businesses. The corporations thus use the people's own money to impoverish them. The chart shows how your taxes have risen. Part of this increased load helped to pay for the runaway shop program.

G.E SPEARHEADS OPERATION DIXIE

General Electric Co. provides the outstanding example of what Big Business has in store for the American people. In 1951 this huge world monopoly moved into Louisville, Ky., seeking to exploit the community as a low-wage area. It hoped to play on antagonisms of black and white workers in the South.

G. E. denied that the new plant was a runaway shop. However, work from other plants is being moved to Louisville and layoffs are in the offing.

This corporation moved to Louisville with a promise of prosperity. It piously announced that it would hire on the basis of "qualification," without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

As this pamphlet goes to press, the company has hired about 1,000 of the 16,000 persons it plans to employ at the Louisville plant. Out of these 1,000 workers only 35 are Negroes, despite the fact that Negroes comprise 16% of the population of the area. The Negroes employed are concentrated on menial jobs, such as janitors and matrons.

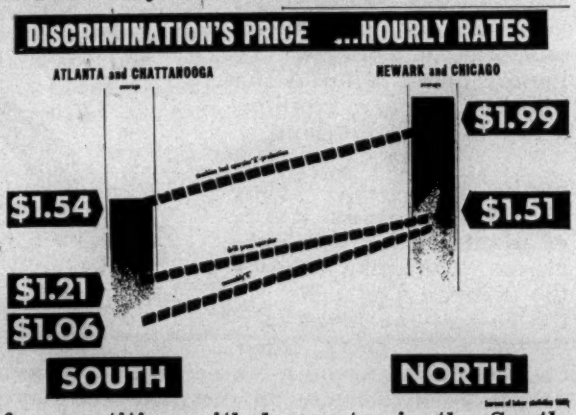
The Louisville Area Negro Labor Council arranged with the Board of Education to specially train a large number of Negro workers for the kind of jobs that exist at this new plant. The Council and numerous civic and church groups have appealed to G.E. to adopt a democratic hiring program. but none of the trainees have obtained jobs.

This corporation has received over 100 million dollars from the Government, some of which went to build new plants. The people should insist that their tax money be used in a democratic manner.

YOUR STAKE IN THIS FIGHT

The whole nation has a stake in this fight for job opportunities for the Negro people and against the "Southern differential." The head of Macy's department store in New York has said that the employing of Negroes at their present highest skills would add 6 billion dollars to the purchasing power of the American people.

A spokesman for the steel industry has said that elimination of the Southern differential would put 5 billion dollars a year more in the pockets of American workers. The living standards of the whole nation would be raised.



Workers and unions all over America are affected by the low Southern wages. Wages and conditions in the North are undermined because of competition with low rates in the South. Unity of all workers and their unions, fighting to prevent G.E. and like corporations from exploiting the South, will enhance the welfare of all.

Merchants and professionals have a stake because it is the working people who pay the shopkeepers' bills. When workers in the South make more money as a result of democratic hiring it means millions of dollars more for groceries, homes, doctor bills, insurance, etc.

The community as a whole thrives when all its people are happy. An end to the Southern differential means not only better business. It means more money for schools, hospitals, libraries, roads, churches, etc. Employment without discrimination means higher wages and a richer and more democratic life.

HERE'S WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Send a committee or a letter to General Electric Co., Louisville, Ky., demanding that it hire people on an equal basis regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or political belief.
- Demand that the Negro people get fair treatment in hiring, upgrading, training, etc., and that under no conditions should G.E. hire a less proportion of Negroes than they bear to the total population of the area.
- Demand that women get equal pay for equal work and that they be included in all phases of G.E.'s training program.
- Demand that G.E. include Negroes in its apprenticeship training program as well as in its on-the-job training program.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

For further information contact

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
Suite 214-16, 410 E. Warren Ave.
Detroit 1, Michigan
Telephone: Temple 2-1733

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
RESIDENT COMMITTEE MEETING
SAT-SUN, JANUARY 30, 31, 1954
CARLTON-PLAZA HOTEL
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

THE MEETING WAS CALLED TO ORDER BY EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, COLEMAN A. YOUNG. BROTHER CHATMAN WAILES WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN.

BROTHER YOUNG SUGGESTED THE ELECTION OF A PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE ACCURATE AND REGULAR MINUTES OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE MEETINGS. AFTER DISCUSSION, MOTION WAS MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED TO ELECT A PERMANENT SECRETARY.

M/S/C THAT SISTER RUFUS BE ELECTED PERMANENT SECRETARY OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE AND THAT THE NATIONAL OFFICE WOULD PROVIDE NECESSARY FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE SISTER RUFUS'S FUTURE REGULAR ATTENDANCE.

THE PROPOSED AGENDA WAS AS FOLLOWS:

1). EVALUATION OF CONVENTION
2). FINANCES
3). ORGANIZATION OF RAILROAD CAMPAIGN

M/S/C TO ACCEPT AGENDA AS PROPOSED.

M/S/C TO ADOPT THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE FOR FOLLOWING TWO DAY MEETING:

2:00 P.M. TO 7:00 P.M. - SATURDAY
10:00 A.M. TO 3:30 P.M. - SUNDAY

M/S/C TO ASSESS 50¢ EACH COMMITTEE MEMBER ARRIVING LATE TO THE SUNDAY SESSION.

M/S/C TO ALLOCATE THE FOLLOWING TIME TO EACH POINT ON THE AGENDA:

3:00 P.M. TO 5:00 P.M. - EVALUATION OF CONVENTION
5:00 P.M. TO 7:00 P.M. - FINANCES
10:00 A.M TO 3:30 P.M. (SUNDAY) - ORGANIZATION OF RAILROAD CAMPAIGN

1. EVALUATION OF CONVENTION

BROTHER YOUNG REPORTED THAT IT WAS THE GENERAL REACTION THAT THIS WAS BY FAR THE BEST CONVENTION THAT HAS EVER BEEN HELD. THE CONVENTION SHOWED MARKED IMPROVEMENT IN POLITICAL MATURITY,

- MORE -

IMPROVED ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION, ETC.

IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THIS CONVENTION WAS HELD UNDER EVEN MORE ADVERSE CONDITIONS THAN CINCINNATI OR CLEVELAND, BUT THAT IT WAS STILL ABLE TO BE SUCCESSFUL.

THE FOLLOWING WAS POINTED OUT AS ATTIBUTES OF THE CONVENTION:

(A). MORE RANK AND FILE PARTICIPATION THAN IN THE PAST.
(B). EXCELLENT RALLY IN TERMS OF ATTENDANCE AND COMMUNITY IMPACT.
(C). EXCELLENT SUPPORT FROM TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO.
(D). REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATIONS FROM BASIC INDUSTRY.

ONE SERIOUS WEAKNESS STILL REMAINING IN THE CONVENTIONS IS THE HANDLING OF FINANCES.

AFTER DISCUSSION, IT WAS AGREED THAT POSITIVE APPRASEMENT OF OUR THIRD CONVENTION SHOULD REMOVE ALL DOUBT FROM THE MINDS OF THOSE WHO QUESTION THE RIGHT AND NECESSITY OF THE NLC. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE NLC SHOULD GROW AND PROGRESS. ON ACHIEVEMENTS SINCE THE CONVENTION, IT WAS REPORTED THAT THE NEW JERSEY COUNCIL HAD WON A VICTORY ON THE POLITICAL ACTION LEVEL, AFFECTING NEWARK COUNCILMANIC DISTRICTS WHICH WOULD POSSIBLY RESULT IN THE ELECTION OF ONE OR MORE NEGRO COUNCILMEN IN THE CITY OF NEWARK. ALSO, THE CHICAGO COUNCIL, AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR, HAS FINALLY WON JOBS FOR NEGROES IN SEARS-ROEBUCK.

2. FINANCES

ON FINANCES, BROTHER DENNIS READ THE FINANCIAL REPORTS FOR THE YEAR 1953, FINALLY REPORTING THAT THERE WAS LESS THAN $100.00 IN THE TREASURY AT THE END OF THE YEAR. HE REPORTED ALSO THAT THERE WAS AN URGENT LOAN OUTSTANDING IN THE AMOUNT OF $500.00 WHICH HAD TO BE PAID IMMEDIATELY.

ON CONVENTION FINANCES, BROTHER DENNIS REPORTED THAT THE NATIONAL OFFICE HAD COME OUT OF THE CONVENTION IN THE RED. APPROXIMATELY $8,000 WAS TAKEN IN WHILE CLOSE TO $9,000 WAS SPENT IN CONDUCTING THE CONVENTION.

PAID REGISTRATIONS AT THE CONVENTION WAS OVER 700 DELEGATES. THERE WERE OTHER DELEGATES WHO WERE NOT OFFICIALLY REGISTERED.

DURING DISCUSSION, THE FOLLOWING PROPOSALS ON FINANCES WERE MADE:

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1). SET UP WELL IN ADVANCE, CONVENTION YEARBOOK COMMITTEE.

2). MAINTAIN YEAR-ROUND FUNCTIONING FINANCE COMMITTEES.

3). RESPONSIBILITY TO PUSH FOR FULL ACCOUNTING OF RALLY TICKETS FROM CONVENTION.

4). ORGANIZE IN FUTURE, GUARANTEE OF CONVENTION FUNDS.

5). CLOSER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATIONAL AND LOCAL FINANCE COMMITTEES.

6). PIN POINT FINANCIAL CAMPAIGNS. TIE-IN WITH CURRENT CAMPAIGNS, ETC.

7). STRIVE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF REALISTIC LOCAL COUNCIL QUOTAS IN THE FUTURE.

8). STRIVE FOR 5,000 MEMBERS IN '54 MEMBERSHIP DRIVE.

9). LEARN FROM OTHER COUNCILS, METHODS OF WORKING IN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND WITH TRADE UNION OFFICIALS TO ADVANCE MEMBERSHIP DRIVE, WHICH IS KEY SOURCE OF INCOME.

IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT ALTHOUGH A BUDGET OF $30,000 A YEAR HAD BEEN PROJECTED FOR THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR THE YEAR 1953, THE NATIONAL OFFICE OPERATED ON A CONSIDERABLY LOWER FIGURE.

M/S/C TO ADOPT IN PRINCIPLE ALL PROPOSALS MADE AND THAT THE FINANCE COMMITTEE BE RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION. THAT THE FINANCE COMMITTEE PLUS TWO MEMBERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE BE RESPONSIBLE TO REPORT TO RESIDENT COMMITTEE ON DECISIONS OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.

SCHEDULE OF 1954 FINANCES:

1). RAILROAD FUND DRIVE - FEBRUARY 15TH TO MARCH 15TH, TO ATTEMPT TO RAISE $10,000. MAIN METHODS OF RAISING MONEY TO BE:

(A). THROUGH DISTRIBUTION OF RAILROAD COUPON BOOKS.
(B). CONCENTRATION ON SOLICITATION OF LARGE GIFTS FROM ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

2). NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE - APRIL 15 TO MAY 31ST - GOAL TO BE 5,000 MEMBERS.

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3). NATIONAL WOMEN'S WEEK - COMING AT END OF MEMBERSHIP DRIVE TO CULMINATE WITH A SOCIAL AFFAIR PAYING TRIBUTE TO AN OUTSTANDING NEGRO WOMAN. PROCEEDS TO BE DIVIDED 60-40 BETWEEN NATIONAL AND LOCAL COUNCIL.

4). SOUTHERN FUND DRIVE - TO BE HELD IN THE FALL.

THE MEETING ADJOURNED AT 7:45 P.M. BROTHER YOUNG ANNOUNCED A SOCIAL EVENING WITH MEMBERS OF TRADE UNIONS AND THE DETROIT COUNCIL TO BE HELD IN THE MEETING ROOM BEGINNING AT APPROXIMATELY 10:00 P.M.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 31ST

BEFORE GOING INTO THE AGENDA, THERE WAS A BRIEF DISCUSSION ON A DOCUMENT WHICH HAS RECENTLY COME TO THE ATTENTION OF THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION ISSUED BY THE "UNIVERSITY RESEARCH CORPORATION" LOCATED IN CHICAGO, A RED-BAITING JOB ON THE COUNCIL.

IT WAS AGREED AFTER DISCUSSION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE MAKE NO DEFINITE DECISIONS ON THIS DOCUMENT PENDING FURTHER INVESTIGATION OF ITS SOURCE, ETC.

BROTHER WAILES AND SISTER GOODMAN TO BE RESPONSIBLE TO CHECK ON THIS IN CHICAGO. BROTHER YOUNG TO SEND A MEMORANDUM AND A COPY OF THE DOCUMENT TO KEY LEADERS IN LOCAL COUNCILS NOTIFYING THEM OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE'S DECISION ON THE DOCUMENT.

3. ORGANIZATION OF RAILROAD CAMPAIGN

BROTHER WASHINGTON REPORTED FOR THE CLEVELAND COUNCIL ON WHAT INITIAL STEPS IT HAD TAKEN IN LAUNCHING ITS RAILROAD CAMPAIGN. HE REPORTED THAT THE PROGRAM ON THE RR CAMPAIGN HAD BEEN ADOPTED AT A LARGE CONVENTION REPORT-BACK MEETING AND THAT FORMAL LAUNCHING WOULD TAKE PLACE AT THEIR ANNUAL FREDERICK DOUGLASS-JOHN BROWN BANQUET BEING HELD IN FEBRUARY.

FOLLOWING ARE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY LOCAL COUNCILS:

1). KEY COUNCILS TO CONCENTRATE ON NEW YORK CENTRAL RAILROAD. A MINIMUM OF 10 NEGRO APPLICANTS TO APPLY FOR JOBS ON THE RR. IN THE ABSENCE OF HIRING, APPLICANTS, WITH THE COOPERATION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, TRADE UNIONS AND MINISTERS ORGANIZATIONS, TO FILE CHARGES BEFORE LOCAL FEP BOARDS WHERE SUCH ORDINANCES EXIST. ATTEMPT TO BE MADE TO PROCEED ON UNITED FRONT LEVEL ON ALL ACTIVITY IN CONNECTION WITH RR CAMPAIGN.

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SUGGESTED THAT SUITS BE FILED IN NAME OF AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUAL. DELEGATIONS FROM LOCAL COUNCILS TO VISIT ORGANIZATIONS TO SOLICIT SUPPORT IN THE CAMPAIGN. EFFORT TO BE MADE TO GET ORGANIZATIONS TO PASS RESOLUTIONS IN SUPPORT OF CAMPAIGN. BAPTIST MINISTERS CONFERENCE TO BE APPROACHED.

2). MASS DISTRIBUTION OF PIECE OF LITERATURE, CARRYING MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION TO BE GOTTEN OUT AT KEY RR STATIONS, THE AIM TO BE DISTRIBUTING POSSIBLY 10,000 PIECES OVER THE EASTER WEEK-END.

3). THE OBJECTIVE OF PLACING A NATIONAL NEWSPAPER AD IN THE NEGRO PRESS ANNOUNCING THE FUND DRIVE AND THE RR CAMPAIGN. AD TO GO IN AFRO AND BLACK-DISPATCH. LOCAL COUNCILS TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF PLACING SIMILAR ADS IN LOCAL NEGRO PRESS.

4). NATIONAL OFFICE TO SEND INQUIRY TO PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON CONTRACT COMPLIANCE AND ISSUE PRESS RELEASE ON SAME. PRESS RELEASE TO BE SENT TO LOCAL COUNCILS FOR RELEASE WITH TIE-IN ON LOCAL ACTIVITY.

FUND DRIVE:

FOR THE PURPOSE OF EXPEDIENCY, IN ORDER TO CORRECT AN ERROR, MATION WAS MADE, SECONDED AND CARRIED TO SPLIT FUNDS IN CONNECTION WITH THE RR FUND DRIVE ON A 60-40 BASIS. ACTION OF RESIDENT COMMITTEE TO BE REPORTED TO EXECUTIVE BOARD, GENERAL COUNCIL AND CONVENTION.

LOCAL COUNCILS TO, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, APPLY THEIR SHARE OF RR FUND DRIVE MONEY TO THEIR LOCAL RR CAMPAIGN.

APPROXIMATELY 500 LEAFLETS ARE IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE TO EACH KEY COUNCIL. 10,000 MORE TO BE ORDERED.

DEADLINE ON COUPON BOOKS TO BE THE END OF MARCH.

IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE RESIDENT COMMITTEE WOULD BE HELD ON FEBRUARY 27TH AND 28TH IN CLEVELAND, OHIO. CLEVELAND COUNCIL TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS AND NOTIFYING NATIONAL OFFICE.

THE MEETING ADJOURNED AT 3:35 P.M.

RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED,
CARLOTTA RUFUS,
SECRETARY

CR/NB

PAUL

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE MARCH 31, 1954

National Negro Labor Council

410 E. WARREN, SUITES 214-16 • DETROIT 1, MICH. TEmple 2-1233-33

DETROIT, MICH., MARCH 26, 1954 -- THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL RELEASED TODAY THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT AND PROGRAM, WHICH ACCORDING TO COLEMAN A. YOUNG, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, "IS DESIGNED TO MEET THE SPECIAL THREAT TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE OF THE PRESENT DEEPENING ECONOMIC CRISIS."

ADOPTED BY THE NNLC NATIONAL RESIDENT COMMITTEE DURING A RECENT SESSION HELD AT THE MAJESTIC HOTEL IN CLEVELAND, OHIO, ON MARCH 20TH AND 21ST, THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:

POLICY STATEMENT ADOPTED BY RESIDENT COMMITTEE OF THE NNLC MARCH 21, 1954.

AMERICA'S STAKE IN THE FIGHT FOR JOBS AND DEMOCRACY FOR NEGRO WORKERS.

IN VIEW OF OUR CONCERN WITH THE WELFARE OF THE AMERICAN WORKERS, WE, IN THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL, SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF OUR POSITION AND DEMANDS FOR THE PRESERVATION AND EXTENSION OF ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY, WITH A CALL FOR SUPPORT OF THIS PROGRAM OF ACTION:

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS EXISTING IN OUR COUNTRY FOR NEGRO WORKERS AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY ALREADY HAS REACHED DEPRESSION PROPORTIONS THAT NO ONE CAN TRUTHFULLY CHALLENGE.

- MORE -

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF UNEMPLOYED NEGRO WORKERS, HISTORICALLY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST, NOW HAVE NO JOB PROSPECTS. THIS IS INDEED "GLOOM". AT NO TIME HAVE WE HAD FULL EMPLOYMENT OR FULL ACCESS TO EXISTING JOBS. WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE LAST HIRED AND ARE NOW BEING RAPIDLY FIRED. EVERY DEPRESSION, RECESSION OR WHATEVER IT MAY BE CALLED, HAS REPEATEDLY PLACED THE HEAVIEST BURDEN ON THE NEGRO WORKERS AND THE NEGRO COMMUNITY, INCLUDING THE NEGRO PROFESSIONALS, SMALL BUSINESS MEN AND CHURCH CONGREGATIONS. OUR YOUTH ARE CONFRONTED WITH A COMPLETELY BLANK FUTURE.

WE, IN THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL, BELIEVE IT TO BE OUR DUTY TO WARN THAT THE GATHERING DEPRESSION IMPOSES A GRAVE THREAT TO THE LIMITED PROGRESS THAT NEGRO WORKERS MADE DURING THE ROOSEVELT FEPC PERIOD OF WORLD WAR II. WE REITERATE THAT OUR ECONOMIC POSITION HAS BEEN WORSENING SINCE 1945. SINCE THAT DATE, THE COST OF LIVING INCREASED 48 PER CENT WHILE ALL INCOMES LAGGED BEHIND. THE PERCENTAGE RISE IN MEDIAN URBAN INCOME OF WHITE MEN WAS 42 PER CENT AS COMPARED WITH 34 PER CENT FOR NEGRO MEN. THE PLIGHT OF NEGRO WOMEN DETERIORATED DANGEROUSLY, WITH A DECLINE OF 1 PER CENT AS COMPARED WITH AN INCREASE OF 32 PER CENT IN THE INCOME OF WHITE WOMEN. THE FAILURE OF CONGRESS TO PASS FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLATION, AND OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT TO ENFORCE NON-DISCRIMINATORY CLAUSES IN GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS HAVE HELPED TO BREED DEPRESSION BY TAKING A MINIMUM OF $15 BILLION AND POSSIBLY $30 BILLION OF PURCHASING

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POWER OUT OF THE POCKETS OF THE PEOPLE. THE CORPORATIONS WITHHELD THIS TREMENDOUS SUM FROM THE POCKETS OF NEGROES, WOMEN WORKERS AND MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS THROUGH THE MANY FORMS OF WAGE DISCRIMINATION.

NEGRO FARMERS AND FARM WORKERS HAVE BEEN VIOLENTLY HIT BY THE DEVELOPING AGRICULTURAL CRISIS. MECHANIZATION AND LOSS OF FARMS IN THE SOUTH BETWEEN 1945 AND 1950, ACCORDING TO THE U. S. BUREAU OF CENSUS, IN THE STATES OF NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, GEORGIA, ALABAMA, MISSISSIPPI AND LOUISIANA WIPED OUT 67,000 JOBS, AFFECTING 14 PER CENT OF THE NEGRO FARMERS IN THESE SIX STATES.

THE ARCH WHITE SUPREMACIST GOVERNOR BYRNES OF SOUTH CAROLINA BOASTED, (IN AN ADVERTISEMENT THAT APPEARED IN THE NY TIMES IN FEBRUARY, 1953) WHILE INVITING RUN-AWAY SHOPS TO THE SOUTH FROM THE NORTH, THAT "AT THE OUTSET THE SUPPLY OF EMPLOYEES IS MORE THAN ADEQUATE AT ANY LOCATION IN THE STATE. TODAY 798,177 PEOPLE MAKE UP THE LABOR FORCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA. THIS IS BECAUSE THE MECHANIZATION OF FARMS HAS CAUSED THOUSANDS TO SEEK POSITIONS IN INDUSTRY. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT FOR EVERY FARM JOB AVAILABLE, 14 PERSONS FROM FARM BACKGROUNDS MUST SEEK OTHER EMPLOYMENT."

BUT EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE ABSENCE OF EFFECTIVE FEP LAWS LEAVES FEW, IF ANY, INDUSTRIAL JOBS AVAILABLE FOR NEGRO WORKERS IN THE SOUTH. WHERE, THEN, WITH DISCRIMINATION RUNNING RAMPANT, ARE LAID-OFF WORKERS TO FIND EMPLOYMENT? HOW CAN WE PAY THE MORTGAGES, EXTRA HIGH RENTS, FOOD, CLOTHING AND MEDICAL

- MORE -

BILLS? HOW ARE WE TO KEEP OUR FEW PERSONAL BELONGINGS SUCH AS FURNITURE, A RADIO, TELEVISION SET AND AUTOMOBILE? MUST WE STAND BY PATIENTLY AND FACE EVICTIONS, LOSS OF OUR HOMES AND PRESSING HEALTH PROBLEMS? ARE WE TO ACCEPT PAUPERIZATION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN INSUFFICIENT RELIEF? WE DO NOT PROPOSE TO STARVE. THE GRAIN, THE BUTTER, THE MEAT AND GRAVY ARE ON HAND - IN GOVERNMENT WAREHOUSES, BOUGHT WITH THE TAXPAYERS' MONEY.

HUNGER PANGS ARE FELT NOT ONLY BY UNEMPLOYED NEGRO WORKERS. STARVATION IS IN THE OFFING FOR ALL AMERICAN WORKERS.

WHITE WORKERS IN OUR COUNTRY HAVE AN IMPORTANT STAKE IN WHAT HAPPENS TO US IN OUR EFFORTS NOT TO BE EXTERMINATED FROM AMERICAN INDUSTRY. THE CORPORATIONS IN OUR COUNTRY DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE NEGRO WORKER, AND NOW SEEK TO DRIVE HIM OUT OF INDUSTRY AS A WHOLE, IN THE HOPE OF UTILIZING HIM AS A STRIKE-BREAKER AND AS A SOURCE OF "CHEAP LABOR". THIS IS THE STAKE OF THE AMERICAN WHITE WORKERS, AND THIS IS WHY THEY HAVE TO ACT, AND ACT NOW.

THE NNLC BITTERLY REJECTS AND WILL FIGHT ANY AND ALL ATTEMPTS TO USE NEGRO WORKERS AS SCABS AND SOURCES OF "CHEAP LABOR", SUCH ATTEMPTS TO PIT BLACK AGAINST WHITE, AN AGE-OLD TACTIC OF THE CORPORATIONS, DEMANDS A VIGOROUS AND ALL-OUT DEFENSE, ON THE PART OF THE WHITE WORKERS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT, OF THE JOB RIGHTS OF NEGRO WORKERS. UNLESS THIS IS DONE, THE FIGHT AGAINST THE THREAT OF THE NEW DEPRESSION CANNOT BE WON, AND HUNGER AND DEGRADATION WILL BE THE LOT OF US ALL.

- MORE -

IN ORDER TO HEAD OFF THE DEPRESSION AND ESTABLISH GREATER DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY, WE ADDRESS A SPECIAL APPEAL TO ALL WHITE WORKERS IN OUR COUNTRY, IN THE MINES, MILLS, FACTORIES, OFFICES, AND FARMS, NORTH, EAST, SOUTH AND WEST TO UNITE WITH US IN A COMMON PROGRAM OF PEACE-TIME EMPLOYMENT AND GREATER DEMOCRACY FOR ALL. WE WARN THE LABOR MOVEMENT THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO STAND MORE FIRMLY BY THE SIDE OF NEGRO WORKERS, AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE AS A WHOLE, IF DEPRESSION, MCCARTHYISM AND FASCISM ARE TO BE DEFEATED.

THE NNLC URGENTLY CALLS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE NEGRO OF AMERICA THAT INTERNATIONAL TRADE WITH ALL COUNTRIES IS AN URGENT PART OF PROVIDING JOBS FOR ALL WORKERS IN OUR NATION. OUR GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO CONDUCT PEACE-TIME FOREIGN TRADE WITH A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHICH COULD USE THE THINGS WE MAKE. OUR GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO MAKE GOODS AVAILABLE TO THE COLONIAL OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA WHERE COLORED PEOPLE NEED AND SEEK THE PRODUCTS WE MAKE IN THEIR EFFORT TO RAISE THEIR OWN STANDARDS OF LIVING. TO NEGRO PEOPLE IN OUR COUNTRY THIS IS NOW URGENTLY IMPORTANT BECAUSE OUR WELFARE DEPENDS ON SUCH TRADE, AS WELL AS THAT OF ALL AMERICAN WORKERS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

TO GUARD AGAINST THE GROWING THREAT OF FULL-SCALE DEPRESSION AND TO PROTECT THE INTEREST AND WELL-BEING OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND ALL WORKERS, THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL OFFERS THE FOLLOWING PROGRAM:

- MORE -

1. WE CALL UPON ALL CHAPTERS OF THE NNLC, AFL, CIO AND INDEPENDENT UNIONS, THE NEGRO PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS TO GIVE URGENT SUPPORT TO THIS PROGRAM:

   A). PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM.

   B). ALL-OUT HOUSING PROJECTS BY STATE, CITY AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

   C). BUILDING OF MUCH NEEDED SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS.

   D). THE BUILDING OF IRRIGATION AND FLOOD CONTROL, DAMS, THROUGHOUT THE LENGTH AND BREADTH OF OUR COUNTRY WHERE NEEDED.

2. WE CALL FOR THE IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF FEDERAL AND STATE FEP LEGISLATION AND EQUAL PAY LAWS BOTH FEDERAL AND STATE.

3. WE CALL FOR THE PASSAGE OF SENATOR MURRAY'S BILL FOR THE U.S. AND PUERTO RICO MINIMUM WAGE OF $1.25 AN HOUR.

4. WE CALL FOR A VIGOROUS FIGHT TO BRING UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION UP TO 2/3 OF GROSS PAY AS ADVOCATED BY THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE. ADDITIONAL ALLOTMENTS FOR DEPENDENTS AND EXTENSION OF THE NUMBER OF WEEKS NOW ALLOWED.

5. WE CALL UPON THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO PRESS OUR GOVERNMENT TO CONDUCT FULL-SCALE FOREIGN TRADE WITH ALL COUNTRIES INCLUDING CHINA, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA.

6. WE CALL UPON OUR NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT TO HALT THE EFFORTS OF MANY UNEMPLOYMENT OFFICES TO DRIVE NEGRO WOMEN OUT OF THE LABOR MARKET AND INTO DOMESTIC WORK UNDER THE THREAT OF DISQUALIFICATION FROM UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS.

7. WE CALL FOR GOVERNMENT MORATORIUM FOR UNEMPLOYED WORKERS ON MORTGAGES, EVICTIONS AND REPOSSESSION OF HOUSEHOLD GOODS.

8. WE CALL FOR AN END TO THE REQUIREMENT OF PAUPERISM IN MANY COUNTIES, CITIES AND STATES BEFORE WORKERS CAN BE ENTITLED TO WELFARE RELIEF.

9. WE CALL FOR A DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS GOODS NOW STORED IN THE GOVERNMENT WAREHOUSES ON A SYSTEMIZED BASIS TO UNEMPLOYED EVERYWHERE.

- MORE -

10. WE CALL FOR AN EXPANDED NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL JOB TRAINING PROGRAM FOR YOUTH WITH SPECIAL ATTENTION TO NEGRO YOUTH, WHO IN MOST SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY ARE DENIED TRAINING FOR AND ENTRY INTO THE SKILLED TRADES.

WE BELIEVE THAT THIS PROGRAM, SIDE BY SIDE WITH THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DISCRIMINATORY HIRING POLICIES OF THE RAILROADS AND OTHER BASIC INDUSTRIES WILL PROVIDE GREATER PURCHASING POWER AND JOBS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WE CALL UPON OUR COUNCILS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO CARRY ON VIGOROUS POLITICAL ACTION TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES.

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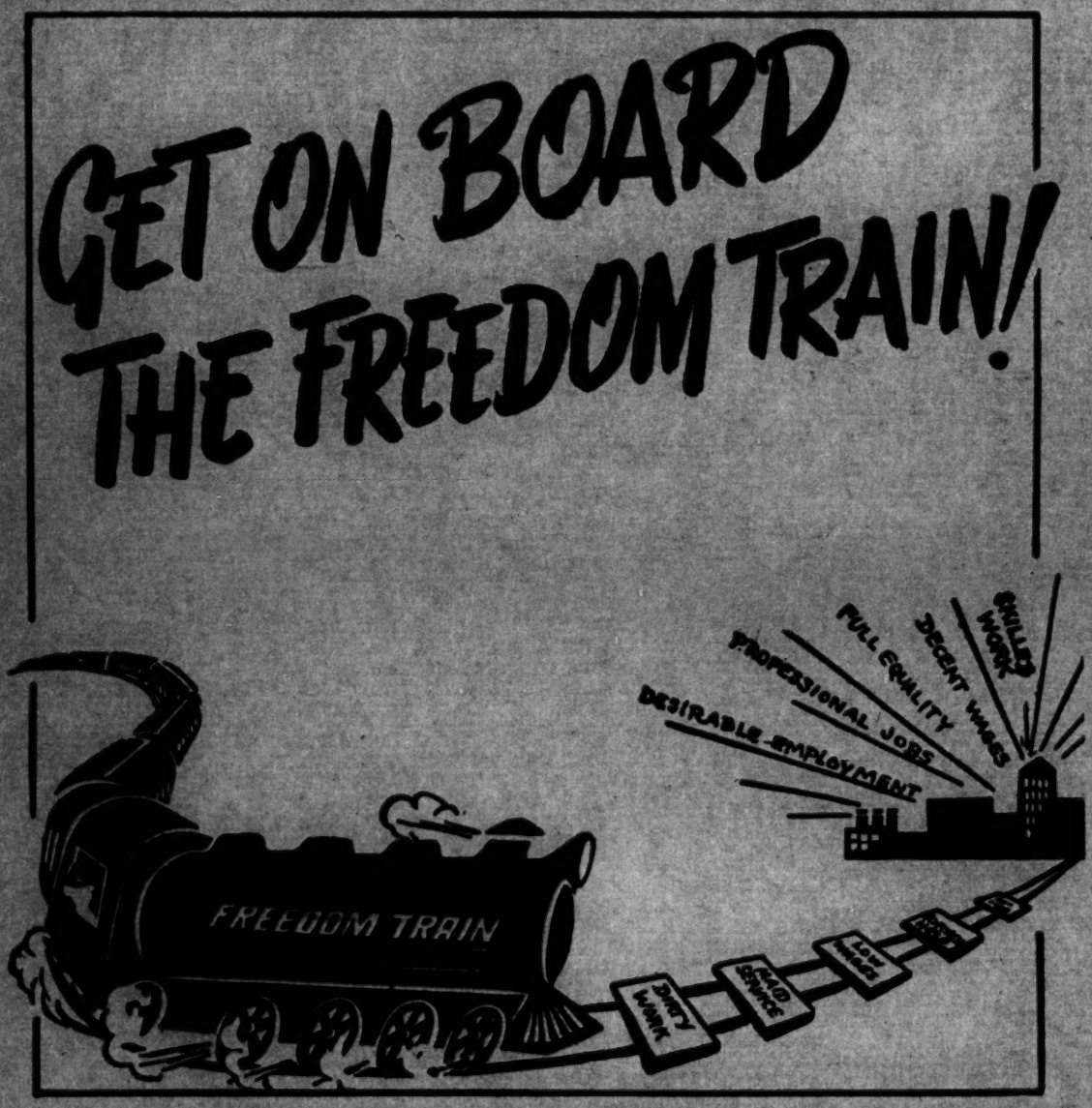

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

Cincinnati, October 27 — 28, 1951

PRICE: $1.00

TO ALL LOVERS OF FREEDOM

"Without Struggle There Is No Progress"

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

PROCEEDINGS of FOUNDING CONVENTION of the NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

OCTOBER 27 and 28
RITZ BALLROOM
1002 CENTRAL AVENUE
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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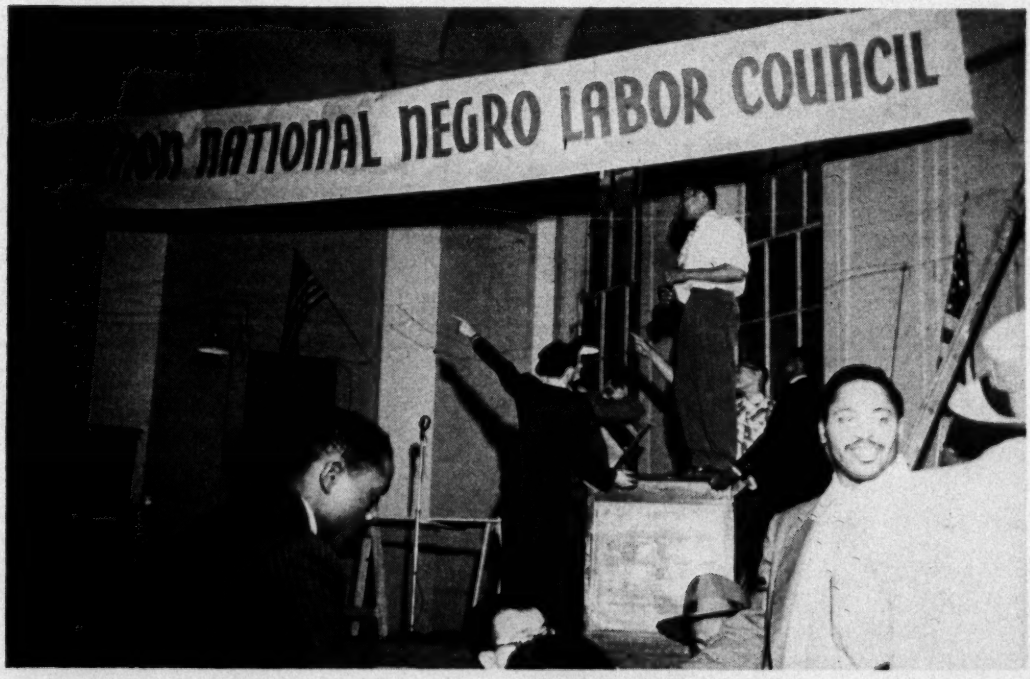
CALL TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

To all Negro workers and their white union brothers and sisters:

All over our land, including the deep South, the Negro people are awakening to the hard fact that they have but one direction in which to move — FORWARD. The cry for freedom that rings forth throughout the world from the throats of hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial colored peoples, stirs the smouldering fires of freedom that burn in the breasts of America's Negro people. It creates the need for a new kind of leadership that will move forward into a death struggle with jim crow and will not compromise with our oppressors and murderers of mankind.

NEGRO PEOPLE ARE ON THE MARCH

Already, the determination of the Negro people to fight back against acts of intimidation, terror and mob violence in legal and illegal form which have increased with the preparation for all-out war, has been demonstrated in many ways. Peekskill, USA, is our answer to those who attempt to cow us. Though Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven



Preparation of Hall Opening Day

died—victims of Southern jim crow rule—the hypocrisy of white America's claim of "freedom and justice for all" stands exposed to all the world. Freedom for whom? Freedom to do what?

The Negro people are reflecting the "save the free world," "equality of sacrifice," and other false and demagogic slogans publicized by greedy war profiteers and their agents in public office in order to better rob the workers and oppress the Negro people.

We know that American foreign policy cannot advance freedom for Asians and Africans until American domestic policy advances freedom for American Negroes as a people. The Negro people like the colored peoples throughout the world are on the march. We too, demand our freedom. We know the common enemy. He is the enemy of the workers, of the colonial peoples, and of the Negro people. He is the open or sly defender here at home of white supremacy. He can be defeated. He must be defeated. The needs of both Negro and white workers demand that he be defeated.

The pressure of such needs found expression in the historic Conference for Negro Rights held in Chicago in June 1950. More than a thousand Negro workers and their white allies assembled to plan programs to deal a death blow to jim crow. Negro trade union leaders, with the support of their white brothers, brought forth a program that spells an end to second-class citizenship for Negro people in America.

NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Our Chicago Conference issued a program calling for a model anti-discrimination clause to be included in every trade union contract; to end lily-white employment in all industries and job categories; for admission of Negro workers to all apprentice training courses; for full job opportunities in industry for Negro women; for an end to the miserable lot of Negro sharecroppers.

Together, Negro and white workers, we dedicated ourselves to the monumental task of building Negro Labor Councils in every industrial community in our nation to cement further the new kind of Negro-white unity that made Peekskill a symbol of progressive America. Negro Labor Councils are needed to forge unity of Negro and white workers in struggle against the mounting mob violence that victimizes innocent Negro men and women, and in struggle to achieve justice and equality as we believe true Americans define it. Only through such struggles can we raise to new heights a Negro-white unity which can attain the just economic demands of the trade unions, and bolster their defense against the coalition of bosses, bankers and Ku Klux politicians who ruthlessly try to smash all progressive trade unionism in America.

WE HAVE FORGED AHEAD

Within the past year, 23 such Negro Labor Councils have been established throughout the country. Already struggles have been waged both in behalf of and in defense of the rights of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and members of other minority groups. Fair employment practices legislation, peace negotiations in Korea, housing programs, union representation, protests against police brutality are only a few of the fields in which struggle has been initiated.

We have made small gains and won small victories. But new threats, new obstacles, new laws and new tech-

Registration of Delegates

niques make our task ever increasingly difficult. Many of those most outspoken on our behalf—both Negro and white—are being persecuted, fined and jailed. More discrimination, more frameups, more violence and terror, and more persecution of the Negro men, women and youth who have stepped out in front to give leadership to such struggles, are the answer of those who grow fat on the profits and other economic pay-offs of the jim-crow ghetto system.

NEGRO WORKER LEADERSHIP PARAMOUNT

Therefore the time has come to establish a permanent national organization in order to mobilize the greatest organized strength of Negro workers. National unity of Negro workers can produce the kind of leadership that will not be content with small individual victories—a job here; upgrading there; a life saved here; a mob stopped there—but who will be content with nothing less than full freedom for the Negro people and an end to the era of second-class citizenship. With the support of our allies, our white union brothers and sisters who join with us, we can raise the level of militant struggle for freedom to new heights and fulfill the heritage of Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, John Brown and other crusaders for freedom who have laid down a historic challenge to us.

WE CAN HALT TERROR AGAINST NEGRO PEOPLE

It is this will of Negro workers throughout the nation to exercise their power, to accept leadership in this struggle that can win now our full freedom and citizenship. Our valiant forefathers have not died in vain. We hold their flaming torch of freedom aloft.

With unity and organization under

fearless leadership, we will prevent the repetition of further legal lynchings of the Negro people, such as Willie McGee and the Martinsville 7, the frameups of Rosa Lee Ingram, Lieut. Gilbert, DuBois, Patterson and the Trenton 6. We will demand and win equality of opportunity to obtain the better jobs in industry for Negro men and women. We will demand and win decent, unsegregated housing; equal educational opportunities; the right to police protection and fair trials and to all the democratic liberties and human dignity.

In this spirit, we the National Continuations Committee of the Chicago Conference for Negro Rights, and the present Negro Labor Councils, call upon Negro workers, especially those in the trade union movement, and all other segments of the Negro people and our white brothers and sisters, to unite our scattered forces and to join in the founding of a national organization which will dedicate itself to this consistent and uncompromising struggle.

ON TO CINCINNATI

We have selected Cincinnati as the site for this historic convention because of its special significance. It was in this area during the period of the Underground Railroad that Negro men and women bridged their flight from slavery to "freedom." Cincinnati can and must be a successful point of departure for the fuller freedom which is ours.

CONVENTION SCHEDULE

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1951

8:00 P.M.—2:00 A.M. *Registration*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1951

10:00 A.M. — 12:00 Noon *Plenary Session*

- National Anthem
- Negro National Anthem
- Invocation
- Organization of Convention (Convention Rules)
- Introduction of the President—Ernie Thompson
- Keynote Address—William R. Hood

12:00 Noon — 1:00 P.M. *Lunch*

1:00 P.M.—3:00 P.M. *Panel Discussions*

- Panel 1—The Fight for Jobs
  - Effect of War Economy on Jobs for Negroes
  - Negro Women in Industry
  - Problems of Negro Youth
- Panel 2—The Fight for Freedom
  - Colonialism
  - Negro Oppression in the South
  - The Rising Tide of Fascism

3:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M. *Plenary Session*

- Report of Panels
  - Discussion
- Adjournment

8:30 P.M.—11:00 P.M. *Cultural Mass Meeting*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1951

10:00 A.M.—1:30 P.M. *Plenary Session*

- (10:25) Constitution Committee
- (10:45) Building the NNLC
  Program of Action (Executive Secretary Report)
- (11:05) Discussion of Program of Action
- (12:05) Credentials Committee Report
- (12:15) Resolution Committee Report

1:30 P.M.—2:30 P.M. *Lunch*

2:30 P.M.—5:30 P.M. *Plenary Session*

- (2:40) Report of Nominations Committee
  Election of Officers
- (4:00) Report of Resolutions Committee
- (5:15) Closing Remarks

5:30 P.M. *Adjournment*

OPENING SESSION

The Convention opened at 12:30 *P.M. October* 27, 1951 *with the singing of the* STAR SPANGLED BANNER, *followed by the Negro National Anthem,* LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING.

CHAIRMAN:

The person who has been at the very hub of activities and who has done more, in my opinion, than any one individual in order to make this Convention possible, a young Negro woman. She has distinguished herself in areas of trade union activity, as International Vice-President of DPOW, and she is a vital cog today in the new organization we propose to build. I present to you, Mrs. Vicki Garvin. (*Loud applause..*)

MRS. VICKI GARVIN:

On behalf of the National Planning Committee and the Cincinnati Arrangements Committee, I welcome you to our Founding Convention. We are making history today. The eyes of many people, nationally and internationally, are upon us to see whether we will keep faith and deliver. There can be no doubt that these sessions will be recorded as a major development in the struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality. We have enjoined a basic fight boldly and without compromise, and are dedicated to stay to the finish.

The fact that we, Negro and white workers, did succeed in assembling in Cincinnati is no small victory. Rarely has any organization at its initial stage been confronted with such fierce opposition. The mere issuance of our Convention Call brought upon our heads the most powerful combination of forces: big business which recognizes the threat our program presents to the maintenance of its super profits; government agencies such as the F.B.I., the Cincinnati City Council which passed a resolution condemning our Convention, and the Fire Department which harassed us; top trade union officials such as Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and James Carey who dared try to intimidate and to instruct their Negro members to boycott our Convention; the press and the radio which persistently attempted to smear our organization and create a "Peekskill atmosphere" in the city; several local and national Negro leaders who lack confidence in their people and who fear our militancy. In the midwest and in Cincinnati particularly, the attempts of those who would commit us to stillbirth were especially intense.

But we accepted the challenge, defied their power, won the people and defeated their efforts. We are here today, united and determined to set our Freedom Train in motion.

Let all take note that our very composition here disproves the charge that we are establishing a jim-crow organization. We are demonstrating in action that in our fight for equality and dignity white workers will unite with us under our leadership.

Our presence here today records still another victory—concrete proof that despite pressure and hysteria the Negro people will remain firm and support genuine struggles for pro-

Standing L. to R. JERRY BOYD, COLEMAN YOUNG, RAYMOND DENNIS, seated, L. to R. VICKI GARVIN, PEARL LAWS, BERT WASHINGTON

gress. We are indebted to the several Negro ministers, professionals, business men and women, including the management of the Manse Hotel, for their encouragement and cooperation. I am especially proud of the hundreds of Negro families in Cincinnati who rejected the red-baiting and opened their homes and hearts to all of us when the white hotels refused us accommodations. These working men and women responded immediately to a mere postcard or telephone call when we told them of our plight. My people would not see us on the streets. Their steadfastness, combined with our unity and strength had such impact that it made possible the subsequent blow to white supremacy—our last minute breakthrough, interracially, in the major white hotels. This strength, founded on the conviction that our program is sound and correct, helped to overcome the obstacles posed thus far. The clarity and unity we develop from here on in will see us over other hurdles.

Perhaps you may not know that due to the many problems we faced, the essence and details of this Convention were completed in but three weeks' time. Obviously there will be some weaknesses, rough spots and inconveniences our delegates are asked to bear, but which we hope to correct as speedily as possible. The "crusading" spirit generated by our movement will surely surmount these minor difficulties and set the tone for serious discussion.

A special tribute is due the small core of Cincinnati Negro Labor Council members who worked so diligently these trying weeks preparing the groundwork for our reception. To a cause that is just we are developing a quality of leadership, understanding and devotion that gives us

every reason to be confident that we will move forward rapidly, and help bring about in our lifetime the freedom, equality and security that are our heritage. I salute you.

INVOCATION

Our Father in Heaven, we come into Thy presence at this hour to give homage and reverence to Thee. We thank Thee for all Thy goodness, loving-kindness and tender mercy, O Lord God of mercy, most benign, who granteth grace in a thousand ways and unto thousands of generations. We come into Thy presence at this hour because Thou hast brought us safe from our birth until this hour. And O Lord God, as we come, we thank Thee for bringing us together; we ask that Thou bless this organization, and that Thou bless the constituents of this organization, O Lord God, as we go further into this program, we ask that Thou would use us for Thine own glory, and for the extension of Thy kingdom of Earth, and that Thou hear us and bless us. We pray in Jesus' name, Amen.

MRS. GARVIN:

From the National Electrical, Radio and Machine Shop Workers of America, Brother Ernie Thompson. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. THOMPSON:

Mr. Chairman, Guests, Brothers and Sisters: About this Convention, a lot of people have said to us, "We shall see." We say something new is happening. It gets in your bones; it's on the breezes; it's everywhere. What is it? It's a new wind of freedom blowing from the Seven Seas, and touching

ERNEST THOMPSON — U.E.R.W.M. of A.

the hearts of men and women everywhere. At the same time, the forces of reaction, war and greed, threaten the civil rights of all, in their efforts to dominate not only America, but the whole world. Through the use of the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Act, they threaten us with war, fascism and destruction. This new wind brought upon the American scene a new Negro, the sons and daughters of labor. (*Applause.*) They have come with one song in their hearts—the Song of Freedom. I am called upon to introduce one of them, one of them, who is a symbol of them all, and I feel that it is so important, I want to call upon some of our great Negro poets to bring him on the scene.

Because if we look back to what happened here in Cincinnati, it was here that the great freedom fighters began the great campaign. And after a while one of them had gone, Frederick Douglass; the Negro people were in trouble. And Paul Lawrence Dunbar, a native of Ohio, had this to say, in his poem, "Frederick Douglass":

A hush is over all the teeming lists,
And there is pause, a breath-space in the strife;
A spirit brave has passed beyond the mists
And vapors that obscure the sun of life.
And Ethiopia, with bosom torn,
Laments the passing of her noblest born.

She weeps for him another's burning tears—
She loved him with a mother's deepest love.
He was her champion through direful years
And held her weal all other ends above.
When Bondage held her bleeding in the dust,
He raised her up and whispered, "Hope and Trust."

For her his voice, a fearless clarion, rung
That broke in warning on the ears of men;
For her the strong bow of his power he strung
And sent his arrows to the very den
Where grim Oppression held his bloody place
And gloated o'er the miseries of the race.

We weep for him, but we have touched his hand,
And felt the magic of his presence nigh,
The current that he sent throughout the land,
The kindling spirit of his battle-cry.
O'er all that holds us we shall triumph yet,
And place our banner where his hopes were set!

Oh Douglass, thou hast passed beyond the shore,
But still thy voice is ringing o'er the gale!
Thou'st taught thy race how high her hopes may soar,
And bade her seek the heights, nor faint, nor fail,
She will not fail, she heeds the stirring cry,
She knows thy guardian spirit will be nigh,
And, rising from beneath the chastening rod,
She stretches out her bleeding hands to God!

But Douglass had gone. The war of slavery was over. And the forces of reaction, as the Northern Republicans, who had destroyed the slave government, deserted the Negro people. And terror marched in the land. These were dark days, indeed, for Negro America. But as one of our other poets said, "That out of this darkness, and out of the night, Black man crawls to the dawn of light; Beaten by lashes and bound by chains; Searching, Seeking for the Freedom Train." Then came the period, the slow period, the period of Booker T. Washington. A hat-in-hand period. But this did not answer the question. And then came upon the scene the Niagara Movement of a new fight back led by W. E. B. Du Bois, Trotter, Forbes and the Negro intellectuals. A new period was beginning. Then followed the NAACP, then came World War I, Depression; then World War II—the fight against fascism.

And out of this all was being hemmed and hewed this new Negro; and I would like for Sterling Brown, the modern Negro poet to describe it. He says this about him:

They bought off some of your leaders
You stumbled, as blind men will . . .
They coaxed you, unwontedly
soft-voiced . . .
You followed a way.
Then laughed as usual.
They heard the laugh and wondered;
Uncomfortable;
Unadmitting a deeper terror . . . .
The strong men keep a comin' on
Gittin' stronger . . . .
What, from the slums
Where they have hemmed you,

What, from the tiny huts
They could not keep from you—
What reached them
Making them ill at ease, fearful?
Today they shout prohibition at you:
"Thou shalt not this"
"Thou shalt not that"
"Reserved for whites only."
You laugh.
One thing they cannot prohibit;
Strong men comin' on
Strong men getting stronger
Strong men stronger.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor to present the symbol of this new Negro, this symbol of a fighter for freedom, for unity, a leader of our Council and a leader of one of the largest, the largest local unions in America. Somebody said, "I saw in the paper the other day that this guy don't speak for them, the leaders of their particular union." I'd like to say like Langston Hughes' *Simple* said, "He sure speaks for us," and in the words of Simple, he's here to speak his mind. (*Loud applause.*)

WILLIAM R. HOOD, *Secretary, Ford Local 600; President, National Negro Labor Council*:

Brothers and Sisters: This is an historic day. On this day, we the delegated representatives of thousands of workers, black and white, dedicate ourselves to the search for a new North Star, the same star that Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner and John Brown saw rise over the city of Cincinnati over a century ago.

We come conscious of the new stage in the Negro people's surge toward freedom. We come to announce to all America and to the world that Uncle Tom is dead. (*Applause.*) "Old Massa" lies sleeping in the cold, cold grave. (*Applause.*) Something new is

WILLIAM HOOD — Local 600, U.A.W.-CIO

cooking on the Freedom Train.

We come here today because we are conscious at this hour of a confronting world crisis. We are here because many of our liberties are disappearing in the face of a powerful war economy and grave economic problems face working men and women everywhere. No meeting held anywhere in America at this mid-century point in world history can be more important nor hold more promise for the bright future toward which humanity strives than this convention of our great National Negro Labor Council. For here we have gathered this basic force of human progress: the black sons and daughters of labor and our democratic white brothers and sisters whose increasing concern for democracy, equality and peace is America's bright hope for tomorrow.

We, the Negro working sons and daughters, have come to Cincinnati to keep faith with our forefathers and mothers who landed right here upon the banks of the Ohio river in their dash for freedom from chattel slavery

through the underground railroad. We come here to Cincinnati to pledge ourselves that the fight for economic, political and social freedom which they began, shall not have been in vain.

Yes, we are here as proud black Americans, working men and women; proud of the right to live, without humiliation. We are proud, too, because of our democratic white brothers and sisters who have come here; proud because these staunch allies are not afraid to stand shoulder to shoulder with us to fight for that which is decent and right.

The Negro Labor Council is our symbol, the medium of expression of our aims and aspirations. It is the expression of our desire and determination to bring to bear our full weight to help win first-class citizenship for every black man, woman and child in America. (*Applause.*) We say that these are legitimate aims. We say that these aspirations burn fiercely in the breast of the Negro in America. And we further say that millions of white workers echo our demands for freedom. These white workers recognize in the struggle for Negro rights, the prerequisites of their own aspirations for a full life and a guarantee that the rising tide of fascism will not engulf America. (*Applause.*)

And we say that those whites who call the National Negro Labor Council "subversive" have an ulterior motive. We know them for what they are. They are the common oppressors of both people, Negro and white. We charge that their false cry of "subversive" is calculated to maintain and extend the condition of common oppression. We say to those whites: "You have never seen your mothers, sisters and daughters turned away from thousands of plant gates, from the airlines, the offices, stores and other places of desirable employment, insulted and driven into the streets many times when they tried to eat in public places —simply because of their color. You have never been terrorized by the mob, you have never been shot in cold blood by the police; you have never had your home burned when you moved out of the ghetto into another neighborhood — simply because you were black. You are not denied the franchise; you are not denied credit in banks, denied insurance, jobs, upgrading—because of the pigmentation of your skin. You are not denied union membership and representation. You do not die ten years before the rest of the people because of these many denials of basic rights."

Therefore, you who call this National Negro Labor Council "subversive" cannot understand the burning anger of the Negro people in America, our desire to share the good things our labor has produced for America. You do not understand this. So you sit like Walter Winchell, one of our attackers, in the Stork Club in New York and see that great Negro woman artist, Josephine Baker, humiliated and you do not raise a finger. (*Applause.*)

The Negro Labor Council is dedicated to the proposition that these evils shall end and end soon. (*Applause.*) The world must understand that we intend to build a stronger bond of unity between black and white workers everywhere to strengthen American democracy for all. If this be subversion—then make the most of it. (*Applause.*)

A most significant event took place in Chicago in June of 1950. Over 900 delegates, Negro and white, gathered

there to chart a course in the fight for Negro rights. They came from the mines, mills, from factories of America. Many of them were leaders in the organized labor movement: seasoned, militant fighters these were. They voiced the complaints for Negro America.

BILL OF PARTICULARS

The delegates were told that as you looked throughout the land you could see Negro men and women standing in long lines before the gates of the industrial plants for jobs, only to be told no help was wanted—while at the same time white workers were hired. Negro women are denied the right to work in the basic sections of American industry, on the air lines, in the stores and other places. Those who were hired into industry in World War II have for the most part been systematically driven out – often in violation of union contracts. Vast unemployment since this war has struck the Negro community a severe blow.

UPGRADING

In thousands of factories throughout the land, Negroes were denied upgrading and better job opportunities. Too often the unions did not defend or fight for the right of Negroes to be upgraded.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

We heard there, in Chicago, that Negro workers were denied any opportunity to participate in the great number of apprenticeship training programs either in industry or in government, in such fields as the building trades, machine tools, printing and engraving, and other skills.

LILY-WHITE SHOPS

We found that thousands of lily-white shops exist throughout the land where no Negro has ever worked.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

We discovered that Federal, state and city governments maintain a severe policy of Jim Crow discrimination, beginning with the White House, and moving on down to the lowest level of municipal government.

SOUTHERN ECONOMY

Our black brothers and sisters from the South told of unemployment, low wages, wage differentials, Jim Crow unions, peonage, sharecrop robbery, and misery and destitution. They described the perpetuation of conditions that are cruelly reminiscent of slavery in Twentieth Century America.

TRADE UNION JOB DISCRIMINATION

Black firemen and brakemen came to tell of the collusive agreements between railroads and the Railroad Brotherhoods to throw Negroes out of the railroad industry after a hundred years or more. And of the denial of union membership in these unions, with no representation. A number of AFL unions were singled out for their policy of exclusion and job "monkey business" regarding black workers. We also learned that the CIO had joined the war crowd of colonial oppression and exploitation and was running fast from its early position of the Thirties when John L. Lewis was at its head and it fought for Negro rights.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Many of the delegates in Chicago were stunned to hear of the thousands of denials of civil rights in public places in every state in the union. We

were saddened and angered when we heard about the frame-ups of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, and the Trenton Six and of countless other Negroes because they were black and for no other reason. We were horrified to hear of the many police killings of Negroes from New York to Birmingham, Alabama.

Negro families were still hemmed into ghettoes, charged higher rents, chained by restrictive covenants, mob-terror, and finally even bombed if they were not lucky enough to get out of the way. The rats are given ample opportunity to wreak their damage upon human beings, their destruction through disease and death.

Our delegates made it clear, in that 1950 Convention, that inferior Jim Crow schools are still the policy in the South, and Jim Crow quotas in the colleges in the North. The desire of black children for education and a full, useful life is yet a dream unrealized.

THE MANDATE

Is there any wonder then that this great Chicago gathering of the black working sons and daughters of our land said that this oppression can no longer exist in our America? Or is it any wonder that we received the full support of those stalwart, democratic white workers present there who truly love democracy and recognize our common basic unity of interests? So it was that they, in all righteous indignation, gave unto us, the continuators' organization, a mandate. They said to us: "Go out and build strong the Negro Labor Councils throughout the land. Build them into instruments of democracy, equality, and unity."

They gave unto us the main task of fighting on that front which we know best—the economic front for jobs, upgrading, for an end to the lily-white shops, for apprenticeship training, government jobs, local and state fair employment practices legislation, the non-discrimination clause in union contracts, and finally, with emphasis, the right of Negro women to work anywhere and everywhere. (*Applause.*)

They gave unto us the mandate to build an organization composed in the main of Negro workers, united and determined to wage an uncompromising struggle against Jim Crow —to build an organization which can unite with white workers who are willing to accept and support our program—to exclude no freedom fighter!

And they commissioned us to cooperate with those existing organizations, community and trade union, which have undertaken genuine campaigns for the full citizenship of the Negro people. We were directed to build a new type of organization—not an organization to compete with those existing organizations of the Negro people already at work on many civil rights struggles. The delegates who met at Chicago demanded an organization of Negro workers from a wide variety of industries, organized and unorganized, from the great industrial centers of the North, the urban communities of the South, and the farm workers from the great rural areas. Such an organization will encourage Negroes to join unions and urge unions to organize Negroes. It will call upon the entire Negro people to support labor's fight.

TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE

To the Negro people, they said unto us, say: In the Civil War thou-

sands upon thousands of Negro workers who took arms in the Union cause, won, not only their own freedom—the freedom of the Negro people—but by abolishing the institution of slave labor, provided the basis for the development of free trade unions in the United States of America.

And so, even today, as the National Negro Labor Council charts the course ahead to help the whole Negro people and their sincere allies, we sound a warning note to American reaction and bigotry. For if 15 million Negroes, led by their alert sons and daughters of labor, and united together and joined by the 15 million organized white workers in the great American Labor movement, say that there shall be no more Jim Crow in America—then there shall be no more Jim Crow! (*Loud applause.*)

If 30 million Americans—15 million Negro people united with 15 million workers—join with the Jewish people to say there shall be no more anti-Semitism, and mean it, then there will be no more anti-Semitism! (*Applause.*)

If 15 million Negroes, inspired by their true leaders of labor, united with their natural allies in the trade unions, demand an end to the persecution of the foreign-born, then the persecution of the foreign-born will come to an immediate end! (*Applause.*)

If these 30 million, black and white alike, say: "Leave DuBois, Robeson, Patterson, Lieutenant Gilbert and Josephine Baker alone, for they speak for our freedom,"—they will speak for freedom! (*Applause.*)

If this same combination speaks with one united voice for peace—there shall be peace! (*Applause.*)

We, your black sons and daughters, pledge to you that we have a pool of mighty strength to put at your service, to the end that you will have economic, political and social equality, so that you might enjoy the great and good things of our land.

We say to you: "Be confident, for we have brought to this great, democratic fight many white workers who love democracy and who know that we have worked side by side with them, fought side by side with them on the picket lines against the giant corporations. And they know that we know—and will not be divided from us, no matter what.

There are great walls in our U. S. democracy. There are great barriers behind which men's minds, souls, bodies and spirits are imprisoned by poverty, illiteracy, disease, and deceit. With our new John Browns we will break down these discriminatory barriers. Yes, we will break down these great walls of hypocrisy, together with our new John Browns, and march on for full and complete emancipation for the Negro people.

And behind the 15 million Negroes of the United States stand 180 million of our African brothers and sisters, sixty million of our kindred in the West Indies and South and Central America—for whom, as for us, war and the Point Four program would mean continued slavery and exploitation.

As our new and so vitally needed organization enters into the fight for the rights of the Negro people, we extend our hand in unity and cooperation to other great Negro organizations which have historically struggled for those objectives. And we may repeat here that we are mandated to concentrate our fire upon that area we as workers know best—the economic front.

To George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier, to Lester Granger of the Urban League, to Councilman Jesse D. Locker, of Cincinnati—all of whom attacked our Council at the beck and call of the big white folks, we warn you: "Negro America is mad, hurt, and humiliated. You have spent your lives growing fat on Jim Crow while our brothers and sisters cannot find jobs, are shot down in cold blood, have their homes burned and bombed. You may yell when the big white folks tell you to, in order to keep us down, but the day of the white-haired 'Uncle Tom,' and the sleek 'Uncle Thomas' is at end." (*Loud applause.*)

Since June of last year, Negro Labor Councils have sprung up throughout the country—North, South, East, and West. The response of the Negro workers to the opportunity to unite their strength has been overwhelming. The only question most of them have asked is whether or not the Council is a hard-hitting organization.

Our Councils have begun tackling the task given us by the Chicago conference for Negro rights. A number of Councils are carrying on campaigns to end discrimination in apprenticeship training set up by the skilled trades. We have sought to do this in conjunction with the unions in the field, the employer and government agencies.

Lest we be misunderstood, however, we intend to take any and all steps to win. We have begun campaigns to convince the trade unions to adopt our model anti-discrimination contract clause. We have been carrying on campaigns for city and state FEPC legislation with teeth. The outstanding of such campaigns was a campaign run in Detroit by the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council. Our Council there secured some 40,000 signatures to petitions for referendum by the voters of Detroit. The enemies of FEPC and the mealy-mouthed hush-hushers did, and are doing, everything they can to keep Fair Employment Practices off the ballot, while the City Council still refuses to pass on FEPC legislation.

During the course of our Council building there has been opposition from some of the trade union leaders, particularly to this convention. They have accused us of attempting dual unionism, and some of them have gone so far as to advise Negro workers not to participate in this convention. To them we say: "Look at the bill of particulars, then tell us if it is not true that we are second-class citizens in this land." Negroes are still barred from many trade unions in this country, denied apprenticeship training, upgrading, and refused jobs in many, many places.

We are not represented in the policy making bodies of most international unions. We say when the mobs came to Emerald Street in Chicago, and to Cicero, Illinois, we did not see the great trade unions move. Yet, the basic right to live in Cicero was denied, not only to the family of Harvey Clark, but to the Negro people as a whole. We say that we will no longer permit the denial of these basic rights in our country and are pooling our strength for that purpose. We intend to do it on the basis of co-operation and unity, wherever possible, with the organized labor movement.

We wish to say further that the day has ended when white trade union leaders or white leaders in any organization may presume to tell Negroes on what basis they shall come together to fight for their rights. (*Applause.*)

Three hundred years has been enough of that. We black people in America ask for your cooperation—but we do not ask for your permission! (*Ovation.*)

We believe it to be the solemn duty of trade unions everywhere, as a matter of vital self-interest, to support the Negro workers in their efforts to unite and play a more powerful role in the fight of the Negro people for a first-class citizenship based upon economic, political and social equality. We believe, further, that it is the trade unions' duty and right to encourage the white workers to join with us and support their Negro brothers and sisters in the achievement of these objectives.

Since June of last year many things have happened—the frame-up victims, Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven and many others have died. Mobs came to Cicero, Illinois, home-burnings and bombings took place, the Ku Klux Klan rides openly again, the old Confederate flag is being displayed openly throughout America, and often as a battle-flag of our troops in Korea—this ancient symbol of slavery and oppression. A war in Korea has involved our country with the colonial people of Asia. The Taft-Hartley Act, Smith Act and the McCarran Act, under the hysterical lashings of the McCarthys and other neo-fascists, threaten to destroy all civil liberties. The Negro Labor Council therefore has come into being at a time when democracy needs fearless champions. (*Applause.*)

We accept this role that history has thrust upon us; we gladly act as America's conscience. We warn America that the whole world watches. World peace hangs in the balance, while the majority of the world's people are exploited and oppressed.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, in a speech made at the 1950 CIO Convention, also warned our country when he said in his address, "The Pathway to Peace":

"Now, let us take a look in all humility at these free peoples that we are. Who are they? Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Germany and the United States. We are indeed the free peoples in the sense that our domestic institutions are the freest and the most flexible institutions on earth, but there isn't a one of us, especially our European allies, who hasn't been busy during the last 200 years securing and sustaining their freedom by the political domination, economic exploitation and social humiliation of over half the human race."

I further quote Dr. Mordecai Johnson:

"If we look at ourselves in the way that history shows it to us, we are probably the most ruthless dominators and exploiters and humiliators of human life that ever spanned the pages of history. For all of a hundred years now, we have had in our hands scientific and technical intelligence, the most creative weapon of economic and political constructiveness that ever came into the hand of man. We have shown what we could do with that weapon by building up the great economic and political structure of the United States and Britain, France, Germany and Japan. But for 200 years, while we have had it in our power to build up likewise, the economic and political freedom of India, Africa, China, Malaya, Indo-China and the peoples of the Near East, we not only have not done so, but we have used that very power to conquer them in war, to dominate them politically, to exploit their natural resources and their labor, and to segregate and humiliate them upon the land upon which their fathers have died and in the presence of the graves which hold the bodies of their mothers.

"For over 100 years, there have been over a billion human beings who have been seething with indignation against us to get a taste of freedom before they die. . . . Now suppose you were Indo-Chinese, wouldn't you be amazed at us? For over 100 years the French have been in Indo-China, dominating them politically, strangling them economically, and humiliating them in the land of their fathers.

"We haven't ever sat down with the French and demanded that they change that system. And in the defect of leadership on our part, they have turned to the Communists, and the Communists have given them leaders, they have trained their troops and given them money, and now it looks as though they can win. And as they are about to win their liberty, we rush up to the scene and say, 'Dear brothers, what on earth are you all getting ready to do? Are you going to throw yourselves into the hands of this diabolical conspiracy under the false notion that they can bring you freedom? Why, they aren't free; we are the free people of the world, we have democratic institutions, we are your friends, we will send you leaders, we will send you ammunition, we will send you bread.'

"And they look at us in amazement and they say, 'Brother, where have you been? Why, if we'd 'a' known you was a-comin,' we'd of baked a cake.' "

And, believe it or not, Phil Murray agreed with that speech. He said, said he, "It was an inspirational address which could only come from the soul of a man."

MOVEMENT OF STRUGGLE

Brothers and Sisters! Eloquence is a mighty weapon in the struggle for our just demands. But what is more eloquent than the struggle itself? The big white bosses, the men in Washington, will move far more rapidly when they see millions of us in struggle than when they hear speeches alone. The Negro Labor Councils are, above all, organizations of struggle. We stand for the unity of all Negro workers, irrespective of union affiliations, organized and unorganized; for the unity of Negro and white workers together; for the unity of Negro workers with the whole Negro people in the common fight for Negro liberation; and for the alliance of the whole Negro people with the organized labor movement —the keystone combination for any kind of progress in our country.

With this in mind, and looking forward to the building of a mighty movement of Negro Labor Councils throughout the length and breadth of the land, it is my opinion that this Founding Convention should be remembered in the years to come as the gathering which launched a major, nation-wide struggle to win a basic demand of the Negro workers, and the Negro people as a whole. For this reason I propose that this Founding Convention project a central national campaign for an Executive Order from the President of the United States to establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Order and a Federal Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

This campaign should aim at securing the signatures of hundreds of thousands—yes millions—of Americans, Negro and white, on a national petition. It should include mass meetings, use of radio and television, a drive to secure union endorsements for the Executive Order, and support from the most varied community organizations. It should sponsor a tour of prominent speakers. It should look to Negro History Week in February 1952 as a milestone in that campaign, during which period notice should be served on the President that he is

COLEMAN YOUNG — Local 600 U.A.W.-CIO

expected to *act*—and not just double-talk—for the Executive Order. Such a national campaign will bring the Negro Labor Council's movement into hundreds of cities and communities of our country. Many tens of thousands of new workers will thereby learn of this great movement for the first time. It will provide a splendid opportunity to establish new councils and further build the existing ones. It will spark our great organizing drive.

It will also provide a new opportunity for cooperation with the various unions and the important civic, fraternal and church organizations among the Negro people, thereby furthering our basic principle of unity. Such a national campaign, far from hindering the local campaigns for FEPC, for housing, against discrimination and Jim Crow, will serve to stimulate and advance them.

This Convention will also adopt a Constitution and a Preamble and other important documents, all of which are of utmost importance. These, too, are instruments in the fight. For nothing we say or write here will have any meaning in the weeks and months to come, unless we recognize that they are our battle-flags. And battle-flags are meant to be carried into battle. Our great documents, our great battle-flags, must not be wrapped up and put away for two years after we adjourn here tomorrow. We must carry our fighting standards out of this Convention, unfurled and into battle.

We face a number of great tasks. We are called upon to chart a course that will win thousands of new job opportunities for Negro men and women, that will convince the organized labor movement to complete the organization of the South on the basis of equality and non-segregation, that will help bring the franchise to all the peoples in the South. (*Applause.*)

We are on the high road to a more democratic America. We are on the way toward breaking the grip of the Dixiecrats and the northern reactionaries on our national life. I know that as you hammer out a program in these two days you will speed up the Freedom Train; you will give greater spirit and meaning to the Negro Labor Councils; you will adopt the battle cry of the great Frederick Douglass: "Where there is no struggle, there is no progress!"

We move on, united—and neither man nor beast will turn us back. We will achieve in our time, for ourselves and for our children, a world of no Jim Crow; of no more "white men's jobs" and "colored only" schools; a world of freedom, full equality, security and peace. Our task is clearly set forth. Brothers and Sisters, we move on to struggle and to victory! (*Sustained applause and ovation.*)

(End of Morning session)

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Saturday Afternoon, October 27

Panel 1: FIGHT FOR JOBS

Panel Chairman, SAM PARKS, *Packinghouse Workers*

MR. THIBODEAUX:

Just for the record my name is Al Thibodeaux (from the Marine Cooks and Stewards, San Francisco Local).

The topic which I have chosen to attempt to speak to you on with some amount of clarity is one that I imagine we find different all over the country. Unfortunately, the economic structure of our country today puts us in a position where it seems that there must be war to have jobs. We as Negroes have found that this is not true. We have found that in different parts of the country, different means are used against us to keep us from these jobs. For instance, the present war, or the present march towards war, is one that is absolutely scientific.

It means that the Negro naturally in most instances is isolated or the absolute door is closed against him. We find that in inland places the Negroes have a thing that they call the loyalty oath; and since I am from the Pacific Coast I would like to tell you of one that we, the Negro, with some of our white allies have been faced with on the Pacific Coast for over a year. We call it screening and it's not the Hollywood kind. The Negro people for the first time in the history of this country, have been declared subversives toward the country and the whole group of us are out to overthrow the government and sell it all away. This act has been used against us on the West Coast, in most instances, like the Maritime Industry where we have the majority of our workers Negroes who are seamen or dock workers.

We in attempting to go to work on the docks or sail the ships on the Pacific Coast now we're screened by the Coast Guard. Naturally there is a different system used for the seamen and a different system used for the dockers. The seamen have to go through one screening process, but the dockers have to go through two processes; the Coast Guard and the Navy. We found by attempting to get the absolute facts with the help of the research directors and lawyers that 65% of all persons screened from these ships and from the docks are Negroes. Now the reason for this is a point that I attempted to make in the first opening of this, that with the country being geared toward a war we're being told on the Pacific Coast in so many ways that if we don't support this war or if we don't say to our fellow worker you support along with us, that we are to be taken off the ships and taken off the docks. The procedure used against the Negroes here is a nickel in the telephone slot to the Coast Guard and bingo you have no more job.

We naturally here from the Pacific Coast have come almost in a mass body, each person with an individual resolution. We found, after comparing notes, I am very happy to find, that the entire act of the screening has been put into a resolution. The convention as such will be presented

SAM PARKS — U.P.H.W. of A. CIO

with this resolution and attempt to help and see that the war economy as far as the Negro people are concerned, not only on the Pacific Coast but all over this country, is put into a position where we, the Negroes will not have to support a war in which we the Negroes get nothing, but also that we will be able to get jobs, the jobs we are entitled to as American citizens and live, we hope, in a peaceful world. I don't think I have much more to cover on this point, after being told the amount of time is so short I am fully convinced that using screening as an example on the Pacific Coast those of you who happen to be in other parts of the country must be faced with a situation that happens to be the same but under a different name.

With that I would like to thank you for your attention, and ask you that when such a resolution is presented before the Convention, you support it with all of your might and do everything which is humanly possible after supporting to see that something is done so that we the Negro people should be able to get the jobs which we have earned and do deserve. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

The Brother opened the discussion of the Job Panel by briefly reporting on the war economy and its effect on the Negro in regard to acquiring jobs. He gave an exact picture as to what's happening on the West Coast, to a screening process put up there I assume by the Federal Government; and most of the people that are screened and not given jobs are Negroes. In essence for you that did not hear this was the picture projected. Most of you from every locality here have some similar situation. I know last week, being in the Motor City, I heard of people being laid off there. It's a cause for the layoff. In industry throughout the country, unemployment is rising. Most of the people unemployed, as always, have been the Negro people. On this particular subject I would like to open the floor for discussion and ask you as delegates to come forward. As you stand to speak, state your name, your union and where you are from. So the floor is now open for discussion on this particular subject.

OLIVER H. GREGORY:

My name is Oliver H. Gregory, I am from Charleston, West Virginia. I am a member of the United Mine Workers of America, Local 2236, District 617, Southern West Virginia. I am a bituminous coal miner. I have been a coal miner for the past 23 years, am married and have four children; and I find the same conditions exist-

ing in the coal field as you find in any other industry in the country.

On the particular job where I work, being employed by the Winifred Coal Collieries, at Winifred, West Virginia, when time comes to eliminate a job it is always the Negro who loses the job. Twenty-seven months ago today, when I went to work for the Winifred Coal Collieries there was 125 Negroes on the job and 67 whites; today it is exactly the reverse. There is 125 whites on the job and 67 Negroes—and there is a reason for that. It is the American capitalistic way of doing things that is causing our sisters and brothers to suffer. In West Virginia, as in all other states of this union, we find that Negro men and women are suffering from the loss of employment whilst the uneducated, the white person who is incapable of taking care of the job that I can take care of is given preference of the work. And I believe through the founding of this National Negro Council of Labor, that if we are conscientious in our objectives that we can eliminate it. (*Applause.*)

And until we stand together as union men and women who believe in social and economic equality for all, we will all sink together. And as a delegate to this convention, I am pleading with you on bended knees to come to our rescue, both black and white. I know the Brother who preceded me on the rostrum here was telling the truth because I have traveled in about twenty states in this union, and I find this condition existing in each state among the Negro workers. The most ignorant white worker we have is elevated above the most intelligent Negro worker we have. And if that is a form of democracy, then deliver me from democracy. (*Applause.*) I do not desire to make a racial issue but the racial issue has made itself. And as Brother Hood spoke here earlier this evening, if we don't do something about it, no one else is going to do it. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

OLIVER GREGORY — U.M.W. of A. Local 2236 Dist. 617

HARRISON:

From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, steelworker, Local union #1308, C. I. O. from District 19. I am a laborer with twenty-seven years of service for one company, a record unblemished by reports of the company for which I work.

Twenty-three years ago, or twenty-seven years ago to be exact, I came North seeking a chance to increase my living standard. I was told by the corporation that if I came and gave honest service and showed that I had the ability, that I could have a chance for advancement. I was listed as a laborer. After twenty-seven years of hard service, I still remain a laborer. I resented certain actions by the company and the union officials to take up

certain issues regarding the upgrading of Negroes. For this I was penalized, and finally ousted.

I might recite to you one instance, not because it is important to me as an individual, but because as a Negro, it would affect you too. I was only about five years away from my pension, which would amount to about $100 per month, and an insurance which amounted to about $3,000. The Company had an agreement with the union to pay certain salary increases on certain jobs after they had been re-evaluated to pay a wage known as differential wages which amounted to about $30,000, for about 20 workers. The company played ball with this particular issue over a period of two years. The union officials of this particular local took an attitude of complacency, and did not force the issue. I as an individual seeking chance of advancement of my people and myself and family saw an opportunity to fight. I did so, by-passing the officials of the union for the reason that they would not fight for me or my people. So after some great battles, we the workers there, twenty in number, on this particular job won for these workers $20,000. In doing so the Company says to me, "Harrison, you're sticking your nose into something that does not concern you and you'll pay." So on the day we were to receive our wages one of the company officials said to me, "You are going to get $550 back pay." I was happy—that was big money in anybody's bank. But I received $1.27. I knew then what he meant by being penalized.

I had no one to fight my battles for me because of the enemy that had begun to creep into the union among the official staff because they thought I became too nosey. This may be unimportant as an individual; nevertheless you my friends, both white and black, unite to fight against discrimination, against segregation, against all forms of oppression. The day is not far hence when you'll be pushed out and left with no security. That is the very basis for exploitation, and Jim Crowism, and segregation. When that is done, when you and I, white workers and black workers unite to eliminate discrimination, outlaw Jim Crowism, every black man in this country can point to Old Glory with pride and say, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." (*Applause.*)

TED SHIP, *U.P.W., Local* 20:

Our first speaker spoke of screening, on the West Coast. I'd like to open with a law that came into effect before screening became effective. Loyalty Order, Executive Order 8935, which was a loyalty order against Federal workers, causing them to sign an affidavit proving their loyalty to the Federal Service in order to be an employee of the Government. This order became effective in 1947 and since that time many such orders have sprung up in our cities, states and throughout the country.

But our subject is jobs or the effect of war economy. The effect of war economy in the federal service is something I'd like to speak on. Recently, in New York City, about 400 general service employees, the employees that clean the buildings, operate elevators and do the handy work around the buildings were laid off for economy reasons. Throughout the country, over 4,000. This is false economy because there is money to pay these peo-

Left to right, ERNEST THOMPSON, ERNEST DeMAIO, JAMES WATT

ple, the buildings need cleaning so somebody has got to do the work. The majority of these people are Negro workers, therefore this lay-off has affected nearly 4,000 Negro workers throughout the country.

In the professional positions in the government, there are few, and very few, you'll find only a handful of top position Negro workers. It's not because they're ineligible for the jobs, because they are not hired from the register; they have a choice of one out of three and the Negro employees are overlooked in choosing for these positions. Recently in the past year there were two psychiatrists in one branch in one agency of the Federal Government in New York, two Negro psychiatrists. Six months ago these two Negroes were fired because they were the last hired. That is the role of our government.

Only about two weeks ago an agency that employed about 1,500 employees, about two thirds of them being Negro workers, was moved out of the City of New York, consolidating the agency to another city. These Negro workers are out of jobs. The reason for this move was to save about 2 million dollars a year. But let's take the cost of the moving the files and the moving of the families that would accept the transfer and the training of new employees that wouldn't accept the transfer. When and where is the government going to save this 2 million dollars? These are the effects of the war on the Negro worker. We call upon this Council to go to our representatives, to our President and see that such economy moves—false economy moves—are stopped. Next year is election year, let's see that these false economists don't return to their positions in Washington. Thank you! (*Applause.*)

SPEAKER FROM U. E.

It is absolutely true that a war economy and peacetime economy is affecting the jobs not only of Negro people but everybody. According to the surplus on hand, people are being laid off and jobs are not available. But the Negro people are affected primarily, and mostly so because of their low seniority and in most cases they give the answer "qualification," they do not have the right qualifications. But we in District 4, have decided unique ways of fighting this discrimination. One of our methods, where we find this discrimination, we follow through by sending people back to that plant and making test cases of it; and taking it before the Discrimination Board which is set up in New Jersey. In many cases we have won that, but we have also involved the people in the shop where it comes to qualifications. After all, many of our workers are porters, laborers, sweepers, but we have white brothers in the shop who are qualified to do machine work who take the laborer and porter and during lunch period, during break periods, and show that porter, that laborer, how to do his job. That is what you call labor unity. Many of our shops are doing it. And because of our contract they cannot bring in a new worker; therefore they have to take that man, that laborer, and classify him higher. This is some of the program that we started in our shop and it is spreading with success.

Further than that, this is the actual fact about how to fight discrimination, as far as job hiring is concerned. We started vocational school systems where we can send workers to school to learn these different things. Our Negro workers are taking advantage of it. In the radio industry we are learning them tester, trouble shooter, instead of being just common laborers. They are taking advantage of it, and doing a job. That's the kind of work we are doing in our union to break down discrimination. And I am quite sure that other unions and other community groups can start the same kind of activities as far as vocational system is concerned, as far as learning on the job is concerned, so that we'll have some means and some methods of what Bill Hood brought out this morning that we're gonna fight this discrimination, we're gonna fight this segregation and this bias job-hiring from every angle and with every force that we can possibly get together. So that I think with that kind of a perspective we've got a start to breaking down this discrimination in job-hiring. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

RUDOLPH THOMAS:

Ladies and Gentlemen—my name is Rudolph Thomas, Local 407 of the U. E. of New Jersey. On jobs for Negroes, my shop, which is predominantly the Edison Shop, we have done wonderful things considering the reports I have heard here today. We have the Company starting the program of apprenticeship. And with this apprenticeship we have already had the company institute a Negro to be a tool and die-maker. He will become a full fledged tool and die-maker next month.

We also have, as my Executive Secretary has just told you, an apprenticeship system in the County. We went to the County and we demanded it; that they start an apprenticeship throughout the County for our workers. We didn't put it on the basis of Negro workers but for all our workers,

white or Negro. But because the Negro has always been in the lowest category of work he immediately took advantage of this opportunity. This year we had four people graduate from this class. This year they have started back in September an advanced course, and we in the Negotiating Committee in our Union went to the Company and said to them, "Here 'tis—you want machinists, we have them. Now you're gonna take them out of this shop or you're not gonna git them. We demand that you take the workers from the shop and upgrade them." Of course, we ran into many stumbling blocks. Of course, we became very disheartened; but don't become disheartened, because your union is fighting for you, the union is sticking with you. If they put their shoulders to the wheel we can accomplish the purpose you're setting out to do. And the only way that this can happen is if you also keep behind your leadership.

In my local at the present time I am the only Negro in the leadership; but it is through my efforts and the efforts of the rank and file Negro workers to go to the leadership and say, "Listen here, we want upgrading of Negroes." My president from a small shop has already had a lily-white shop. And at our Executive Board meeting he told us that he was starting to go into negotiations. And to the Executive Board no one mentioned F.E.P.C. So I said, "Listen pa, what're we doing, you haven't mentioned F.E.P.C. going into your contract."

He said, "Well, we'll take it up when we get there."

I said, "We'll take it up here, and we'll take it up now."

And he says to me, "Well, what can we do if the company says 'no,' what can we do?"

And I says, "If the people ain't ready to fight on it you have to be ready to fight on it, because you represent our shop, and you represent our local and this local isn't just our shop. Therefore you're either going to fight on this question or we'll take it before the general membership."

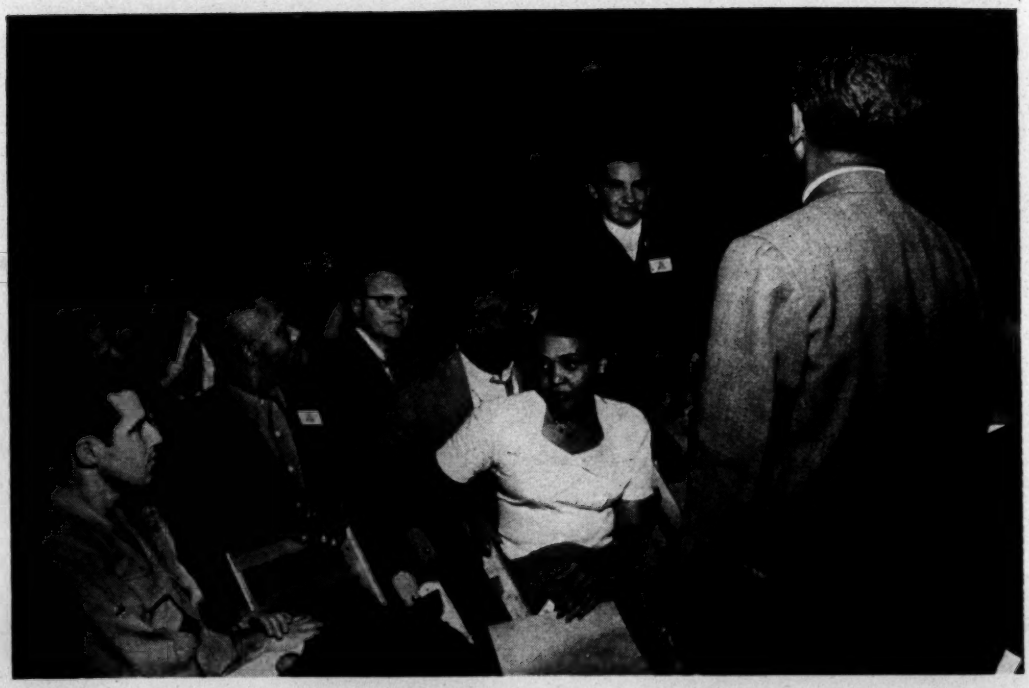
So he agreed that he would take one of our organizers in with him, and talk on F.E.P.C. But I wanted to push him and make him face the problem as it stood. I said to him, "Why don't you take one of the Negro organizers into your shop with you? So therefore let the company say no to him. It will be harder for him to say no to a Negro, we're not hiring Negroes, than it would to you. 'Cause he can say to you well, Carl, you and I are white; we'll fight this thing out amongst ourselves."

He says, "No, no, no, I won't take it that way."

I says, "I know you won't take it that way, it's easier to smooth you over; give you a little sugar so that you'll be sweet and you'll forget about F.E.P.C." So he promised me that he wouldn't like to take a Negro organizer in with him at the time. He claimed that the local shop would have to vote on a negotiating committee. So we did work out the point wherein the first point on the agenda for his contract would be F.E.P.C.

SAMUEL KENNEDY:

My name is Kennedy, Samuel Kennedy. I'm vice-president of District 2, Fur and Leather Workers. The tie-up that I would like to make of the war economy and this job is concerning the manner in which the Loyalty Oath and the F.B.I. is playing on the Negro and the white worker alike.



Part of Delegation from International Fur and Leathers Workers

The war scare — just before the Korean War broke out we had instituted a program of up-grading in leather that caused Negroes to be up-graded to higher-paying jobs in the leather industry in Philadelphia as they had never had before. We got this program working by convincing the white workers in those shops that by discriminating against the Negroes, they were discriminating against the white workers too. Wherein all the white workers that had been there for 15 or 20 years had been kept on menial jobs just like the Negroes had been kept on menial jobs we convinced these older workers that if you help us to put through this program whereby all the steady workers would be up-graded or are put into seniority it would help you. You may call it favoritism but favoritism or not, it is discrimination just the same.

Our program was working swell until the Korean War broke out, and now the liberal whites that I found that used to be glad to stop on the corner with me after working and have a beer, now they're afraid, they have an excuse: they're afraid of being tapped on the back and asked the question, "Why are you interested in Negroes?" That is what the Attorney-General's office has turned the F.B.I. into, a virtual Gestapo spreading fear among the people.

A few years ago we had a meeting of youth at the University of Pennsylvania to discuss the problems of discrimination that was carried on by Lincoln University. When this meeting was called it was attended by several students of the University of Pennsylvania. After the meeting was over the F.B.I. moved in to investigate — oh, no, not to investigate Lincoln U. itself — to investigate these students and ask them that question:

"Why are you interested in Negroes?"

I think that it is time we did something, or made some kind of protest about the F.B.I. spreading fear into the hearts of white people who are liberal to our movement and trying to make them stop that. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HOWARD MYERS, *District 65, New York*:

I would like to point out some of the inherent dangers to trade unions in the port areas under the Defense Production Act.

Recently President Truman, under the Defense Production Act, said that the ports of New York and San Francisco on the west coast are national security areas. And as we have seen, as brother Al Thibodeaux of San Francisco pointed out, screening under the Navy and Coast Guard is knocking out Negro workers at the rate of 65% from the industry. In addition, these Loyalty screenings are knocking out the most militant trade unionists in the locals and the unions in these areas. And if this trend of screening is not stopped in the waterfront, it will spread.

Already the Defense Production Act administration is refusing to give contracts to those industries, those manufacturers who in the opinion of the Defense Production Act administrators have subversives employed on their jobs, and they will not give contracts to these manufacturers until these so-called subversives are eliminated from the pay-roll. And in 99%, 100% of the time, these so-called subversives and these trade unions in the shops are the most militant, the most loyal, the most militant fighters against Jim-Crow and for the protection of the working standards of the workers throughout the industry. We are facing in these orders underneath the D.P.A. an attempt by the government to make labor fronts out of trade unions, with the Taft-Hartley Act as the law of the labor fronts throughout the land. And we can see that if screening isn't stopped in the maritime industry and if the Defense Production Act of proclaiming emergency areas is not licked in the waterfront, screening is going to move into private industry and knock the heart and guts out of the trade unions and leave the workers defenseless. I urge all of the members here, black and white, and all trade-unionists to unite with the waterfront workers, the dockers, to defeat screening. (*Applause.*)

MARGARET GILMORE, *United Public Workers, Washington, D. C., Bureau of Engraving & Printing*:

I came here because I was *happy* to know that at last we are trying to fight and are going to form a united public front to eliminate second-class citizenship and try to put over a decent F.E.P.C. That is what *we* need in government. It is true the majority of members here are predominantly private industry whereby they have a weapon known as the strike weapon. We have only Congress to depend on to help us in our defense. Therefore you know what Congress does with the F.E.P.C. law, with the Southerners in the forefront to squelch everyone. I can only ask that we out of this convention have a united front strong enough to put pressure on the members of Congress to put through a decent F.E.P.C. law with teeth in it.

I am sorry I do not have time to tell you of the harrowing experiences that the United Public Workers in the Bureau of Engraving have been

through to put over an apprentice program whereby we were successful in cracking the biased lily-white crafts and admitted 35 Negro apprentices in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Something unheard of until U.P.W. started it in '48. (*Applause.*) And I must say with no conceit, I, a weak woman, was the one who urged my union to fight it because it could be done. The veterans were afraid. The Loyalty Oath has really wreaked havoc with government employees. I cannot get cooperation, not even of the veterans, who went in as apprentices. They disassociated themselves with the union because of red-baiting just before it was time for them to go to press. And what is the result? They have been given a four-year apprenticeship and on the back of it the Bureau of Engraving has recognized 60 white guys from Chicago and brought them to Washington, D. C., gave them 10 days' training and now they are full-fledged journeymen printers. By the time these boys finish their four years' apprenticeship, there will be NO jobs for them. They will go through the routine and that is all. The lily-white crafts are closed to them in the Security Exchange in Philadelphia and the New York Bank Note Company. They will have no jobs.

Not only did it affect these men who are hoping to become printers, but it has affected the rank and file of the Negroes in the Bureau, in the government entirely. The war economy has reduced us in grade level, and those in the first grade level have been thrown out into the street to seek jobs as best they can, veterans and civilians alike. So you see what we have got to do. Flowery speeches will not do it. We have got to work, do foot-work, get together, form a united, solid phalanx and crush this ugly discrimination and prejudice. We are sick and tired of second-class citizenship. That is what I want to see done. And that is what we have got to do. (*Applause.*)

FOUNDRY WORKER, *Local* 599:

I have a problem. I want to point out the problem that I have in brief. I have — we have what is called a lily-white organization with no cooperation with 85% of the foundry workers, Negroes. It just so happened we passed a motion Friday night in our local meeting that delegates be sent to the Negro National Founding Convention. It was passed unanimously and the president of our local turned it down and consequently since there are no colored brothers on the staff throughout Local 599—all lily-white because of sabotage, I point out—we were given no support, the same identical thing that happened in the Willie McGee case. Three of us went to Washington on our own accord, by taking up collections and taking money out of our own pay-checks, to represent the Negro brothers in that struggle in Washington in the fighting for Willie McGee.

The same identical thing has happened today. It's from my local here, in which I represent in the foundry 85% strong, with not one dime contributed from the local, and I just wanted to point out some of the problems in brief that we were having there; and maybe this is not tied in with the war economy because it was pointed out there wouldn't be any defense work in the foundry and they had a mass lay-off Friday, and another one the following Monday. So, in

brief, I'll cut my statements short and I'll just point out the highlights of what I wanted to say. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HELEN LUNELLY, *reporter for panel on Negro women in industry*:

As one of the thousands of the Negroes that President Hood spoke of this morning during his address — as one of the thousands of Negro women that was forced out of the factories after the war and was unable to get jobs any place but as domestic workers, I would like to speak to you today about the domestic workers. I'm proud to be here as a delegate to this convention on the subject.

Nearly 2 million Negro women are classed as gainful workers. How many now have jobs? How many are unemployed? How do these wages compare with the white women workers? These are the questions that must be answered by the convention now. On the whole most women, white or Negroes, work for a living, not because they want to work, but because they have to work to support their families, or help support their families, and the reason that the majority of Negro women work is because of the low wages of their fellow man, the Negro man, in general. The Negro woman was limited to two fields where work was largely unskilled and heavy: agriculture and domestic worker. More than six thousand domestic employees in private homes, and 25 thousand in laundries — not laundries, I mean doing laundry work in private homes, about 18 thousand housekeepers, more than 11 thousand charwomen. The number of Negro women in domestic and personal service in 1930 is a gain of nearly 50% from 1920. Negro women in household employment increased by 81%.

What about these working conditions of today? We have from the common household and according to the few recent accounts on the subject that are available, low wages and long hours. The wages that the women are making today run around $5 a day for day work and from $20 to $25 a week for weekly work. And one of the neglected things of the trade union of the Negro women has been not only to fight against the misuse of the Negro woman in domestic work but not to organize the domestic workers. It is merely lip-service from progress of the unions. We, the Negro women, are sick and tired of working out at other homes, and not being able to stay in our own kitchens and do our work. We expect this great Labor Council to see that the doors of the offices and factories be open to us. While this struggle takes place we feel that the Council must take all possible steps to see that domestic workers will be organized so that our conditions and wages will be livable. (*Applause.*)

RALPH ANDERSON, *23-year old Veteran, (reporter for Panel on Youth)*:

I'd like to say before I begin my short report that it is indeed an honor to be here at this historic convention, and that I am honored that I have been selected to give the opening report on the problems of youth and the fight for jobs — of Negro youth in the fight for jobs.

The fight for jobs for Negro youth is an important, and should be a key issue in the National Negro Labor Council's program for action. Negro youth are forced to accept menial jobs in many industries and denied ap-

prenticeship training for higher classifications. The unions must assume major responsibilities in the fight for jobs for Negro youth. This must be fought on and recognized by the unions as essential for the solidarity and well-being of all labor. It is a major contribution to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro youth.

The leading unions of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. bear major responsibility for not having fought for jobs for Negro youth, and also for representation in all posts of the union. In a few of the larger unions of A.F. of L. and C.I.O., Negroes are run only for traditional Negro posts, such as recording secretary and treasurer. The unions must see that the fight for jobs for Negro youth and for upgrading and that the fight for integration of Negro youth in all posts of the union is their major responsibility. The lack of fight for integration of Negro youth in all phases of various industries and the unions is an acceptance of the weapons of the bosses of superiority of the white workers. And dividing the workers is the means of jeopardizing the working conditions and standards of all labor, by forcing Negro youth to accept low standards. To the degree that labor fights for full integration of Negro youth in the various industries and unions, will the leadership of the Negro be insured and therefore the whole fight for first-class citizenship for the Negro youth. The Negro youth are the most exploited sections of labor in this regard.

Today in getting jobs, the Negro youth is not even considered for many jobs because of their 1-A draft classification. They are blackjacked because of this 1-A classification to accept the lowest paying and the dirtiest job. The bosses say that that is their business, who they hire, and in many cases the unions accept this and refuse to fight for the upgrading and apprenticeship training of the young Negro youth. This applies doubly to the Negro women who are not considered for many jobs and then only in a domestic or janitorial sense.

The Negro youth today faces a future of despair and frustration. They are denied jobs, jim-crowed and lynched at home and Jim-Crowed and killed fighting for a non-existent freedom abroad. (*Applause.*) The bosses use dope and other corrupting things to prepare the youth to accept this future of despair and frustration. Their playgrounds and recreation centers are closed and denied them. The National Negro Labor Council must take a special approach to the youth to win them to a united fight for jobs and first class citizenship.

One positive example of the correct way of Negro youth fighting back is epitomized, is symbolized by a young Negro, Roosevelt Ward. He is a young Negro from New Orleans who is now the organizational secretary of the Labor Youth League, an organization of young Negro and white workers fighting for the best interest and for the vital interest of the Negro youth. To fight for the best interest of the Negro youth today, is the whole fight for peace. This Negro youth, the leader of the New York Labor Youth League was indicted by the government on the first charge of draft evasion. The real fact in this indictment though was not draft evasion but the fact that he spoke out militantly and fought for the unity of Negro and white youth in the fight for jobs, against discrimination and for peace. And today he is out on $15,000 bail,

waiting a jail sentence of three years for this trumped-up charge in Louisiana.

The National Negro Labor Council has to take a special approach to the youth to win them to this united fight for peace and jobs and I like to make a proposal along these lines that there should be Youth Committees established in all communities where there is a National Negro Labor Council Chapter.

All labor must unite in the fight for jobs for Negro youth regardless of their military classifications, because the fight for the rights of Negro youth to jobs and especially the whole fight for peace is essential to prevent Truman carrying out, under the guise of a war emergency, the complete destruction and annihilation and civil liberties of all the American people, and the undermining of the living standards of the American working class because of this phony war drive. (*Applause.*)

VIOLA BROWN, reporter for the panel on Negro oppression in the South:

Let no one be fooled. The fact that the thirteen Southern states are under the political and economic control of the huge Wall Street monopolies allied with the Southern landlord reaction is a serious threat to the entire labor movement.

No unions anywhere will be safe until organized workers in the North join with the Southern workers in a concerted drive to crack through, in the South, against the common enemy —the Northern bosses. There will be no security for anyone, nor any civil rights, nor any real right and ability to organize anywhere in the country as long as millions of Southern workers remain unorganized and especially while nine million Southern Negroes suffer under special Jim Crow oppression.

Who controls the South today? The Northern bosses, in alliance with the Southern landlords control the corrupt political machines which terrorize the workers with police, courts and Klan. The same reactionary coalition poisons the white workers' minds with racist propaganda through the schools, press and radio which they dominate. In this way, they immobilize many of the white workers and use them as instruments to assist in the special oppression of the Negro workers.

Their monopoly of economic, political and social power enables them to sweat super profits out of the Southern workers, white as well as Negro. With these super-profits, they beat down the workers in Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit. In many instances where Northern workers threatened the bosses' profits, the factories have been moved to the South. More and more they are being built in the South to begin with, to take advantage of the low wages prevailing there.

On the political side, what progressive legislation is possible while the bosses' political monopoly in the South sends a solid reactionary bloc of Congressmen to Washington? A key role in passing the Taft-Hartley law was played by the Hooeys, Byrds, Rankins and Bilbos. In the un-American Committee, in the movement for thought-control legislation, the political stooges of Southern reaction have led the pack. At present, one of the greatest threats to the labor movement is the proposed alliance between the Dixiecrats and the most fascist-minded Republicans.

As long as the South remains unorganized, it will be the main base of

Left to right, JAMES YOUNG, MRS. EULA FRAZIER, MRS. DICAY CANNON

fascism in the country, always reaching out for allies in the North and West, always threatening to sweep over and smash everything which the workers have gained.

And this is the importance the South has for all of us, for the Negro people, for the workers of America. And this is why we believe it is so important for us here to consider what has been happening to labor in the South since the war.

During the war and immediately thereafter, Southern workers moved ahead in building unions with considerable speed. In city after city where there were large numbers of Negro and white workers—workers who had left the farms during the depression—unions were built, AFL, CIO, and Independent.

In our state, North Carolina, during 1943 and 1944 the workers in the huge Reynolds Camel cigarette factories in Winston Salem and in the leaf house industry in that city were able to force contracts from the companies for the first time in history. In furniture, leather, textile, and wood, workers built unions.

In Richmond, Virginia in food, tobacco, leather, paper; in Suffolk, Virginia in peanuts and candy; in Charlestown, S. C. in the huge cigar plant of the American Tobacco Company and in the fertilizer plants; in Georgia in cotton oil, fertilizer, packinghouse, textile, furniture; in Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee; in Little Rock, Fort Smith, Helena, Arkansas. in Greenville, Vicksburg, Corinth, Jackson, Mississippi; in Alabama, in Louisiana and in Texas. Yes, all over the South during the war, Southern workers began to join and build unions.

For two years after the war, from 1945 through 1947, under the impact

of the huge CIO Southern Organizing Committee's drive, thousands more workers formed unions. In the first years of the drive there was a working unity between the so-called "left-wing" and "right-wing" in CIO. And there was unity on the local level in many instances between the AFL and the CIO and the Independents. In some instances what resulted took on the aspect of a real mass surge of the workers, comparable to the movement of the workers in the late thirties into the new CIO industrial unions.

In my local in five different towns in the Eastern part of North Carolina in the tobacco-sharecropper belt, more than 10,000 workers voted for our union in three months in the fall of 1946. Hundreds of others voted for the AFL. Rank and file workers, like myself, from Winston-Salem moved into those towns that summer, along with the CIO staff. What developed was a great, broad movement—and this right in the heart of the black belt where in county after county our people, the Negro people, are in the actual majority. The movement was so strong that the bosses didn't try to meet us head-on. Of course, they did everything they could to threaten us and harass us.

In the tobacco redrying plants, where the tobacco is prepared for storage, almost all of the workers are Negro workers, 75% of them Negro women. How do they live the year around? Two or three months a year they work in the factories. Some of them make less than $200. A very few over $400. For many of them this is the only cash money they get all year, except for a few dollars a week unemployment compensation!

Others work in the fields in the spring, planting tobacco and in the summer, cultivating. They go out again in the mid-summer for a few days to harvest strawberry, bean and potato crops. In the late summer they help pick the tobacco and cure it in the farmers' barns. And then they go into the plants for a few months work, at 12 hours a day and 56 hours a week.

Some of them work this way. For many, many others there is nothing. The Chamber of Commerce in Wilson, N. C., in a folder they send out to the bosses describes the situation this way: "Most of the colored population work in the tobacco industry or in service though they are available for other types of industry as well, especially from Thanksgiving through August of the following years" (!) IN OTHER WORDS, FROM THANKSGIVING THROUGH AUGUST, MOST OF THEM ARE UNEMPLOYED!

In 1946, most of the elections were won in the middle or at the end of the short season. We had only a few weeks left. While we were not able to force contracts that season, work stoppages and workers' delegations did force wage increases of up to 10 cents an hour. And the next fall, just after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, we were able to win contracts in 22 different plants. These contracts were won by Negro workers' committees meeting in the Companies' offices where formerly no Negro worker was allowed unless he was doing janitor work. They included wage increases, seniority rights, grievance procedures with shop steward systems and arbitration, paid vacations, call-in pay, no-discrimination clauses, improved rest rooms, drinking facilities and working conditions.

After we left the plants in 1946 and before we went back in 1947, we challenged the entire system that had

been used by the Unemployment Compensation Commission to deny the Negro women their unemployment pay and to force them into the kitchens at a few dollars a week.

This is the way it worked: When one of the Negro women workers came to apply for compensation, she would be referred to a domestic job at as little as $2 a week. If she refused, she was penalized. This way, hundreds of Negro women for years had been faced with the choice of either losing their unemployed pay or working in the kitchens for next to nothing.

In 1947 the women refused to accept any job that paid less than $15 a week. Hundreds were denied compensation. The union hired an attorney, organized pressure and appealed the cases. Almost every single case was won, along with thousands of dollars in back compensation due them. The result was that compensation was no longer denied thousands of Negro women—and at the same time the minimum pay for domestic workers was raised by $8 to $10 a week.

I have given these facts about these struggles in some detail because they are the struggles of one of the very few large groups of organized Negro workers in the black belt. And also because what we did there, the workers all over the South were doing in the years during the war and for two years thereafter.

Beginning in 1947, however, and continuing on to this very day, the picture is a far different one. Taft-Hartleyism and its follower "McCarthyism" set in. The joint AFL-CIO committee disbanded. The CIO itself was split from the top in a wild spree of witch-hunting. Leaders who had stood up to the bosses toe to toe in 1946 began to get careful, conservative, AFRAID. And the bosses, seeing the great effect of their campaign to break fighting unionism, began to get bolder and bolder.

Not that the bosses have had their way since 1947 in the South. The workers have continued to fight and they have struck some good blows, too. But, by and large, it has been the bosses who have been on the offensive. Wherever a new group of workers tried to organize, the bosses fought back with new viciousness. Unions, including the great CIO organizing drive, began to abandon their attempts —or wasted their money trying to raid and destroy the so-called "progressive" unions. Some locals the bosses have destroyed. Some they have driven toward "company unionism." Some, fortunately, have been able to stand and fight, and, at least up to today, to maintain their unions.

We in the East, for example, struck a hard blow in our campaign to improve the Unemployment Compensation laws in our state. This fight was climaxed in 1949 by an open hearing in the State Senate in Raleigh before some hundred legislators. More than 20 Negro women tobacco workers took the floor, and one by one poured out their grievances. "Why," they asked, over and over again, "in a rich state like ours must so many who are willing to work and who do work, live in poverty and misery?" The legislators who had probably come "to enjoy a show," sat in silence and respect and listened as these women brought a new kind of atmosphere to that machine-ridden legislature. The number of weeks pay was extended and the weekly payments were increased.

In Winston Salem in 1947 the Negro people elected a Negro as city councilman, for the first time since

the turn of the century . . . and the workers in Suffolk and Richmond, Virginia; Fayetteville and Greensboro, North Carolina followed suit. In the South's cities and in the black belt counties in 1948 and since, Negro workers have run for county and state and even federal offices.

Other blows, too, have been struck by Negro workers all over the South, but the bosses have taken the initiative in most instances. And they have fought organized white workers as well as Negro workers. Consider the vicious fight against the white textile workers in our state. In Tarboro, in the black belt, where the Negro and white workers fought shoulder to shoulder, the bosses used the police, the courts and everything they could lay their hands on. After many months the workers were finally forced to go back without a contract—while many of their leaders went to jail.

Many huge locals have been all but wiped out—in textile, furniture mine-mill and tobacco. In Winston-Salem, for example, the powerful Local 22 in Reynolds and the leafhouses have been almost destroyed in Reynolds, even though the workers in two of the leafhouses have been able to hold on. In Reynolds, some 2,000 Negro women workers with as much as 20 years seniority have been thrown on the streets, replaced by new machinery and the speed-up. They are denied jobs in the manufacturing divisions which are practically lily-white, while young white workers are being hired in off the same streets. Some of these women were then given jobs in the seasonal redrying plants—and forced to accept hourly cuts of 30 cents, plus the loss of insurance and pension rights and the right to draw unemployment insurance. Many of them, being Negro and middle-aged, can find no jobs of any kind.

This same pattern is being carried out all over the cigarette industry in the South, in the plants organized into the Jim Crow AFL Tobacco Workers Union as well.

Many years ago when the cigarette and smoking and plug tobacco industry was a hand industry and heavy, the large majority of the workers were Negro. In 1946, of the 10,000 employed in Reynolds some 6,000 were Negro. Today only 3,000 are Negro out of 10,000—and most of these are in the heavy shipping jobs, the first processing jobs and the jobs which haven't as yet been completely mechanized.

The result is that Winston Salem is a center of great unemployment. There are between 2,000 and 3,000 Negro women unemployed the year round. *And with these unemployed workers as a threat, the Company speeds up and threatens with immediate discharge any worker who attempts to build a union, Negro and white alike. This is the pattern that the bosses are developing in the South: Large numbers of unemployed—with white unemployed, too—and all of them standing over workers left in the factories, to help keep them unorganized and working at lower and lower wages!*

In Bessemer, Alabama, the powerful Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers local has been taken over by the Company Union forces in the name of the Steelworkers-CIO. The strength of the union has been gutted, even though the Negro workers there, as in Winston Salem, have maintained some kind of independent organization.

In our local we are holding on. Where we had 22 contracts in 1947

we now have only 15. And in other locals, where the workers have refused to give in to company-unionism, they are holding on, maintaining their conditions, winning some increases but not being able to strike solid blows for really significant advances, except where they work for a large nation-wide corporation and win gains through nation-wide bargaining.

Where do the workers in the South who are organized stand today? Like all workers we are fighting back against the general attack the bosses have launched against all workers: against Taft-Hartleyism and company unionism, against the McCarran Act and Smith Act thought control, against the high price, high tax, wage freeze war program.

But in addition, we suffer in many special ways. Even the 10% wage freeze hits us the hardest: because we are the lowest paid and so discriminated against. And in the first processing industries where thousands of Negro workers are employed, we must work 12 hours a day and 56 hours a week for 14 weeks each year WITHOUT OVERTIME! The bosses excuse this super-exploitation by saying that the tobacco and cottonseed and peanuts are *perishable products*. They need these long hours to save *their* perishable products. We have been asking for a long time which is the most "perishable," the tobacco and cottonseed and peanuts or the Negro workers who slave in these factories?

Even the money we earn is jim-crowed. We can't spend it where we want to spend it. We are denied justice by the law and the courts. Worse, we live constantly under the threat of violence by the law enforcement agencies themselves if we raise our voices in protest.

No new organizing, many locals being destroyed, some locals holding on . . . that is the picture in the South today whether we like to admit it or not. But we might just as well face up to it—and then, knowing the truth, we can decide what we can do about it.

And that is the problem which I, as a Negro delegate from the South and from the black belt in the South wish to place before this body for its deliberation here today.

What about the South, the home of nine million Negro people, the seat of our peoples oppression? Are we going to see the unions that do exist today destroyed? Are we going to sit by and see the South remain a great cancer of unorganized workers which will eat and destroy all of the unions in the nation? What is the attitude of your union toward the unorganized South?

There are many, many different attitudes to this serious problem.

There are leaders of some unions who don't want to have anything to do with the South because they don't want Negro workers in their unions. And there are others who are comfortable and who just don't want to be bothered.

There are a number of union leaders, too, who think like the bosses. When a boss builds a plant or opens a shop, he is building the shop to make a profit, from his workers' labor. Where there is no profit, he closes up the shop. Some union leaders think this way. If they can't see an immediate return on their investment in the form of dues payments, they are eager to withdraw from organizing the unorganized.

Others say they are willing to help and understand the need to help, but

they never seem to get around to it. Other considerations always come first.

Still others say they will help when the workers in the South show that *they* are ready to struggle. As if the Negro people in the South with their history and with their courage to fight had to prove to anyone in this country that they are willing to fight and that they are fighting! Consider this proposition in relation to the white workers in the South, many of whom don't understand the need for unions and for unity with the Negro workers and who must be WON to these ideas? Doesn't it mean leaving these white workers to the organizers for the Ku Klux Klan and the Dixiecrats and leaving them without a struggle?

There are other attitudes, too, toward the South and organizing in the South. But unfortunately, with few exceptions, they lead to the same conclusions and results: The result is that hardly anything is being done in a serious and responsible way toward aiding Southern workers build their unions and almost nothing is being done to win the white workers to the need for unions and the need for unity with the Negro workers in their plants.

We in the South think that organized workers in this country where there are strong unions and adequate finances must join with the worker in the South and accept their fair share of the responsibility for beating back the forces of reaction on the unorganized Southern front.

These workers must do it in their own self-interest. For the fact of the matter is that the same reactionary forces that are destroying our unions in the South today will destroy your union tomorrow . . . no matter how big your building or how large your treasury.

We in the South think that this National Negro Labor Council should raise this warning all over the nation.

Yes, first of all we should go forth determined to break Jim Crow now and fight every form of discrimination. And we should ask every trade union member and leader in this nation what are you doing to fight Jim Crow and discrimination and for jobs for the Negro people?

But in the same breath, we should also ask them what are you and your union doing about the unorganized South, the home of nine million Negro people, five million of whom live in counties where although they are in the majority, they have no voice in the government, no land and no security?

In the same breath we should ask them: Is there a plant in the South in your union's jurisdiction which is unorganized? What are you doing to bring unionism to its workers?

This body should ask unions this question and demand an answer.

We think that we as the National Negro Labor Council should let it be known that any union, AFL, CIO, or Independent which tries to bring honest, decent, non-discriminatory unionism to the South will receive our whole-hearted support.

We need not continue to be driven backwards in the South. We need not let the South remain an *unorganized* base for *us* and an *organized* base for *reaction* and *fascism*. We in the South believe that a turn can be made . . . if, together, we see that a turn *must* be made . . . and if, together, North and South, we begin to make it.

CULTURAL PROGRAM

Saturday Evening, October 27

MARGARET GOSS:

There's only one thing wrong with this conference today. I haven't heard the word Culture mentioned enough. What we're doing tonight is showing you how Culture can be used as a weapon—How Culture can be used to say the same things that you've been saying all day in speeches. We are going to try to say it for you in humorous sketches, in poetry and in the dance. We hope that you will use the same initiative that we did. No one asked us to be on this program. We knew that this Convention was coming off and we decided to prepare for it and we came and here we are. (*Applause.*)

When Beulah Richardson read her outstanding poem in Chicago several months ago it started a lot of us thinking about using poetry as a weapon. And this poem, "Everybody But Me" is the result of the inspiration that I got from her—some of the thoughts about fighting for freedom:

"You say that you believe in Democracy for everybody, Yes, I know, for dogs and cats and others and everybody, Everybody but me.

In high sounding words and musty oratory, on Washington and Lincoln's birthday,

You government officials, major and minor, effuse bright praise to our country and all of her glory,

How it was founded and will always be a haven of the free and I sitting up there listening to you applauded and cheered with all the rest,

But I was one mighty surprised soul to see when it came to the test that you did mean everybody,

Everybody but me.

Sure I read all about it in the history books about how the founding fathers got together and wrote the Declaration of Independence cause they didn't want King George stepping on them and even though I play a part in bringing it about—they left me out,

They declared that Independence for everybody

Everybody but me.

They also got together and wrote a Constitution and a Bill of Rights saying that everybody had certain rights and privileges being citizens and that everybody ought to have a job and a place to live and equal opportunity,

But when I tried to get my rights and privileges and a job and a house, I was mighty sorry to find that they really did mean everybody,

Everybody but me.

I went to church every Sunday being a pious person and I heard the preacher talking about heaven and eating milk and honey and wearing long white robes and I felt the spirit and shouted out, shouted out that I wanted to be in the number too.

Suddenly I looked up at the wall saw that all the folks gathered around Jesus had straw blonde hair and sky blue eyes and there wasn't a brother among them, I knew again that they did mean everybody, Everybody but me.

Of course as far back as I hear tell about there have been times when

they needed helping out, this is when they had a war and then they sent out a call for everybody, they knew what to use me for and I found that they really did mean everybody, including me.

My father told me that in World War I they sent out a call for everyone including me and we had to go over to fight the Kaiser to keep the world free and safe for Democracy for everybody,

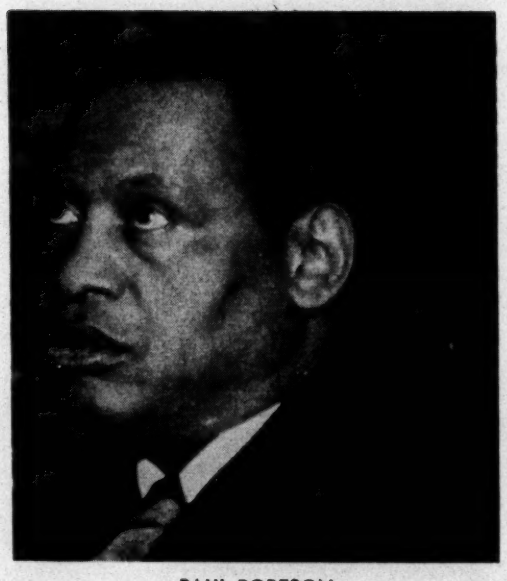
When I got home I was hurt to find that they really did mean everybody, Everybody but me.

Well putting two and two together you and I can plainly see that those folks down in Washington have never been thinking of you and me, from here on I'm going to be thinking about me, I'm going to get together with you and my sisters and brothers black and white all over the country and over the world and we're going to put up a terrific fight until we win and we will and when we say peace and freedom for everybody it will mean everybody, everywhere

It will mean me. (*Applause*)

ROBESON

I just want to say a few words. I'm very happy to be here. I was talking to your President, Bill Hood, a few minutes ago. He was saying how deeply he felt that you the trade unionists of America—from the militant side of our nation were saying to those who would stop us artists from appearing — you were saying to them tonight, "Well Paul's going to sing, he is going to sing right here!" (*Applause*) So I want to thank you to begin with and say that of course not only am I here as an artist, always that — but I am here as an



PAUL ROBESON

artist like many in the world today who give constantly of their talents and energies to the struggles for freedom of the working masses of the world. (*Applause*) And so I feel that I have sort of earned my honorary membership in the Trade Union Councils.

Through the years I've been on your picket lines up and down the nation, I've had many moving experiences. As I came in I saw an old friend from Winston-Salem, Mrs. Velma Hopkins. I remember going down there into the deep South, to help in their struggles. I remember a very sad last time going back to say farewell to one of the great women of the Labor Movement, Miranda Smith. (*Applause*) For a time they said, "Well maybe Paul had better not come into the South," but I went in and came out all right. (*Applause*) And I say tonight as I've said many other times, I don't want any so-called Americans, or un-Americans to tell me that I have not the right to go back to the North Carolina (*Loud*

applause) of my forefathers, that I have not the right to go back and stand upon the very soil where my father was a slave, that I have not the right to go about America and about the earth saying that my people upon whose backs the very wealth of this nation was built—that somewhere they must have their freedom. (*Loud applause*)

For that's all that I've been trying to do and say. And from many parts of the world, you would be interested to know, I get letters daily—especially from England. Just the other day one came saying, "Is it true, Paul that you can't sing, that there is danger when you sing? That you can't play in the theater, that you can't be on the radio and television?" You would be interested to know that in every section of English opinion in the theater, in music, in every field they have begun, as in the case of the Scottish miners, to say to this government: "We want him over here to play "Othello" again. We want to hear him sing again, and we feel that something must be wrong where one who fights as he has over here can not sing in his own land." (*Applause*)

As I said when I was with you in Chicago a year ago, and as I have written in the newspaper *Freedom* many times, somewhere we must see the necessity of unity between all sections of labor in this land and throughout the world. And especially today we must understand the deep struggle of the Negro people in this land for these 300 years. Already you have shown me what I was talking about in Chicago, because I am standing here tonight free with my shoulders back because you have said, "Come to Cincinnati, Paul, and sing for us!" (*Loud applause*) And so I can say to many Americans, "I've been to Cincinnati—to the people of Cincinnati."

The Inquirer must remember one of my last visits here. I was the guest of the City of Cincinnati. (*Laughter*) That's right, I sang in the ball park for the city recreation fund.

Not long ago I stood in Cadillac Square for auto workers, black and white. I stood on the packinghouse line in Chicago with the packinghouse workers and I stand here tonight, therefore, saying let us find unity at this time against those who are stepping upon your necks, who step upon the backs of labor and who step especially upon the backs of the Negro people. (*Applause*) And let us remember, we live in a very historic time. We live in a time when hitherto colonial peoples all over the world are winning their freedom. For a long time it was a pretty easy task for England, for Belgium, for France, for our own imperialist nation—our own imperialists who started out in earnest about the year of my birth. In the year 1898 they went into Cuba, into Puerto Rico, into the Philippines. They had gotten the idea of world domination. But now we see the seething of millions and hundreds of millions of people in motion all over the world. Still some evil people in our own land say there shall be no freedom. They want to fasten a new colonialism on the masses of people.

We have a deep responsibility. Are we going to tell the Chinese people to give back their freedom? They won't you know—no danger of that. (*Laughter*) (*applause*) There are five hundred million of them, you know what I mean, five hundred million—a lot of people. And they are moving along in India, hundreds of millions

who say to Nehru "Stand your ground for the Indian people, don't sell yourself to the imperialists wherever they may be, for you may not be there if you do." (*Laughter*) And, then, there's the whole continent of Africa (I'm proud to be the Chairman of the Council on African Affairs). Every day we receive word by cable. That continent is just seething all over the African continent and they look to us here in Cincinnati, look to their allies in America, to the struggling workers wherever they may be, to stop this government from going over to Africa and trying to put the people back into a kind of serfdom and slavery when they are just about to emerge.

England is calling upon us to save them in Egypt. I see in the paper that our government may have to go to save the British Empire in Egypt. We Negro people and the workers in America must understand that tomorrow the English will be calling upon this government to come and save them in the Gold Coast, to come and save them in Nigeria, to come and save them in a Federation of the West Indies crying for their independence. What will we do then? Will we go? I say, NO, not move a step! (*Loud applause and hurrahs*)

On the other hand we have the responsibiltiy and we have the opportunity to see that these things cannot happen, by doing what? By merging and fighting for our rights, Yes! Our day to day struggles for higher wages, for the rights of labor wherever they may be, for upgrading, for full dignity. And we also must understand that it will be very difficult to achieve these things if we do not enter fully today into the struggle for peace to see that somewhere war does not destroy everybody. Under the guise of war measures they can take away our rights with much more than a Taft-Hartley, much more than the kind of Terror that's going around today.

We've got to understand all these things in the background of the struggle for freedom all over the world. And that's why of course, they want to imprison one of the great symbols of American unity, one of the great scholars of our time whatever his color, one who has given his whole life to the concept and ideas of our true democratic faith. Today they would jail this great man with whom it is my privilege to work day by day. Why would they take Dr. DuBois? Because he fights for peace, because he fights for freedom, because he fights for the full dignity and equality of his people to walk this earth in freedom. (*Applause*) And they want to jail him because they know that if they can shut him up talking about peace, then they can shut you up talking about the freedom of the working people, then they can shut you up talking about the freedom of the Negro people in America.

I just want to leave one more word, it's brought to my mind when I see Mrs. Velma Hopkins and know that many people are here from the South. When we talk about colonial struggles we sit here in certain parts in the North, on the edge of the South here in Cincinnati. I travelled in '48 all over the South. I stood in Memphis and saw the close struggles in many unions. I saw white workers in the South come out on strike to see that Negro workers would get equal pay. (*Applause*) I've seen great opportunities for strengthening unity in this struggle. Let us not forget, therefore, that in talking about the freedom of our people the core of it is there,

where 10 million of our folk are ground under day by day. They look to us, they look to us for full understanding and when we talk about colonial and semi-colonial peoples let us not forget that we in this land, are still, without question, a semi-colonial people. We are fighting against the idea of colonization too. Also in relation to this, don't look at the oppression, look at that potential, that great potential power. Our people know what it means to fight for freedom. I walk on the streets every day and I tell you my people come up and say, "Paul, stay in there, we know you're right, we know you're right." Somebody's got to be there with the people, someone whom people can trust has got to be there to lead them. The people know what's going on. It won't do for the Sampsons, the Grangers, and the Schuylers to be shouting about how good it is for Negroes in the United States today; that they're doing fine, you know. No, they won't get away with that. Somewhere they're not doing fine, but we got to see to it that they *do* do fine. (*Applause*)

We talk about fighting for FEPC, fighting against poll tax or stopping the filibuster. Do you know this Council can get behind all these drives. They're shadow-boxing right now on the Senate floor, trying to get rid of filibuster. Well, you can see that they do get rid of filibuster. Suppose there was an anti poll-tax, anti lynch bill, you know what could happen then, you know what could happen down in Mississippi and down in South Carolina, down in Georgia and Alabama and those places? There could be *other* Senators sitting there, you know. (*Audience says "right" at that point, applause and laughter*) There could be other representatives, you know, from those regions, as like in the days of Reconstruction. There were Negro representatives from those States; you know Mr. Rankin couldn't go along with them. It would have to be some different kind of a fellow to go along. (*Laughter*) So that the whole picture could change, so that when one talks about struggles of Negro people, the struggle for liberation, I see it not as isolating one Negro leader here, one Negro leader there, one woman there, one man there. It's a concept of realizing that all of us are struggling for our freedom; under the same pressures, looking for freedom and some day if we are looking right, you'll see the whole thing move—the whole thing— 4 million, 5 million, 6 million, 7 million. That's the kind of strength that our allies must see when something like the labor Councils are set up.

To somewhere go into the Negro communities to win great sections, millions, to the side of the common working class people for dignity and for a decent life. I have—I can't tell you how proud I am to be with you tonight and to wish you well. To forge this unity deep, so deep that nothing can ever just even touch it a little bit let alone any chance of breaking it. I have great confidence in these councils in the working class movement of America, white and black, to see that somewhere, in our time, this our time, we shall so labor that our children and THEIR children shall work an American earth that we can know and be proud is a democratic earth that WE have helped to build. (*Applause, ovation bursts into "We shall Not Be Moved—Robeson is Our Leader, We Shall Not Be Moved"*)

End of Oct. 27th Session.

PLENARY SESSION

Sunday Morning, October 28

The chairman of this meeting was Brother Sam Parks of the Packing House Workers, chairman of the Negro Labor Council, Chicago, Ill.

SAM PARKS:

Brother Howard and Sister and Brother delegates. On October 27th and 28th, the City of Cincinnati, Ohio will go down in history as one of the milestones in the battle for freedom of the Negro people. Our Convention has had a very good effect on the City of Cincinnati itself. Last week, prior to the Convention, newspapers in Cincinnati, and the newspapers throughout this region, the Ohio region, were carrying certain stories about this coming Convention. The propaganda was very gruesome, red-baiting, Negro baiting, etc. I think most of you will agree with me that's been around in the City when I say that the hospitality that's been extended to the delegates here to our Convention, has been very, very good and very, very warm. I think this is because we held a Convention that's united, that's determined to do a job for the Negro worker in the main, and the white worker. I think as you look over the audience you see so many young faces. I think these determined youth that are here have a lot to do with the hospitality that we are now getting here in this particular city that's on the bordeline of Dixie.

This morning we want to carry the Convention right through without and adjournment for dinner, if you get hungry you can get up and to the lunchroom and get a good ham and potato salad dinner or luncheon and you can chew out there or come back in here and chew, don't chew too loud when you're in here, and we want to carry on out here because we are working under somewhat of a handicap in regards to schedule. We have important things to do and with your cooperation we will accomplish them. I don't want you to accuse me of being a steamroller chairman, but nevertheless we have to be very expedient in the things we undertake this morning. Our program calls for the first thing this morning for a report by the Credentials Committee; and this report will be given by Brother Dave Moore, from the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council. Will the members of the Credentials Committee please come to the platform. Brothers and Sisters, Brother Dave Moore, Chairman of the Detroit Negro Labor Council.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

MR. CHAIRMAN:

Allow me to present to the Convention on behalf of the Credentials Committee our report, and to inform the assembled delegates that the committee carried out its work to the best of its ability. Since many delegates are still arriving we must ask the Convention to accept an approximate report.

In the beginning of this report and in order to place it in its correct perspective, we should like briefly to refer to the period between the Conference for Negro Rights held in Chicago in June of 1950 to the present Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council.

After the Chicago Conference, many chapters of Negro Labor Councils were organized. This period characterized by

the active work of many of the Councils in various cities. A good example of this is the fight carried on by the Greater Detroit chapter to make FEPC legislation a reality in the City of Detroit. It was also characterized by the unity of the various chapters throughout the country. This unity was manifested by the development of the various chapters throughout the country. This unity was manifested by the development of the various chapters to affiliate themselves with one organization; the National Negro Labor Council. There are many of us in the Council who are of different political and religious beliefs. There are many who have different approaches to various problems. But despite our differences in many other problems we are united on the overriding issue of the day that is confronting the Negro people, and that is the issue of Freedom and first class citizenship. Our National Negro Labor Council is a living demonstration of the power and strength of the Negro people and their white allies. The tremendous increase in its membership which has taken place in the last year is a concrete example of our power.

These things can be no better expressed than by referring to the representation in our Convention. The Credentials Committee reports to the Council that there are approximately 898 delegates and 154 observers, representing many trade unions, community groups, peace groups, church groups, and youth groups, making a total of approximately 1,052 participants. We greet with the deepest and most sincere feelings the one who has given us courage, inspiration, and determination to carry on our fight for freedom, our own Paul Robeson.

We greet our National President who has withstood the onslaught of redbaiting, slander, and lies, and other vicious attempts of the reactionaries to make him submit and accept their crumbs to become an Uncle Tom—Bill Hood, Recording Secretary of Local 600.

We greet with deepest feelings the delegates from the South, namely Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, West Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., both Negro and white, who defied the white supremacy traditions of the south to attend our convention.

We greet the democratic Fur and Leather Workers Union who sent a large delegation to our Convention and contributed so much to help make our Convention a success.

We will long remember the United Electrical Workers union and their representative, Brother Ernie Thompson, who helped us solve many problems before it was possible to hold the convention.

We greet with the deepest enthusiasm the representatives and the delegates of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, who have just won a great victory over the copper bosses by using their economic strength.

We greet the United Public Workers who sent a large delegation to our convention and whose secretary treasurer is a Negro—Brother Ewart Guinier.

We pay special tribute to the powerful Ford Local 600 UAW, who has set an example for democracy by fighting for the rights of Negroes and electing them to leadership within their local and various units.

Time will not permit the elaboration on all unions and organizations which are represented here today, but the contributions which such labor unions as District 65, DPOW, UAW, ILWU, United Packinghouse Workers, FE-UE, and others have made will be long remembered.

We deeply greet the Women delegates, both Negro and white, of which there are 201 attending our convention.

This report would not be complete unless we greet the growing and glorious youth organizations, the LYL, who have sent delegates to participate in our Convention.

Roosevelt Ward, a Negro leader in the LYL, has been jailed by the government and the LYL is putting up a tremendous fight to secure his freedom.

This Convention has representation from 22 states and many organizations which time will not permit us to name. Before ending this report, however, the credentials committee draws to the attention of the convention the fact that although our convention is widely represented it could have been more so had it not been for the attacks and action of the newspapers, radio, and certain leaders in the labor movement.

But, despite the action of these reactionaries, our convention is a success as we can very well see. In this convention hall today is the living proof of the greatness, the invincibility, and the certain victory of the Negro people to win their complete liberation and freedom. Our convention has shown that the democratic people will play their full part in the great army of the defenders of the rights of all people, united under the banner of National Negro Labor Council for those things expressed so simply and so clearly in the slogan of our convention:

"We move but one way, Forward!
To complete liberation and Freedom!
Equality for all people!"

DAVE MOORE, *Chairman*
MARIE BOWDEN
ETHEL GOODMAN
LYNDON HENRY
JOE GABRITSKY
NED WILSON

(*Credentials Report Adopted*)

SAM PARKS:

And now Brother Meyers, who will make the Report for the Panel on the Fight for Jobs.

MEYERS:

The Panel on the Fight for Jobs in Industry for Negro Workers was chaired by Brother Sam Parks. The first report was given by Brother Al Thibedeaux of the ILWU, San Francisco. He reported on the effects of screening in the Maritime industry and pointed out that for the first time in history, Negroes were called "subversive" and must take loyalty oaths. That 65 percent of the so-called "security risks" are Negroes that are screened and that the dock-workers are checked by both the Coast Guard and the Navy for their loyalty to the war program. In discussion of this report Brother Oliver Gregory of the United Mine Workers Local pointed out that previously in his district 125 Negroes were hired to 65 white workers and that now in the present period, the ratio was reversed. Brother Martin Harrison of Steel, Local 1308 reported that today after 27 years of service in his company, he is still a laborer and that the company did not upgrade Negroes, he was fired from the company because he led a struggle for fight for upgrading Negroes. Brother Ted Ship of Local 20, UPW, pointed out that loyalty program has wreaked havoc in the ranks of federal workers, has driven many workers out of government service, particularly Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Under the guise of war economy, cuts are made in essential social service money and government administration causing layoffs of 400 general service workers and 4,000 workers laid off throughout the country by closing of VA centers. Brother Sam Kennedy of Fur in Phila. pointed out the role of the FBI and how fast it is becoming thought police by harrassing white trade unionists for their support for the full equality of the Negro workers in their trade unions.

All the remarks of the brothers point to the same Jim-Crow, intensification of terror by government agencies to carry out the policies of the bosses and Dixiecrats more openly under the war economy. The present state of the

nation, of slander and smear, of McCarthyism and hysteria, Klan, White Circle League and Dixiecrats agents of the employers can practice more openly 2nd class citizenship for Negro workers, men and women. Brother Ralph Anderson of the LYL, in his report, dealt with the problems of the Negro youth. In pre-war time Negro youths' problems were serious being given the gambit of non-experience, hired for the lowest wages, fired, no apprentionship programs for Negro youth have all been intensified. The 1-A status has become the bosses' excuse for not hiring. If hired at all, the youth are given the dirtiest jobs, under the worst conditions. The bulk of the nation's trade-unions have been derelict in their responsibilities in permitting the undercutting of union standards by the bosses with these kind of practices. Brother Anderson's report on the vicious frame-up of Brother Roosevelt Ward, Negro youth leader, as the government's answer to Negro youth who fight 2nd class citizenship and inequality in industry. Sister Helen Lunelly reported that most Negro women work as domestics. The war-time gains in integration of basic industry have been wiped out in most cases with the acquiesence of the top leadership of AFL and CIO trade-unions. And they look to the NNLC to reopen, and widen, the gates to basic industry.

I want to point out here that the reports on youth and women received no discussion in the Panel due to the lack of time, and I want to recommend that some time be given at this session for discussion. In other discussion from the floor, Negro workers are fighting back with their white allies. UE delegates from District 4 are establishing FEPC programs in their unions and apprenticeship training programs for Negro workers and leading fights for upgrading. In other Unions Negro and white unity on a rank-and-file level are also fighting back. The Panel moved, seconded and carried to be carried to the morning session, resolutions condemning screening in the Maritime industry and proposed a 75c per hour minimum wage law for women workers and I move that these resolutions be adopted. (APPLAUSE)

SAM PARKS:

Joe Johnson, "Joltin" Joe Johnson from the West Coast, a young guy who really jolts and fights for freedom. — Joe Johnson.

JOSEPH JOHNSON, Marine Cooks & Stewards.

Brother and sister delegates. I think you'll agree that the freedom train really got rolling yesterday morning. In the Panel on the Fight for Freedom, we had 3 main topics. Colonialism, Negro Oppression in the South and the Rising Tide of Fascism. Sister Viola Brown, Tri-State Administrative Sec'y made a magnificent report, a tremendous amount of research was done on this report. It was very well accepted by the members on the Panel. James Watts gave his report, linked up the rising tide of fascism with the role that our Council must play at this time. I have the opportunity of reporting on "Colonialism" bringing to the Convention some of my experiences as a merchant seamen in traveling these earth surfaces for the last 15 years. It was generally agreed, brothers and sisters, by the members of the Panel, people present, amounting up to close to 400 people,

Delegation from California — 2nd from right rear, JOE JOHNSON, Marine, Cooks and Stewards

that we have a role to play, that history has placed onto the shoulders of people like us the responsibility of saving ourselves, the responsibility of fighting a monster, a vicious bloodthirsty monster, that would involve us in something that's terrible, that would bring to us a kind of situation that's absolutely intolerable. It's also generally agreed that the people of America are receiving leadership in a new form by that hard-hitting, well-organized minority group known as Negroes. (APPLAUSE)

As the great Frederick Douglass once said, "Let he that would be free, strike the first blow."

Written history and prophets are the things that are guarded the most by the big-shots in our country today because by having control of written history they can shape the future, that's why they will not let the Negro people know the contribution that they have made to building this great country of ours. (APPLAUSE) I'd like to prove it for you. I'd like to prove it. For example, everyone knows that the electric lights, the invention was by Thomas Edison. But an also important invention or discovery, or whatever you might call it, the clock, there is a clock in every American home, but are the children taught in early childhood that an American Negro, Benjamin Bannaker is 1753 built the first clock in our country? They don't teach us that, while the Red Cross, a Ku Klux Klan Red Cross was trying to separate black blood from white blood, it was Howards Drew, a Negro scientist who discovered the use of dried blood plasma. I think these things should be taught to all people in an organized fashion.

We found out that this rising tide of fascism isn't just a word, isn't just a high-flown cliche as some people

might call it but it means absolute and complete control by an organized employer group. And in order for these people to continue to hold on to what they have, they've got to have some kind of system where the truth is denied people. We find all sorts of things that are wrong. (I say the Negro people have a camera on the grievances against existing practices.) And we intend to do something about them. And we're not going to be told by anyone who we can get help from when it comes time to fighting for freedom. As Brother William Hood says, we're too proud. We're out fighting for what is right and just and our program is based on the principles that our country is based on. We must refuse to be called names, friends, refuse to be called names, refuse to be boxed-in. I say it's a shame, a sin and a shame, when the minute we start fighting for freedom, fighting with all our strength, the reactionary forces and their Negro "Uncle-Toms" start waving a red flag around (APPLAUSE) calling us "reds," calling us this, that and the other. Yes, I say that these characters that are shouting "red" don't know Communism from rheumatism and very little bit about unionism.

There's been an attempt, since the time of the ruling forces, I guess, to hold the lives of men in check, "don't think," don't ask questions" just accept what have been given since the time of Caesar. I understand that Caesar made some kind of remark to Cassius, "He has a lean and hungry look, he thinks too much he's dangerous." In the deep South, I understand it was an accepted theory that the Negroes couldn't live in the North because their brains would freeze (LAUGHTER) We've been taught all sorts of foolish things, education has been kept from us and when they can't keep it from us any longer, then they try to distort the facts, omission and distortion of the truth. For a very good modern example, I'm quite athletic so I like to look in the world Almanac for the athletes or somthing like that, every now and then. I saw in a recent publication that 1917 was one of the first years they ever had a 10 man football team. Paul Robeson made the eleventh position, so they left him out. Do you think they are going to get away with that? They can't tell us that our great leaders aren't great fighters, are not going to be known to the Negro people? And friends let me tell you something, don't feel let down, don't feel that you're alone, because you're not alone, you're not alone because we're with the stream and not against it.

I've seen in China and old China, if you please, children dead on the streets like you might see a cat or a dog. I've seen them hold long bamboo poles like nets to a ship an American ship and siphon through to get the garbage to eat on. Seeing them asleep on the streets, people that never actually had a home. And I hear every day in the paper certain people who endorse this kind of set-up against freedom, call Chiang-Kai Shek and rest of the monsters throughout Europe, freedom-loving people of the world and I say friends, remember you can look in the record and find out things like in 1931, Chiang-Kai Shek had a massacre, cut the heads off hundreds of people and hung them on main street where many people were wiped out in attempts to destroy the aspiration of people. I make no bid for any kind of social system at this point brothers and sisters, I say

the peoples of the world will decide what kind of system they want to live under. It's their choice to decide.

In the Suez Canal, since it's under discussion at this point, all through Egypt and places like that. I was there early in the war during the lush years, the salaries of agricultural or dock-workers was five piastres a day or 28 cents. 28 cents a day and they couldn't get the bare necessities of life out of that. In the Philippines today for instance, a ponto or a pound and a half of rice cost 60 cents. The salary of a longshoreman is 63 cents a day. I guess he can keep the 3c for himself after he buys the pound and a half of rice. These are some of the things that are stark realities. And some people make reference to the freedom-loving countries of the earth.

In Greece, it calls for the death penalty for going on strike. Belgium, built out of the life blood of the Belgium Congo, black men and women have died so that can remain some kind of symbol. These are the things that are happening and you can't separate from what's happening in our country today. And I say people in those countries are sick, they're tired, they're fed up. In Africa, Capetown I almost got thrown in jail for giving away a Pittsburgh Courier and a Chicago Defender, depicting a Negro as something else than a serf. Listen to this, does it sound kind of familiar: In Africa, Capetown, many times they get the roads built and public services performed by going into the Bush and getting the natives and accusing them of non-payment of taxes, making them work for nothing. So they do in the South, Sister Viola Brown told yesterday how if you didn't want to work in Miss Anne's kitchen, that you wouldn't even get your unemployment insurance in many cases. And I say it makes me mad as all hell that the architects of our country today to want to give millions to Europe to maintain in power a group of officials that have been rejected by their peoples, giving away millions of dollars and don't even want to give me my unemployment insurance. (APPLAUSE)

We're not going to take it, we're not satisfied, we're telling these people we want our freedom and we want it now. We don't want it after a while, we want our freedom now. We're sick, we're tired, we're fed up of getting college educations, reading the best books and then getting handed a mop. It's not good . We're not going to take it, we got friends and I say that in spite of these white-haired "Uncle Toms" that wear the cast-off clothing of our masters, like Denmark Vesey, that great abolitionist, who said: "Beware of he that wears the cast-off clothing of our masters, beware of he that wears the old clothes from the big house." They're a lot of people today, Negro people, who are wearing the old clothes from the big house. They're "Uncle Toms."

There are some 1951 "Uncle Toms" too. Let me tell you friends, you can be "Uncle Toms" in lot of ways. And my opinion of a modern trade-union leader today, in 1951, who will sit back behind his desk, yes, he's the only Negro in a predominantly white Union, he's happy, he's carefree, and he's so happy at not being tainted by talking to Paul Robeson, or something like that. That man's "Uncle Tom" as far as I'm concerned. He's an "Uncle Tom" no matter how thin you slice it. And let me say, brothers and sisters, fellow trade-unions, don't get apathetic lying-still in your little

pie-card jobs, your brothers are being murdered in the South. (AUDIENCE SAYS "RIGHT") Right-wing, or left-wing Negro, I want to see you go to the Stork Club, don't make any difference. (LAUGHTER) Negro unionists, you can't afford the luxury of disunity at this point. Get together, get on that Freedom Train and make it roll. (APPLAUSE) I had some non-thinking person ask me yesterday said, "Say, don't you think your speech is a little to the left." I said, "Look brother, my speech may be upside down or sideways I'm going to get me some freedom." (LAUGHTER)

Friends, we've got to get together. Did you ever hear of that thing called Unity? We've got to get together because we're going to get together whether we like it or not. We must take some lessons from some of the things that have happened in other countries in the world. A great writer once said, that little something that separates man from beast is intellect, the right of a great mind to communicate with the great minds of the past, that's the thing that separates man from beast. So we must learn from things that have happened in other countries. And in Germany friends, less than 15 years ago, because the ruling class got desperate they saw themselves roped-in and they began to do some pretty vicious things, they made mattresses out of peoples' hair, gloves out of their skin, they murdered 6 million human beings in the ovens in Buchenwald and I say friends that people who are business partners do not have too many political differences, and today a big-shot in our country is John Foster Dulles, a corporation lawyer for the Schroeder Bank connected with it in some way, shape, form or fashion. We see some guys like Hjalmar Schacht, the brains behind Hitler, is sent over to Iran to help out. These are things that are happening. The same people that told us that we're on the wrong side during the last war are now in the driver's seat. Friends, we have a Ku Klux Klan foreign policy and we've got to change it. It's the truth, it may be hard words but the program that our architects today have outlined for us would deny freedom to the colonial peoples of the world. We're giving aid and comfort to the people who want to keep them in chains. And if the colonial people are in chains, then the people in the South are in chains and the Ciceros, the Peekskills and all the other disturbances of that kind don't start there, they start in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi and they boil over and they just drip over to those places. Those are (APPLAUSE) the things that are happening. We've got to stop it at its source.

And let's say to those Negro "Uncle Toms," let's say to them, "Look, there's a fight going, there's a battle coming" as Brother Hood pointed out, we're going into this battle with our colors unfurled and we know that there's going to be casualties, there's going to be many casualties. A lot of us are going to be denied jobs, a lot of us are going to be ostracized from our friends, we're going to be called names. These are some of the casualties we are going to suffer, but we've got to tell the Schuylers and the Sampsons and the rest of them, at least get off of our backs when we're fighting for our freedom. Get off. That reminds me of a guy like us and many of us have been in some fights, we're trade-unionists, when you're in a fight with a vicious and dangerous enemy, you don't know he might have a knife

or gun or something and some of your friends come and hold you. "Let me go,"—that's what we should say to these people. "If you're not going to help us fight at least don't stop us from fighting." (APPLAUSE, LOUD). Yes, that fascist man is here, he's got his foot inside the door, a little bit, just a little bit, but he's not going to get his foot all the way in. He's not going to get it all the way in because that fascist man stands for war, for misery, for poverty, and I say, It makes no difference whether we have an atom bomb that can kill 25 thousand and Russia has an atom bomb that can kill 20 thousand; 20 thousand human lives is not something to be gambled with. In LeHavre, France, I was there in 1945, I saw buildings gutted out, people without sanitation, without clothes, a healthy well-educated cultured people previously, they don't look so good when war comes. These big-shots in our country, as was pointed out by Brother Hood yesterday, they sort of come to a climax around 1899 or 1900 when they started grabbing, grabbing, grabbing. Of course there was that period of progressiveness you know, going out trying to make things, but now we've come to the position where they've got so much grabbed up they're afraid to lose it. And if they're afraid to lose they're going to keep you and me down to hang on to it. And we're not going to be held down, and when these guys get desperate, they do some pretty, pretty bad things, scare you to death, beat you to death, shove you around, keep you from getting education, because when you get some education friends, you learn how to read one book you're going to read another, then you read another, then you read another and then you say for crying out loud, somebody's been jiving me (LAUGHTER) Yes, sir, Yes sir, and then you find out that you've been fooled.

Well, the majority of the Negro people are today united and together. We speak of democracy and representative representation. I say the Negro people in our country need representation but we must have representation from the largest body of our people and the majority of Negro people have to work for a living, and I'm just naive enough to believe that if a man's going to make loud and articulate the voice of the Negro working people, he has to have some of the same problems that they have. The price of a pair of shoes, the price of butter, a wage freeze, a screening program, these kind of things must be always on his mind.

Now with all respect to the professions, with all respect to them, a Negro landlord he can kind of make it because the risks in a ghetto are 20 per cent less than they are in any other place. Negro doctors they're going to make it because we're sicker than most people because of conditions we're forced to live in. Negro undertakers are going to make it because we live 10 years shorter than anyone else. All of these people are going to make it, they can hold out a little longer than us. And so I say when these "Uncle Toms" and reactionaries come to me and tell me that I can't associate with this Negro and that other Negro and discuss our common problems before I've had a chance to find out for myself and that's what happened. We said we're going to get together a Negro Labor Council and immediately the press began to go to town, calling every name in the book before they even came to

see what we were going to say, call you names first and that's the kind of thing that we can't tolerate.

Don't isolate yourself friends, make this Freedom Train part-and-parcel of every conversation that you indulge in—in your Women's Clubs, in your Social Clubs and in the churches more than any other place, friends, because we can't let our Negro churches become what the reactionary forces would like it to be, just a tool, just an instrument, the Negro Church has a wonderful history in our country, a wonderful history. In this here town in Cincinnati, some of our churches were linked to the underground and many ancient Negro spirituals were signals to the underground like "How Shall I Send Thee; One By One, or Two By Two," the song about "Canaan Land" Canaan was a slang used by the African natives for expressing Canada, Canaan Land and freedom. Our church has always been primarily an organizing force, a getting-together force, and to all of these preachers who would tell us "Don't ride the Freedom Train" tell him, Look, Brother, my Bible teaches me Watch, Fight and Pray—Watch, FIGHT, and pray. My dad always told me that good things come to those who wait. But here's one that's slicker; a guy that'll go out and get what he wants, will get it a little bit quicker. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

Yes, friends, our church is all important. Participate, read and study. Read that great Book, because there are many interesting lessons. And when they tell us in their long flowing terms, they come to us with a forked tongue saying that good people like Robeson, like Hood, honest people, are diabolical forces, they are evil people, we can tell them friends, tell them from that great story in Genesis 32, "The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob." (APPLAUSE) And when the Negro people, who, in my opinion, assume the role of Father Isaac, when they wake up and find out that some of these mis-leaders of labor, mis-leaders of the people are telling them mis-truths, the Negro people are now saying, as said Isaac, "Go, take thy sword, and break the yoke that thy brother has placed around thy head." Where you sold out for a bowl of potage, the Negro people today are not going to sell out for a bowl of potage, I mean a little security, a little better job than the rest of us got. (APPLAUSE) Yes, friends, never before in the history of our country has there been such a need for unity, right at the point of production, that's where we play our role. And the Negro Trade Union Council can be that little boy's thumb that was stuck in the dike to save a city. Stop the flood. All of us are looking forward to the day when we can walk down that street of dreams where no one is poor, where everybody has the right to work and the dignity of a first class human being. Everybody is looking forward to that. And you've no right to look forward to that dream unless you're doing something to make that dream possible. Yes friends, the day is coming when certain people are going to say, "All those who stand for the American way of life, stand up and be counted or sit down, you're a Negro, or sit down you're a Jew, sit down you belong to the ILWU, sit down you belong to the Negro Labor Council. Then who's going to stand up? Only the Uncle Toms and their life will be short lived because everybody's got contempt for a stool pigeon. An Uncle

Tom, a traitor, I wonder what these guys see when they look in the mirror. If he was a man how could he keep from cutting his throat when he shaves in the morning. (APPLAUSE) Yes, friends, there's no power on earth or planet in heaven that can stop this Freedom Train. Let's get on board. (APPLAUSE)

CHAIRMAN:

Sister and fellow delegates, I am indeed pleased to have this opportunity of introducing the next speaker. Can you hear me out there? The next speaker is an outstanding trade unionist, one who is well-known in the trade union movement, and not only in the trade union movement, but in the struggle for Negro freedom. A man, in my opinion, is a modern day John Brown, who has indicated a willingness to give leadership amongst the white people in the struggle for Negro freedom. He's a member of my own union, executive secretary-treasurer. His message is one that I think that everyone will appreciate deeply, and recognize the importance of. I think that he is well-qualified to bring this type of message to you because of his own record on the particular subject of which he is about to speak. The patch that he wears over his eye is a symbol of that fact. At this time, I would like to introduce Maurice Travis, executive secretary of the International Union of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. (LOUD APPLAUSE)

Brothers and Sisters: I was deeply moved when I received the invitation to appear here. This conference was called by—and is devoted to—Negro workers, who came here to discuss the

MAURICE TRAVIS — U.M.M.S. of A.

crucial issues which grow out of their life-and-death struggle against white man's justice. Because you have asked me to speak here as a white trade unionist, I feel a grave sense of responsibility.

The first thing I want to say is that if I am able to speak here today as a leader of a union which has in the past year had some taste of victory over formidable enemies, it is in large measure because of the courage, understanding and militance of thousands of Negro and Mexican-American members in my union. However, we still have a big job to do in my union.

What I have to say here today flows directly from the deeper understanding of my responsibilities as a white labor leader as a result of what the Negro and Mexican-American members of my union have taught me.

I didn't come here to tell the Negro workers of America, or their leaders, what to do. (*Applause.*) I didn't come to orate about the problems of the Negro people and hand out a fancy custom-built set of answers designed to

wash away all these problems — like Tide, the Washday Wonder.

Here on the stage, and out there, is a great abundance of genuine Negro leadership. Here are the real leaders of the Negro workers in America. They know what must be done, and they are ready, willing and very, very able to do it.

TO WHITE UNIONISTS

What I've got to say is aimed at the white trade unionists — rank-and-file white workers and their leaders—here and around the country.

How have we always talked about Negro-white unity in the past? We've talked about it on the basis of white joining to help the Negroes win their just rights. The big white brothers, holding out a generous, fatherly hand, to lift up the Negroes. And, of course, as long as that approach was used, the Negroes somehow never got lifted up.

I think it's about time that white workers and their leaders registered a fact of life. It's time for them to agree that a change has taken place in the world. It's time for them to understand that all over the world, the white man is being tested. Millions of people in Asia, Africa, South America, the Pacific, are taking a very close look to see if the white man means what he says when he talks about democracy and equality.

Here in the United States that world-wide test is being made in a very pointed way. Millions of people all over the world and right here in America—are taking a close look to see how the Negro worker gets along in this country where there is so much talk of democracy.

It's no secret to anyone in this hall that the United States is flunking the test miserably, in spite of the super-salesmen who clog the airways with protestations.

And the Negro workers of Georgia and Detroit and Harlem and Mississippi know that the chains which enslave the darker people of other lands are forged on the same anvil of bigotry and economic exploitation which fashions the chains of American Jim Crow.

The very fact that this conference is being held demonstrates that the Negro workers are not waiting. They have waited too long for their inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. No, they are not waiting. They are impatiently demanding.

Yes, the temper and position of the Negro people has changed . . . and it is continuing to change. And I say to the white trade unionists—we had better change too.

Whenever and wherever there has been genuine unity of Negro and white workers, unity of the kind we are talking about here—unity around a program of action—whenever there has been that kind of unity, the whole country has moved ahead.

There was that kind of unity in the period just after the Emancipation Proclamation. And both the white AND Negro workers of this country made great strides forward. There was also that kind of genuine unity between Negro and white workers under F.D.R. in the 1930's—and brother, how we did move then!

On the other hand, wherever there has been no unity between Negro and white workers, there the Negroes have been kept back and the white workers have been pulled back, too!

Now this is a big and important idea, an idea which white workers must be made to understand clearly —and quickly. What this means is that

the fight for Negro rights is not a matter of big brotherhood, or paternalism, or generosity on the part of white workers. It's a matter of life or death for the white workers themselves. (*Applause.*)

The white supremacists and their political stooges do not intend that the trigger, the lash and the noose shall be reserved for Negroes only. They intend that ALL workers shall feel the lash of reaction—if they do not comply. They intend to divide us on any grounds they can.

Now as far as the white leaders of the trade unions are concerned, there is a record. And if we look at the record of most of the big and important unions, what do we find?

We find that there is a great deal of talk about the need to fight for the rights of Negro workers. We find that committees are set up, civil rights directors are appointed, speeches are made, resolutions are passed.

Oh, there are a goodly number of labor leaders who capture the headlines with statements that the Negro must be given more equality as an answer to "communist propaganda." In one breath these labor leaders are making two damaging admissions.

First, they're admitting that there is discrimination against the Negro people and that they have done nothing, as labor leaders, to stop it. And second, they're admitting they have no desire to do anything in order to strengthen the Negro as an ally in the fight for better living standards for ALL Americans.

In effect, they're saying that they want desperately to hold on to the handle of red-baiting which becomes more and more feeble every time they use it.

But nothing happens.

The white labor leaders—and some of them head very big unions—somehow find it possible to make a lot of noise about how we have got to overcome discrimination in this country. But the Jim Crow locals are still there. The policy of "last hired and first fired" is still there. The segregated toilets are still in the back of the shop. The dual wage scale still prevails. The lily-white international executive boards are still in business. (*Applause.*)

But these same white labor leaders will tell you, and they will be very loud and surprised when they say it: "What do you mean, I'm not delivering on the question of Negro rights? Why, we hired a Negro stenographer just the other day. We had a big article about discrimination and equality in our union paper. Why, we eliminated discrimination in the bowling alleys all over the country—not in our unions — but the bowling alleys. (*Laughter.*) Surely, we're doing everything we can!"

The fact is that these white labor leaders have done nothing in the real fight for the rights of Negro workers —and they don't intend to do anything. They will concoct a hundred window-dressing campaigns to make a noise intended to fool some people into believing they are doing something.

IGNORE REAL JOB

But they ignore the real job—the fight for Negro rights in the shop and in the community around the shop. When it comes to providing leadership for the in-fighting against employers, these hypocrites are missing.

Now I want to make it clear that I think white workers have a great responsibility in the larger campaigns

—the struggles that are conducted on a national or regional basis. They can do a great deal in the fight for the right of Negro families to live in white communities. They can do a great deal when it comes to mobilizing protest delegations in cases like those of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, and the fight against fascist terrorism in Cicero, Ill.

These campaigns are important. They contribute to the overall fight for full freedom for the Negro people. And many thousands of progressive white trade unionists have engraved an honorable record of the part they have played in them.

But these campaigns are no substitute for the day-to-day fight for Negro workers in our own back yard. They don't excuse the white worker from taking on a fight to see to it that his Negro brothers and sisters can eat in the same restaurant he uses right next to the shop where they work together. (*Applause.*) They don't take the place of job action to guarantee that a Negro is up-graded. They don't mean we can duck the fight for FEP clauses in our contracts.

TRADE UNION UNITY

What I'm saying is that the white union leaders have a responsibility to fight as trade unionists for the rights of Negro workers as trade unionists. More than that, it's a matter of cold self-interest, self-preservation of themselves and their unions for them to press that fight just as hard as they can.

I have been trying to say that when white workers join in campaigns for the liberation of their fellow freedom-fighters, the white workers are helping themselves. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the deep South . . . and for two very important reasons.

One reason is that when the fight for the elementary rights of Negro workers to vote in the South is won—and it will be won—there will be an immediate change in the political balance of power, not just in the South but all over the nation. Because when the poll tax goes, the strangle-hold of the poll-tax Congressmen on our government will be broken. That will open the doors for a whole series of changes in the political complexion of this land.

The second reason is that the economic balance of power is changing in the South. More and more Northern corporations are "decentralizing" their operations—which means moving them to the South where they hope to exploit cheap labor, caused by the division between Negro and white workers. That means unemployment in the North, and vicious exploitation of Negro and white worker in the South. The answer, so far as the white worker—both North and South—is concerned, is to guarantee that the Southern wage differential is wiped out. That means a joint fight—with Negro and white worker campaigning together in the same union—to bust the Southern differential.

A FOOLISH NOTION

There are not very many white workers left by now who harbor the illusion, the foolish notion that they have an identity of interest with employers. Every step that's been taken since the war drive began has made it clearer and clearer that the employers are out to destroy our living standards, wipe out even the most elementary of our civil rights, put our sons in uniform and send them to some foreign soil to kill and be killed. (*Applause.*)

The employers—and the men who speak for them in government—have made it clear that they are determined to have profits, no matter what it costs in terms of sacrifice by American workers.

And when the employers — acting through their agent in Government, Charles E. Wilson — impose a wage freeze, the freeze does not distinguish between white workers and Negroes. It does not say: we will hold down the wages of one group and raise the wages of the other. No, it says this wage freeze is democratic—everybody is frozen stiff as a mackerel. (*Laughter.*)

How do you fight that kind of business? You fight it by uniting with every ally you can find to smash the wage freeze. A white worker would be an awful dumb-bell if he rejected the willingness of the Negro worker to join him in a drive to smash the wage freeze.

And how does one do his part to help make sure that the Negro is in a position to fight the wage freeze — and all the other devices that are used to keep down the worker, Negro and white alike? How does the white worker and labor leader do his part to help mow down the barriers that stand in the path of the Negro worker?

SOME NECESSARY TOOLS

First of all, white workers have a responsibility to join the fight for placing the same tools in the hands of his Negro bother that he himself has. One of those tools is a job. Another of those tools is membership in a trade union—full membership. Still another tool is the right to advance into positions of leadership in the union.

These are three elementary tools which the Negro worker must have if he's going to fight effectively against those enemies he has in common with the white worker. So you see what I mean when I say that it's a matter of cold self-interest for the white worker to jump off his pinnacle of paternalism and join his Negro brother in a genuine brand of unity. (*Applause.*)

Now, most of the white labor leaders give at least lip-service to the notion that the Negro worker has a right to a job. And a few of them are willing to admit that the Negro ought to have membership in a local union that is not Jim Crow. But it is on the issue of permitting Negroes to advance into positions of leadership that so many white leaders begin to burrow under the rug, and find excuses, and reasons why not, and let's not be in too big a hurry.

THE TIME IS NOW!

I say the time is now. Not tomorrow, or next month, or after the next five-year contract expires. But now. If anybody wants to argue with me that Negro workers aren't ready to assume positions of union leadership, I'll tell him he's a plain damned fool. (*Applause.*)

Who is better qualified as a labor leader than Asbury Howard, our Mine-Mill regional director in the deep South. (*Applause.*) Who is better qualified than Raymond Dennis, our International Executive Board Member in the middle west? (*Applause.*) Who is better qualified than anyone of dozens of Negro workers in this hall?

Any white worker or white labor leader who says he believes in equality for Negro workers, and then says there doesn't happen to be any Negro in his union "ready for leadership" is just trying to duck a fight. (*Applause.*) In effect, he's saying, there may be a

Delegation, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

few white members in the union who might object—so why make a fuss?

It doesn't seem to occur to those white leaders that nothing can mobilize and rally the Negro worker so much as the sure knowledge that there are Negroes among the leaders in his union—from top to bottom.

There are also the white labor leaders who advance the stupid and malicious argument that any attempt to advance Negroes into union leadership is "Jim Crow in reverse." You only have to take a brief glance behind that notion to see just one more example of white supremacy.

A SIMPLE PROBLEM

There is only one approach to the question of Negro leadership in trade unions. It is the approach that insists on advancement of Negroes into positions of leadership—at every level—in the interests of both white and Negro workers. It's that simple.

Once the Negro worker begins to develop stature as a leader in the labor movement, his union—and that includes the white leaders in his union—have a special obligation that goes beyond the union. That's the obligation to make sure that the Negro labor leader is given time and opportunity to develop as a leader in the Negro community—as a leader in the fight for Negro liberation on ALL fronts.

The hour is late. The corporations are becoming more and more arrogant, getting tougher and tougher. As they see it, they're in the saddle, and they intend to wring out everything they can get, even if it means war.

Now, I don't know whether or not the big shots in the corporations welcome the idea of another war. But I do know that they welcome—and insist on—the idea of an ever-increasing pro-

gram of armaments and overseas bases. And it's very clear why they insist on such a gigantic and costly arms program—paid out of the pockets and the sweat of American workers. First, they look upon it as the only alternative to a depression. And second, they are convinced that a huge arms program is the only effective way to win control of every market in the world.

JOBS AT STAKE

What that means—to the white and Negro worker alike—is easy to see. Workers in one of the plants covered by my union are losing their jobs because the plant cannot compete with cheaply-made products imported from occupied Japan. And it goes without saying that a MacArthur-trained police force and army of occupation make sure the workers of Japan have been stripped of the right to strike for decent wages.

No matter how you look at it, neither the workers of the American-controlled colonial areas, nor those here at home gain anything in this game. They only lose.

We've got to get moving, if we're going to bust up this plot. We've got to leave the planning and talking stage, and get into action—fast. (*Applause.*)

Now is the time for the white worker to make it clear—once and for all—that they welcome the idea of unity with Negro workers. Now is the time for them to make clear that they look upon Negro-white unity as a matter of mutual responsibility. After all, any alliance, by its very nature, means responsibility on both sides.

The white workers who are here at this conference have a special responsibility. They have the job of going back to their homes, to their unions, and campaigning for Negro-white unity—not among the Negro workers—but among the white workers.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

There has never been any doubt in my mind that Negro workers welcome the idea of unity with white workers. And if there was any doubt anywhere, the very fact of this conference should end it, for good and all. The job that needs to be done is among the white workers—and that's our job. (*Applause.*)

The National Negro Labor Council which is being founded here is primarily a movement of Negro workers—Negro freedom-fighters. It is being led, and will be led, by Negroes. They will unite the Negro workers around a program of action, which is the way it should be done.

But the responsibility of white workers here is to guarantee that white workers be brought into the united struggle with Negro workers for Negro rights. Unless they do that, the white labor leaders will have forfeited the right to speak of Negro-white unity. (*Applause.*)

There are—fortunately not at this meeting — some white labor leaders who have already tried to smear this movement by calling it dual unionism. Now dual unionism is a catchword which is usually used by labor phonies when they see something done which they should have done themselves. (*Laughter.*) But I don't see any new labor federation being organized here. I don't see any new international or national union being founded here.

All I see is the beginning of a movement that should have been sparked and initiated long ago. The cry of

dual unionism is no more than a feeble attempt to find a closet in which to hide the skeletons of past failures.

HISTORIC CONVENTION

It seems to me there is something very special about this convention. This is an historic meeting. We are here at the birth of a movement that has no parallel in the whole history of our country. What is being done here has never been tried before.

I don't need to tell you that this meeting is taking place in an historic city—the site of an important way-station in the Underground Railroad during the long struggle against slavery. (*Applause.*)

One of the men who made his very special contribution to the struggle against slavery was John Brown. Now John Brown was not a diplomat. And he certainly was not a talker or speech-maker. As a matter of fact we are told by the history books that John Brown was not the kind of man who would use two words where one would do.

But John Brown was a man of courage, of conscience, and above all, a man of action. He was a man of principle. If a thing was right, it was right —there could be no compromise. He hated slavery, so he took himself to the very heart-land of slavery and made a dramatic attempt to smash slavery at one blow—by taking away the weapons that were required to uphold it.

JOHN BROWN'S HERITAGE

There are some who say that John Brown failed in his glorious attempt to smash slavery. But what John Brown did gave heart and spirit to the Negroes all over the South. When they heard the story of John Brown—they knew they had white allies, they knew that slavery could and would be destroyed. And what John Brown said at the last shines through even today —in the temper and spirit of this conference. He said:

"If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done." (*Applause.*)

This is a time for new John Browns to arise, up and down the land. And I am convinced that out of this conference will come a whole army of—John Browns, (*Applause.*) men who are dedicated not to talk and double-talk, but to action. Men of principle and of conscience who are convinced that Jim Crow can be licked, and that the time has come to lick it, so that the Negro can take his full and rightful place as a first class citizen of this land —with full social, economic, political, and civil rights.

The time is ripe. Let's go! (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

A reading of the proposed program of action will be available to you all in mimeographed form within the next fifteen minutes. I'd like to say, however, that it's pretty evident from the partial report of the credentials committee and from the response of the delegates here to proposals put forward up to this point that the National Negro Labor Council has taken a long step today toward becoming the type of organization envisioned by the founding Convention in Chicago in June of 1950. I'm sure that a major contribution today has been made in the over all struggle of the Negro

people for full economic, social and political equality. But it's pretty evident that we cannot talk our way into this equality. It's pretty evident that we're here to struggle. And it's more than evident that we have to nail down, here and now the nature of that struggle. The program of action that flows out of this founding convention must reflect in life itself and in concrete application the specialized role of the National Negro Labor Council in the general field of struggle.

NORMAN STERNBACH, Teachers Union, Local 555, UPW:

There've been many things in my life that have made me happy. I'm not saying this for effect because you get up on the floor and you say things. My marriage, the end of World War II. But since those days in the past ten years there have been many things in the world that have made us unhappy, Negro and white. Twice as hard for the Negro people. But today at this convention, and yesterday at this convention, I saw and I felt a feeling that will overwhelm the dark clouds and the bitterness and the hatred and the war in our country. There was a new life being born. And when fear grabs us and we sit up at night and we worry about our wives and kids and the people around us it is the Robesons, the Pattersons, the Hoods, and the people at this convention who say NO, there is hope in America. But sometimes, and I am unhappy to say even at this convention I felt, we forget about some of the people—some of the people that are very important—if not most important in our country and in our movement, and that is the role that the Negro women are playing and the role that the Negro women have played before. Before the Civil War broke out there was a little woman, four feet ten inches tall, named Harriet Tubman. We don't hear about her in the history books. She weighed 85 pounds, but she went into the Underground Railroad. She organized the Underground Railroad, and when, at the end of her life she wrote a letter to Frederick Douglass, and said, Fred, please write an introduction to a book about me, I'd like you to say something about me because you're the greatest Negro in the U.S. today. He wrote back to her and said, Harriet, while you went in and risked your life—while you went in and freed your brothers and sisters, in the South, I was up here writing articles and making speeches. He said—you—you are the greatest Negro in America today, and I feel humble in being asked by you to write such a speech. And that's something, isn't it? But we forget that today in the United States Rosalie McGee with a crippled leg just out of the hospital against a doctor's orders, with her children in the South, walked throughout the United States pleading for the life of her husband.

Those of us who watched her saw a woman who had the oppression of hundreds of years of slavery and discrimination on her head—a woman who couldn't speak when she left the South,—in a few months become a giant of a woman and delivered speeches that made us sit and cry. And yes, those of us who are teachers and so-called intellectuals, we wept when we listened to the words of Rosalie McGee, because Rosalie McGee, when she spoke, was speaking literature and power and history and it's not only Rosalie McGee. It's Mrs. Ingram and

TERRY ROSENBAUM — A.L.P.-N.Y.

her kids in a prison in the South, never crying, never giving up. It's those people we have to remember. The Cladia Joneses, The Vicki Garvins, the trade union leaders who come up and fight.

Yesterday, on the floor, and I want to make reference to this because I think the convention should right it, because of time and other difficulties our panel didn't have the time to discuss the Negro women and jobs. When a Negro woman came up here, there was no microphone, so she couldn't be heard. But I think the delegates will recall, even those that didn't hear her, and some of them being very—I think—as the chairman said yesterday—Sam Parks was chairman of that panel, we were being ill-mannered, to put it mildly—she was the only person who came up on the platform, except for a young man who wrote a report on youth—who wrote out a detailed report with facts and figures. But because she couldn't be heard when we decided on a person to make the report on that panel it was decided that this Negro woman wouldn't make the report because maybe she wouldn't be heard. Harriet Tubman never learned to read or write. She was 85 pounds. She may not have been heard —but that is not a reason for saying she should not make the report and possibly a younger person who is louder should make the report. (APPLAUSE)

On the program of action, the chairman stated earlier today and it was stated yesterday, that we would try to include in the discussion of the resolutions an action on our discussion. That's why I contributed here today. The delegates who have spoken previously have mentioned that we don't have enough Negro leadership in the unions, that we talk a lot and write articles a lot, but that they're not here. That they're not in our unions. On this program of action for jobs for Negro women, let's make certain that when we get back to the unions it's not a so-called "Addition" to the program we adopt—but rather that we really go out and fight on it because in the Negro women in the United States, then and now, the same Harriet Tubmans are living, lies the future of tomorrow. They're the ones who bring up the kids. They're the ones who work in the shops. They're the ones who fight with us. And let us remember one thing, part of the Negro people were given the right to vote and part of the white people in 1865 but it took till 1919 till a law was passed that gave women the right to vote. And since that time, until today many changes have taken place and it wasn't despite the women, but because of the help and the aid that they gave us. And let's not forget it and let's as Sam Parks said yesterday,

listen a little more instead of talking so loud when it's hard to hear the person speaking, a woman or somebody smaller than us. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE)

EWART GUINIER

BROTHER CHAIRMAN, I think that the question that the brother raised how to mobilize the people of the community around the program of our councils is a very important one. Maybe by a short discussion of what we've been able to do in NYC, through the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, we may find some answers to this question.

As most of you know, the Greater NY Negro Labor Council was the first council to be formed, having been formed in April, 1949, as the Harlem Trade Union Council. And one of the moments that I think we should spend here, is in tribute to the work of the first leader of that Council—a man who has made his mark in the American trade union movement, becoming the National Secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union in 1937 when that union was a fighting union. He led that union in the struggle for upgrading of Negro, Puerto Rican, and women workers; a man that helped to mobilize the entire trade union movement to ensure that in 1942 a Negro became a sea captain of the SS Booker T. Washington, Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac. That man, who is not here with us today, is still working among working people. He is now the Assistant to the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in charge of Caribbean Affairs. I am, of course, referring to the former Executive Secretary of the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, Brother Ferdinand Smith. (*Applause*)

. . . And Brother Smith wants you to know, as he said when the government of this country said he couldn't stay here any more, and when the reporters said, "What are you going to do, Mr. Smith?", he said, "Wherever working people are struggling, that's where you're going to find Ferdinand Smith." And there he is. (*Applause*)

TRAINING AND PLACEMENT OF NEGRO WORKERS

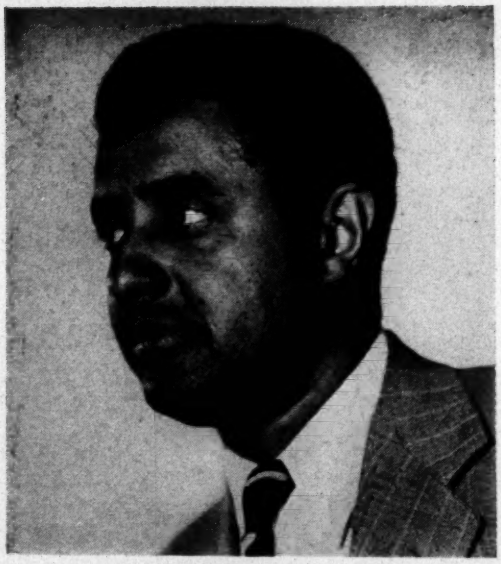
In New York we tried to put into effect from the very beginning the kind of program that Brother Coleman Young has outlined to you as the program of the National Council movement, 100,000 new jobs for Negroes, 1 million signatures for FEPC. We didn't have in all the details that Brother Young has been able to present here. He has been able to confer with leaders of Councils from all over the country and to bring forth a program of action.

Some people may say that we are not interested in merely going after the small jobs of the utilities, or the breweries, or the milk companies in the Negro communities, that we should get right down to business and attack the discrimination in basic industry. Well, I have no quarrel with getting down to business and attacking the intolerable discrimination that we find in steel, that we find, yes, in many auto plants, that we find in many of the basic industries of this land.

But while we map out such programs we must be able to reach the individual Negro working men and women in our community. We have found that one of the best ways to do that is to have a kind of a placement system—a placement and training service. For several months after we were founded in NY we had "placement night." On Mondays and Thursdays from 7 to 9 any Negro worker could come to our office and register for work, register for training, register any complaint he or she may have.

We were able to place directly through our Council 250 Negro men and women and youth within the period of 8 months, in jobs—some of them unskilled, but many of them highly skilled jobs including skilled jobs in the technical field in the radio industry.

In addition to this placement service, and we utilized any contacts we had with unions, with hiring halls to help with



EWART GUINIER — U.P.W. of A.

these individual jobs, we also, in conjunction with the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, set up a motion picture production training unit and we have been training Negro men and women in the technique of making motion pictures . . . Not only have we placed some Negro men and women in this field, but what's more important this unit has been able to photograph and to record for posterity, some of the activities of our Council—the most noteworthy being the cultural evening that we had on June 1st of this year. Brother Paul Robeson, with a supporting cast, gave a concert at the Golden Gate Ballroom. We had almost 4,000 people in the hall, and several hundred—maybe as many as a thousand, turned away because they couldn't get in.

We also, in NY, held a cultural festival a year before that where Brother Paul Robeson, on behalf of Negro working men and women, gave a tribute from the trade unions—a tribute to Negro workers. We have found the cultural end of things is one of the best mediums to weld our people together and we feel that every local council should find a way of bringing forth artists from among the workers themselves.

Not all of us are fortunate enough to be able to have Brother Robeson appear at our Council endeavors. You know that he wants to wherever he goes, and he has. As a matter of fact, when I travel around the country for my union I find in many localities that the Negro workers say—"The best organizer that we have in the Negro labor movement is Paul Robeson, because when he comes to town the Negro workers turn out to greet him and we get an opportunity to get together with them." (*Applause*). Well, we must see that we develop many more Paul Robesons among our men and women by giving them the opportunity to come forth culturally.

SUPPORT TO NEGRO LONGSHOREMEN

One of the most dramatic events that we have done in our Council in New York was a mass picket line that we had a couple of years ago in front of the offices of President Joe Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association. We have said, and Brother Hood has said, that our job is not to interfere in the internal affairs of unions. However we are not going to be blind when our people are being discriminated against within unions or outside of unions. When they call upon us for help we are going to be there to give them that help.

In the Longshoremen's union—that is, the AFL-ILA, there was a situation where a local—Local 968, composed almost exclusively of Negro workers, were denied the usual customs in the longshore industry, namely, having some piers that they would have jurisdiction over. Every local in Brooklyn has 3 or 4 or 5 piers on which the work is regularly given to members of that local—except Local 968 which has Negro officers, and the overwhelming membership—almost 100%—Negro. They have no piers whatsoever. These piers were taken away from them by President Joe Ryan.

And so these workers, after going thru all the petitions within the union and getting nowhere, established a picket line before Ryan's headquarters. For two or

three months, 3 or 4 of these workers would picket King Joe Ryan.

The Harlem Trade Union Council, at the request of the rank and file of Local 698 members decided to give support to this picket line and at the moment that Joe Ryan was about to lift the charter of 968 to get rid of what he thought was this nuisance, the Harlem Trade Union Council, the predecessor of the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, established a 24 hour picket line that was participated in by 14,000 Negro and white workers around the clock. (*Applause*)

That was a tremendous demonstration, and O'Dwyer, now resting in Mexico City, ordered the cops to break up the picket line. They ran into it with their horses. But the 24 hours with that picket line around Joe Ryan's headquarters told the world what was happening in the ILA. This stayed the hand of Joe Ryan lifting the charter of Local 968. Local 968 went ahead, had its elections, and reelected its militant leadership, and today they are still part of the fighting rank and file in ILA, fighting right now in NYC and along the East Coast to get a decent wage increase instead of the measly ten cents an hour that King Ryan settled for with the shipowners.

And the existence of Local 968 is a challenge to the entire ILA, because it says to the ILA, treat these Negro workers right, or the entire labor movement will be made aware—through instrumentalities like the Negro Labor Council, of the kind of discrimination that you practice. (*Applause*)

The Negro Labor Council in NY has given much aid to many unions struggling with problems. I know my own union, the United Public Workers, has received tremendous amount of encouragement by the Negro Labor Council, not only in NY, but all over.

BUREAU OF ENGRAVING CASE

When we were in a struggle with the United States Government to get Negro youth—Negro veterans accepted as apprentices to plate printers in the Bureau of Engraving, a craft that had never been opened up to Negro people, it was the Negro Labor Council movement that helped to rally the entire Negro community and the trade union movement in support of this fight and one of the keys in winning this fight was something that happened—maybe accidentally.

You know, Mr. Walter White, of the NAACP, takes a lot of pot shots at a lot of our leaders and he wrote a special article for Ebony magazine, in which he tried to debunk what Paul Robeson had been doing. He tried to make out that Paul is just a sorehead, that somehow he just didn't like Mr. Truman, and all he wanted to do in this country was embarrass him, and in order to illustrate this point, Ebony printed a half-page picture. And what did this picture say? It showed Paul heading a picket line, carrying a sign which said, "Mr. Truman, take Jim Crow off the US Dollar." This picket line was before the White House. Well, within two weeks after this picture appeared in Ebony with its over 300,000 circulation, more and more people began to know, for the first time, about the fight that the Public Workers had been carrying on in the Bureau of Engraving. And we won that fight because this January, 17 Negro youth started to work as apprentices to plate printers. (*Applause*)

And there are many other unions that have gotten help from the Negro Labor Councils. I believe that the Chicago Conference—and the NY Negro Labor Council takes pride that it was through the efforts of our Council and the Chicago South Side Negro Labor Council primarily—that we were able to have that spendid Chicago conference last June. A conference that brought to national attention the existence of young and vigorous and militant trade unionists. And that has brought forth this gathering under the able and dynamic leadership of Bill Hood. We are proud that we participated in that conference. That conference has stimulated unions to discuss this question

of what they can do—what they should be doing—on the fight for Negro rights.

UNIONS MUST DO MORE

There are some unions that feel smug. They feel that they have done a good job, but I want to stand here and say that whether it's my own union, the Public Workers, or any other union, there isn't a single union in this country that has done the full job that we expect them to do and that we are going to demand that they do in making this fight for full equal rights for Negro workers a number 1 job. Because we say to the unions—the Negro worker has shown on the picket lines that they are there to support the rights of all workers.

The Negro workers in the South are showing, and right now the DPOW in Memphis, Tenn., largely composed of Negro workers are under the gun of the McCarran Committee that has raided their office, to seize their membership lists. Those workers are standing firm, and the white workers are standing with them. We are saying that kind of demonstration of guts that they will continue to give, and it is in the interests of the white workers and especially the white leaders of the trade union movement to see this and to give every opportunity to the Negro workers to give forth of their strength and stamina, to give backbone to the trade union movement, so that we won't have a sell-out, company-union movement that the Phil Murrays and the Walter Reuthers would have us have in this country. (*Applause.*)

I want to say to Jack Kroll, of Cincinnati, that when he condemns Bill Hood and this movement, we and the workers in the Amalgamated—the 15,000 Negro workers in the Amalgamated, Laundry Section in New York, and the 100,000 Negro workers in the automobile industry, and the 100,000 Negro workers in the steel unions, will not forget that Phil Murray is head of an international union with an executive board of over 30 members, and not a single Negro; that Walter Reuther is head of an International Board of 22 members—not a single Negro, that Phil Murray, as head of the CIO, condoned the CIO's going into the South and organizing Jim Crow locals. Philip Murray condoned Negro workers being thrown out of the CIO hall in Atlanta, Georgia. They couldn't have a desk in the CIO hall there. Emil Rieve, the president of the Textile Workers Union, in South Carolina, it was the lawyer for that union that defended the KKK members that harassed and lynched Negroes.

And in Alabama, Mr. Phil Murray and his political action committee—Jack Kroll says we shouldn't have Negro Labor Councils, we should just support the Political Action Committees of the CIO. But in Alabama, the CIO Political Action Committee was to support a Senator, running on the platform of "vote for me and your wife and daughter won't have to work beside a Negro." Yes, in Louisiana, the CIO's Regional Director, Mr. Fred Piper, was a delegate to the Dixiecrat Convention, and for his efforts he was promoted to assistant director of the CIO's Southern organizing drive.

ABUSES MUST END

We say that so long as these things are condoned by the Murrays and the Reuthers and the Rieves, we are going to stand up and we are going to say it's wrong. We are going to put the finger on the trade union leaders who carry on in this disgraceful way. And we challenge them to say that that is interference in the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is our movement—we helped to build it, and we are going to see that it goes on the right path, and by God, so long as we have leaders like Hood, like Sam Parks, like Vicki Garvin, like Pearl Laws, yes, and the inspiration of Paul Robeson, we are going to go forward and we are going to have this trade union movement be a rank-and-file one, with democracy the touchstone, equal rights for all our goal, and we are not going to let up one moment, either in the Negro community,

either in the white community, in the unions, or anywhere else. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

I take pride in introducing a Negro woman who will speak to you now in regards to the coming resolution and also the way that the Sojourn that was held by Negro women from all over the United States to Washington, Sister Laws.

PEARL LAWS:

I'm reporting on the Sojourn that took place in Washington, D. C. on September the 29th and October the first. This was the first sojourn of Negro women for truth and justice. The remarkable thing about this sojourn of Negro women who were organized in exactly about two weeks, this whole organization was conceived and carried out. We got to Washington and there were 132 Negro women from 13 States. Those women came to Washington to speak their mind, to seek redress for our grievances. At the first session this call was read by Sojourner Beulah Richardson, who around the whole . . . the inspiration for the whole sojourn came from her. This wonderful call was also written by this Sojourner. I just want to read very briefly from one section of the call. "We claim that this government cannot honestly, convincingly and sincerely spend billions, send troops, and draft treaties for peace and freedom for other nations, while it never has and does not now, protect the lives and liberties of 15 million of its own Negro citizens. Only when our government abolishes the lynch-system justice of Mississippi, when it publicly declares there shall be no more Cicero or Peekskill, only when it moves to

PEARL LAWS

enforce, with its might, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the United States Constitution, then and only then can it speak as a free nation in a free world.

. . . Josephine Grayson, the wife of one of the Martinsville Seven. Sojourner Westray, who had her son killed in Brooklyn by police brutality. A young Negro woman, Dorothy Faulkner, who spoke of the problems of the young Negro women. Many women got up and spoke of their own experiences of the special oppression that bears down on the Negro women in a special way. Many burst into tears and many were apologetic because they cried. And the rest of the women in the audience would say, dry your tears, and speak your mind. This became the slogan of the Sojourners, throughout. . . . We later went to the home of our great leader, Frederick Douglass and there the proclamation was read and adopted. And later the Committee of Washington Women had a reception for the Sojourners. I'm going to try to get through this

part of it very quickly. I can't give you in detail all the activities we had but I just want to highlight some of them. On Sunday we had a camp meeting in the Salem Baptist Church and there again this new type of approach where the women got up and spoke, very movingly of how they feel and how oppression affects Negro women. We had with us, Sojourner Amy Mallard who got up and very movingly and stirringly spoke about her personal grievances in addition to the projection of the whole idea of why the Sojourners were here in Washington. And then she spoke about sitting beside her husband when he was shot, because he wanted to vote, and dared to fight for that right to vote. And then she spoke of, that in this case, there couldn't have been any frame-up about rape or any such thing, because her husband fought and knew in his heart and felt with all that was in him that this woman, his companion, his partner, this black woman—was the most beautiful woman in the world and she spoke very movingly about this, and she resented very much this whole frame-up of Negro men around the question of rape of white women. She had that entire audience there in tears. Sojourner Angie Dickerson from New York spoke about why we were here in Washington and some of the things we were demanding as Negro women.

And Sojourner Beulah Richardson who had, in a couple of weeks again, written a very beautiful poem dedicated to Harriet Tubman, also read this poem. And Sojourner Robeson spoke of the Freedom Family. I'm very sorry, but I know I haven't got time to go into details of how it was developed. I just want to give you a picture of what took place there. And Sojourner Halois Moorehead spoke of the future organization, on a mass scale, of the Negro Women, Sojourners.

On Monday there were two delegations that went—one to the war department, and the other to the Dept. of Justice. To the War Dept., the Sojourners were led by Charlotta Bass and an appointment had been gotten with a Major General Shaw and she demanded of General Shaw—she said, "I want to know, General, what is your position on discrimination in the armed forces?" And he hemmed and hawed and searched for words, and there was a Negro Lieutenant present, and he looked to him for an answer—you know the type of thing—it's difficult. To his credit, he didn't say a word. This General finally said, "Well, I have no position one way or the other. I just carry out orders . . ." The Negro women said, "we are not satisfied with this. We demand to know your position on this question, because you carry out these orders, and therefore we want to know whether you are for or against discrimination in the Armed Forces." Of course, he had no answer for that, he wasn't able to say anything. On the delegation to the Justice Department was led by Sojourner Angie Dickerson. We had a meeting with a Mr. Hubbel where a demand was made for indemnities for the widows and children and victims of lynch terror and I just want to pause here for one minute to speak of what it means to many Negro women—to thousands of Negro women—but I want to hold out two in particular at this point—A Mrs. Grayson, and a Mrs. McGee. One with five children, another with four children, to bring up all alone—their husbands snatched from them

and murdered. These Negro women now have to be mothers and fathers to these children and to work and support them and be completely responsible for the development of these children. This is what is happening to the Negro women in our country—these special burdens that are upon us that even where we establish good family relationships, our men are taken out and slain, and lynched and killed for one reason or the other, and we are left with our children to bring up all alone and have this terrific burden come down with all its weight on the Negro women. We demand that the United States government take responsibility for this, take responsibility for the lives of these children and to see that these children are supported by the government that is responsible for the death of their husbands and responsible for the death of the fathers of these children. Also was the question—and one woman I want to single out who typifies all Negro women, and that is Mrs. Ingram. Mrs. Ingram who, with her husband dead, and 12 children, has to work in the fields and at the same time take care of 12 children. This woman not only did this nobly and with all her abilities and in addition to that she was subjected to insults. And because she dared, as a Negro woman—a proud Negro woman, to defend her honor, she's languishing in jail today. We took our stand very forcibly that we demanded the release of Mrs. Ingram. (APPLAUSE). On the question of Cicero, I won't go into that. We took a stand on that and held the U. S. Government responsible for what happened in Cicero. The persecution of our great leader, Dr. DuBois, we took a very firm stand on that. On the question of our beloved Paul Robeson, the denial of his passport that he cannot travel anymore. And incidentally, this persecution that begins like that—around an individual—they try to make it appear like that—it spreads. Because the delegation from N. Y., of 104 delegates that had chartered planes to come here on Friday afternoon at 5:30 they were told that the planes could not go because the planes were needed by the Army. This was challenged and fought out, and later on I guess they thought it over and realized what a terrible mistake this was, and how we would have blasted them to glory on this question, so they decided to let the planes go, and they did come in. And only because this question is such a challenge to them, they have no answers for it—for the oppression of the Negro people in this country. And we were able to get the delegates here. But the point I'm going to make in relation to Paul is that it begins by denying an individual to go abroad and now they're beginning to attempt to deny individuals to travel freely even in the United States. But we're not going to take that. We're going to fight, and we're going to fight for our rights not only to travel in the United States but all over the world, whenever and wherever we want (APPLAUSE) On the trials and the persecution of William Patterson, the Sojourners took the position that whether you agree with Mr. Patterson's views or not, we are Negro women, and when this black man is called names in the halls of Congress that is an insult to every Negro woman—because we're being called dogs—that we object to—this man don't represent nobody but a handful of white racists in the South. He does not even represent his own state and he dares to get up in th hall of Congress and call and

insult a black man and in doing so he's calling every Negro woman a dog, and we will not stand for that and again we hold the United States Government responsible for that sort of thing, because instead of this congressman being tried, no, he's not on trial, but Patterson is on trial. We'll take no more of that, either. (APPLAUSE) And another thing we're not going to take no more of, when it comes to some of our so-called leaders who are respectable and accepted.—Is a Mr. Dawson, who—by this contemptible man, that the only thing he has to make him feel like he's something in his white skin. You know, and he holds it up in front of him and he's God because his skin is white. That's all this other man—this other congressman I'm talking about now—has and he dares to use a Negro representative to say "well, you think I'm not a friend of the Negro," because, he says, this remark to Patterson was only something to Patterson himself. So he says, go down there and ask Dawson, he knows I'm a friend of the Negro. So he's using a Negro man to cover up, and using him in the role of a Tom to cover up his insults to all Negro people. Who is insulting Dawson, himself because his mother is black (LAUGHTER). The point I want to make is this—that we have these kind of Negroes that are playing this role. And in addition to what we are not going to stand for in relation to white racists, we are not standing any more for this type of Negro to be held up as leader of the people. As President Hood said in his speech, Uncle Tom is dead—but many of them that are around that don't realize they're dead, they're going to find out right quick—that they are dead (APPLAUSE). Very breifly, on the question of the appointment that we made. We took the position that next time, when we come to Washington we're not seeing the secretary of the secretary of the secretary any more. We're gonna give them a lot of notice and we're gonna see Mr. McGrath himself and we're not going to be palmed off to go and see Mr. Hubbard who gets very uncomfortable when a delegation of Negroes come in. Again using the Negro, you know, one against the other. Again putting him in this position, so we say, in the future, whenever we go down to Washington again we're going to send in advance two months, if necessary, and we're going to see Mr. Big Man himself, and tell him what we're thinking about.

Very briefly, about the mood of the Negro women at that Sojourn. While it was very small and it was just a beginning, it showed, very clearly, through this experience of this movement the level of development of the Negro women, the level of the desire to struggle that throughout the ages has always been typical. Negro women have always struggled against this oppression and against this enslavement. The history of the Negro women in the United States has been a glorious one in this type of struggle and we were determined there—and we dedicated ourselves there to organize Negro women all over this country —North and South to fight for our rights and to put an end to this destruction of our family life, to this destruction of our homes, to the oppression of the Negro people generally, because this is felt more keenly by the Negro women because she's way down there taking all—and she has always fought back and we are determined, in the spirit of this Convention, that we are going to organize and we're going

to fight for our rights as Negro women. In closing I just want to say—the Freedom Train is rolling and Negro women are not in the second car or in the third car, but they're right up there in the first car. (APPLAUSE) And more than that—the drivers seat on the Freedom Train of the Negro people is a double seat—it's got room for the male — and the female (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE). And this is the kind of movement this is, and this is the kind of role we're gonna fight for and we're gonna get, because this is the role that we have played through the whole history of our country, and we're going to get our freedom, and we're going to roll over anybody and everybody who's in the way (APPLAUSE)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

. . . throughout industry and government employment in America, and towards that end, to launch an immediate fight to end discrimination in hiring in shops and factories in all communities, with special attention directed to the lily white shops in industry. Number 2, an intensive campaign for upgrading of Negroes throughout industry. (3) In order to secure the maximum support for jobs and upgrading that all unions, whether AFL, CIO, Independent, or RR Brotherhood, as a matter of policy, adopt no-discrimination model contract clause as adopted by us at the 1950 Chicago Conference. (4) We place major emphasis on breaking through in apprenticeship training programs to guarantee job opportunities for Negroes on skilled jobs and in the crafts. Be it further resolved that this founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council call for an immediate end to the flagrant and glaring job discrimination existing in industries serving Negro communities, such as utilities, bakeries, department stores, communications, and so forth. The Convention further calls upon all affiliated Councils to at once initiate campaigns to mobilize full support of their respective communities for this fight. Be it further resolved that this convention calls for a nationwide fight for a minimum of 100,000 new jobs in industries, shops, department stores, crafts, skilled trades and government employment, which now denies equal opportunities for Negro workers. This campaign for jobs must center around three main objectives: (1) Jobs for Negro Women: (2) Crack the lily-white shops; (3) and general fight for upgrading throughout the country. We call upon all affiliated Councils, white allies, trade unions, and all fighters for freedom to support this campaign for 100,000 new jobs, and guarantee a successful conclusion by May 15th, 1952. (APPLAUSE) I move the adoption of the resolution, Brother chairman.

CHAIRMAN:

It's moved and seconded. Before adopting this resolution, we've had some panels, and there was the question of Negro Women in industry, and there was the question of the Negro youth. So at this particular time on this particular resolution, I'd like to throw the floor open to some discussion in regards to the job situation in regards to these two particular segments of the question we are discussing. The floor is now open for discussion. Anyone desire the floor? You've heard the motion. Any questions? Will the young lady come up here?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

First of all, on the question of young women and women in general—we've thrown around a lot, but I'd just like to say that of course the slogan should be, "out of the kitchens, into the factories." But I'd like to say that at the same time we raise this very excellent program of action, of jobs for Negro women in industry,—we also set about to organize, and—it becomes a question in this council—the organization, and the property of the unions—of the domestic workers. Because this is where Negro women are, and we've got to address ourselves to that question at the same time as we guarantee jobs in industry for Negro women.

Secondly, on the question of youth. I'm not going to speak as outlined by the chairman, but I think that the question of A1 status of Negro young men who go to get a job. On the application now it says, what is your draft status? And if you are 1A you do not get a job, plus the fact that those industries don't hire Negroes anyway and there's two counts against the Negro young man. And I think at the same time as we raise the slogan for Peace we fight to abolish this special — this extra-special qualification for our youth, for our Negro young men.

Thirdly, I represent here, not a trade union but the Labor Youth League, and one of our leaders, Roosevelt Ward, Jr., is in jail on a phoney draft evasion charge. The government said that he wilfully evaded the draft, but when the trial came up it was so phoney that even they had to drop it and all that he is in for now is for failure, they say, to report a permanent address. He has three years, and a $20,000 fine on his head at this moment. Also, James Lawson, a Negro leader of 2 million youth, Methodist youth, who spoke out on peace and is a conscientious objector, is in jail for three years. What are they saying to the Negro youth, and what are they saying to the outstanding Negro youth leaders—who lead both Negro and white youth? That they have such contempt for us and want us not to have a future that they say don't you even dare to be a conscientious objector and speak out for peace. And of course, don't you dare speak out for peace the way Roosevelt Ward has, for jobs for Negro youth and for the rightful place for Negro women, and so on. I would like to place for the consideration of the Resolution Committee and the body, to go on record as fighting for the freedom of Roosevelt Ward Jr. and James Lawson and that we bring this up in our unions, and petition McGrath to fight for the release of these two Negro youth who stand for peace and freedom, and lead young Negro and white workers for peace and freedom. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE AND CHEERS)

FLORENCE PETERSON:

My name is *Florence Peterson,* and I'm from New York, representing a group of Negro women who have broken down discrimination in our neighborhood. To this date, we're three months old, and we have acquired jobs for ten Negro people in ten white stores in our community. We have a poster that when we establish these jobs in these stores where the neighborhood is predominantly Negro and we have 85% white owners and no Negro workers. We have made posters that we place in the

store, saying that this is an FEPC store. We have a key, in asking the people in our community to look for the key when you shop and buy. We also have membership cards that are twenty five cents, with a pledge on the back which says that we will look for the key before buying and we will fight all forms of discrimination and Jim Crow and we will make our community a better place to live. We also have a bulletin that we have called the Key, that we go around from door to door, asking people to read and find out what we are doing in our community to get Negroes jobs.

We are working in an area from 150 Street to 145th Street and the community has awakened to the fact that the Negroes need jobs, and that they're getting jobs, and that we women are not going to stand for any more discrimination in our neighborhood. We're cleaning it up. (APPLAUSE) We have also been so important that just last week we met with the Board of Mediation, and they wanted to arbitrate with us but they had nothing to say except that we were right in demanding these jobs and we're getting them. We have one problem, though, in our neighborhood. Local 400, of the Butcher's union have no more Negroes to place in these jobs where we have acquired them. And I'm asking now, if anybody knows of any Negro men who are butchers, who are interested in the trade, to give me their names and we will assure them of jobs. And anyone who is interested in getting our Key also, let me have your name, and we will distribute and let you have the Key and let you know what we're doing in our community. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE).

CHAIRMAN:

It seems as though now we 've got a Key on the Freedom Train . . . We got a Key, hah?

ERNEST DIXON:

This is Ernest Dixon from Chicago, Illinois affiliated with the DPO Local 194. I wanna speak about this here discrimination on women and also youth. First thing I want to say is I have a son—my home is in Missouri but I've been in Chicago working for quite a while—I have a son he graduated from High School in Missouri, so he went to Ashtabula, Ohio and he worked a while and he decided he'd want to go to college. So he came to Chicago and he's up there working a while now. We went down to the employment office trying to help get him a job. Went down there one evening on State and Van Buren to the employment office and we walked in and the employment office asked us "What you want." I replied to them, I said, "I don't want anything, my son wants a job." He looked right at him and he says "What kind of a job you want?" And the boy told him, says I want an office job or something like that. He said, well—he said, "ain't no need me talking with you, I'm here to tell you that we don't have but few jobs for colored peoples here in Chicago—office jobs." So we didn't say anything about that no more.

Now you talk about discrimination, and you talk about segregation of women, colored women and I am against it. And I fight against it. I'm sort of like reading a piece by Bilbo one time, when this first FEPC Call came out, I remember reading a piece of his statement, he says, as long as God give him breathe to speak that

he was going to fight for white supremacy. Well, I made up my mind too. As long as God give me breath I'm going to fight against discrimination, against segregation against our people. (APPLAUSE)

I want to say about this, we're talkin union and I been in union and I belong to a union. But I hear the story once that give me very much logic, that I got out of it. At first I didn't but afterward I did. I want to think about this story I want everyone here to think about it. I hear the story about, it was a white man he had a store in town and the rats were eating up his cheese and he wanted to know how to get rid of the rats. He put out poison and everything but the rats were still ignoring the poison and eating up his cheese. So he finally decided he said, "I'll get me a cat." So he went out in the country and got him a cat. Brought the cat to town and the cat went to get learning to keep the rats from eating up his cheese. The rats they got together and they held a meeting and said, "we got to get together and see what we can do about this here cat in town."

So they got together and they decided, they said, I'll tell you what we'll do, we'll organize a Union. So they got together and they organized a union, they got their chairman and president and secretary and everything and then they say, they say well we getting on pretty good progress in getting this cat out of town. So after they organized the union one smart rat said, "Here's what we ought to do. We've got to take notice on this cat and see what it takes to get him out." So they went on with that procedure. One rat watched the cat all the time. He had a peep-hole you know, and he'd stand around and watch the cat. Well, he found out from watching the cat that being he was from the country, he was afraid of noise. When the street cars or busses would come by he would jump and run. So this rat pointed that to the union, they had a meeting and he pointed that out to the union. So they got together and they said, "what we going to do to get a noise to get the cat out of town." One smart rat said, "let's buy a bell," and bell the cat." So they said, that all right. So they went together and they paid in money and they paid up dues and they bought a bell and they called a meeting and they said "We bought the bell, now we'll get rid of the cat."

They discussed the problem about how they had the bell and the strap and everything. So after you accomplish anything you already getting ready for a dance. Like we do today or any time, when we have a big meeting and we think that we'll accomplish anything we get ready for a dance. So they decided to close out the meeting and get ready for a dance. Just before they was getting ready to dismiss the meeting the one rat who was setting in the back he said, "Brother Marguery, a dissertation , a minute please, We've got the bell, we've got our unnion, we've got our president and everything but one thing—one thing is still oppressing me. WHO IN THE HELL IS GOING TO PUT THE BELL ON THE CAT?" So I'm saying here today I want every labor council to think about that. (APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER).

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

When I sit down and think back and think of those two great Negro women whose names have been mentioned so often here today, Harriet

Tubman and Sojourner Truth, and that they traveled thru the chains of slavery, when blood flowed like water, and thought that we might be able to settle here today and speak and fight for the freedom that they fought for then. I say that's enough for me. That I can carry on from there and I can help to be a Harriet Tubman and a Sojourner Truth. To go down the line for that freedom. For Negro women, black and white, native born and foreign born. (APPLAUSE) And our brothers and sisters join hands together all over and fight for that thing that we haven't get yet but by golly we're going to have it, Freedom. And I say today that when we leave here and go back to our respective locals and our plants, where men by reactionary forces are set to fight the women, and the women made to fight the men, that we say to them. "Lookit here. we're going down this road together, because when you fight me, you fight yourself, and when I fight you I fight myself and I'm fighting against all principles and ideals that we stand for here fighting for freedom."

You know when they get ready to discriminate against you, you hear people talking about, I'm left, I'm right, and I'm everything, well when they get ready to discriminate against you they don't say are you left or are you right,—they discriminate against you—period. You're a Negro and they discriminate against you and any other minority group. And I say that we've got to tell these people, these "Uncle Toms," pull up and get together because we're going to ride this train together. Black and white alike. You know women have made their place in the world, they have fought through the ages. There's no field today that a woman hasn't stepped out in. She's fought on the battle field, she's fought in the fields, she's helped raise the crops, and raised children. For what? To send them to a battle field to fight for freedom and democracy that we haven't got, and shed their blood.

Now it's time that we would wake up. And it's time that we would wake up all those people. They're still Uncle Tomming around, they've still got the bandana on their heads and they're still down on their knees licking the boots. Yeh, they're dead and we're going to kill them off gradually. They tell me that there's all kind of isms and they tell me about all kinds of isms, Socialism, Communism and everything else. You never hear them say anything about good old time Americanism. And that's what we want and that's what we're going to have, and I say here today we're going to take it or we're going to go get it. Or we'll have to forget it. And by golly here today we're not going to forget it. We're going out today and get the freedom and roll this train down the line, and heaven help anybody that gets in our way. And we are here to stay, black and white, native and foreign born, brothers and sisters alike. Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

Brother Chairman, Brother Hood, Brother Robeson and members of the Negro Labor founding Council, I'd like to tell you in the first place that if you don't know who's going to put the bell on that cat, the Negro Women will do it. (CHEERS) And I want to tell you why, because the Negro women are on the offensive. And that means we're plowing through. It means if we're on that other seat on the Freedom Train, driving when that

other man goes to sleep we'll be awake still going through. (Cheers) I want you to know that when those women went down to Washington and demanded the freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram, they added this to it. That if you don't free Rosa Lee Ingram, we will march one thousand black women down to Georgia and free her. (APPLAUSE) And I want you to know that if Paul Robeson doesn't get his passoport to go across the waters and sing and carry the message of freedom in his songs for all the peoples on the world the Negro women can form a line across the ocean and he can go across on our backs. (CHEERS)

I think that we understand it so well, this role of action for Negro women, because the Negro women are so much oppressed more than all the other peoples in the whole country. And so I take great pleasure in reading this resolution. It's called the Economic Equality of Negro Women, but I wish, and I might add this statement — I was not included on a committee here but as a Negro woman I knew that I had to get on a Committee (APPLAUSE) so I walked in and I said I'm going to sit in on this committee — and I'll tell you another thing, when the Youth got up and said that they wanted representation and a resolution to go through and they couldn't get it passed through, I said, give it to me and I want you to know that at the next session that resolution will be read. I'd like now to read the resolution.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO WOMEN

IN THESE UNITED STATES, we, the Negro people, are subjected to all manner of indignities, injustices and inhumanities. We are denied equality in every phase of living. Negro women bear the greatest impact of this oppression. We die of poverty, loneliness, drudgery and disease. We have watched our husbands and fathers burned, quartered, hanged and electrocuted by hooded and unhooded mobs. We have seen our brothers beaten, shot and stamped to death by police. We have seen our sons rotting in prison, we've seen them poured into foreign wars in defense of this government which denies them equality on the battlefield and at home. We have seen our daughters raped and degraded, and when one dares rise in defense of her honor, she is jailed for life.

After three hundred odd years, we are still excluded from industry, offices and professions. Today, six out of every ten Negro women eke out an existence in domestic service. For all practical purposes, Negro women are still "slaves" in the master's household, maid to the mistress, mother to others' children. Hundreds of thousands of young and old women are still at work at back-breaking jobs, picking cotton.

The average income of the Negro family is half that of the white family. Only 20 per cent of all semi-skilled jobs and ten per cent of all the skilled jobs are held by Negro men. Negro women are employed in the lowest-paying jobs, are unable to support themselves adequately and certainly are unable to support a family. A large number of Negro women are themselves heads of families, supporting their children and other dependents.

Is there any wonder that the life span of a Negro woman is nine years less than that of her white sister, that her maternity death rate is three times greater?

One out of every two Negro women must work and is working for a living. We are among the first to feel the effects of unemployment, since we are forced to work at jobs considered "dispensable." Negro women have sought to escape low-paying domestic jobs by preparing themselves through existing educational facilities, but are systematically denied opportunities to acquire jobs at higher skills.

We are the victims of white supremacy and economic oppression in its crassest form. We have fought our way through all levels of struggle under these handicaps.

Negro women are proud that there developed from our ranks such freedom-fighters as Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Miranda Smith, and our present-day symbol of struggle, Rosa Lee Ingram.

The progress of the American workers and the Negro people can best be measured by the status of Negro women. To win freedom and equality for all workers, we call upon the trade union movement in particular to accept the challenge:

1. To win job opportunities for Negro women throughout industry, in offices, department stores, public utilities, air lines, etc.
2. We further call upon the support of organized labor and all Negro Labor Councils to support the organization of domestic workers, both in the North and South, and for improvement of their working conditions.
3. In the program of job training and upgrading, special attention be given to Negro women, especially the youth.
4. We have demonstrated our ability and willingness to give leadership to our families and other struggles. We demand the right to play a comparable role in government, industry, and the unions.

Mr. Chairman I move that this resolution be adopted.

SAM PARKS:

It's motioned and seconded that this resolution on Economic Equality for Negro women be adopted. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor signify by saying aye. (ENTIRE AUDIENCE SAYS AYE.) The ayes have it. Brothers and sisters in conjunction with this motion and I think that some of you may have heard about it. It's in regards to a Negro woman. In the city of New York recently in a club by the name of Stork, an internationally famous Negro woman was humiliated and subjected to discrimination. A white newspaper columnist was present, his name is Walter Winchell. Josephine Baker who came originally from St. Louis and who made her home in Paris and has been a star all over the world and acclaimed by people all over the world, was humiliated by the poison of American jimrow and American segregation. You know that when she was in Florida at the Copacabana Club she fought it there, when she was in Chicago at the Chicago theatre she fought it there, and I think that we here in this room, all us, should go on record, requesting of our officers, of our organization to write to Miss Baker, let her know that we stand firmly behind her. And also write to the Stork Club, Walter Winchell and everybody else. Let them know that we are against the things that happend to her and all such things that happen not only to the Negro woman but to the Negro man as well. I'd like to throw the floor open for a motion to this effect. I get such a motion? It's motioned and seconded that such a letter be sent.

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BY WHITE DELEGATES

FOREWORD

The National Negro Labor Council reproduces this statement of principles which was signed by most of the white delegates in attendance at our Founding Convention because we consider it an historic milestone in the relationship between Negro and white workers in America, and a long step forward in the common effort to weld the firmest bonds of Negro-white unity.

In an approach that is entirely new to the American Labor movement, the white delegates at the National Negro Labor Council Convention not only reject any concept that they are called upon to lead Negro workers in a fight for Negro rights, but in a self critical mood, spell out the responsibility of white workers in fighting to bring other white workers to the support of the Negro people.

We feel that this document deserves the serious appraisal of every trade union leader, Negro and white, in the American Labor Movement.

WE, THE WHITE DELEGATES to this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council, have been profoundly impressed by what we have seen and experienced here.

We see here a mighty demonstration of the new temper and spirit which stirs and moves the Negro people of America.

In vast areas of the world, the white man is on trial. The colored peoples of the world are demanding freedom and they are making those demands for an end to every manifestation of oppression and discrimination, whether it be in governments, in nations, in communities, in trade unions, in any kind of organization.

We hail the founding of this new movement which means the Negro unionists are now taking their rightful place of leadership in the developing fight of Negro workers for their economic rights. We see the special significance of this movement of Negro workers taking its place side by side with other Negro organizations in the struggle for full freedom of the Negro people.

We are deeply conscious that the movement here being launched is not in the interest and for the benefit of Negro workers only. White workers and Negro workers have the same enemies, the same ultimate goals.

We know that every step forward for the Negro worker makes possible a step forward for the white worker. We know too that every new attack on the lives and rights of Negro workers and their families holds within it the seed of a fresh assault on the lives and rights of white workers. One cannot be defended without a vigorous, militant defense of the other.

The Ciceros of 1951 do not take place in a vacuum. They are cut out of the same cloth as the wage freeze, mounting taxes, sky-rocketing prices, the Taft-Hartley and McCarran Acts, and all the other attacks on all workers.

Especially, in the deep South do we see the close tie between the interests of white and Negro workers. There the exploitation of both Negro and white workers is even more intense than in the industrial centers of the North.

What white workers do to smash Jim Crow can no longer be done in the spirit of the Boy Scout performing his good deed for the day. It can be done only in the frank and honest recognition of the fact that we white workers can achieve gains only to the extent that we do our part to forge genuine Negro-white unity.

Unity on that basis—on the basis of an alliance in which the white worker does his part as a responsibility in his own self-interest rather than as a favor—can mean that we all move ahead together.

It means that the balance of political power in the deep South can be taken from the hands of the southern landlords and Dixiecrat congressmen and placed in the hands of the people—where it belongs. It means that the balance of economic power which now spells out the super-exploitation of divided Negro and white workers alike can be taken from the hands of northern corporations.

On every hand, vast numbers of Negro workers—both North and South—are demonstrating in a thousand ways their boundless determination that this time the Freedom Train will roar through to its destination, no matter how big the road blocks thrown in its path.

In effect our Negro brothers are saying to us: "Take heed, brother, there is something new here! We are asking for your cooperation, but not your permission!"

We, the white delegates at this Convention, accept the challenge! We embrace the new and clearer concept of Negro-white unity which is required here and now—today.

Under that concept, we have a special responsibility, the responsibility to bring more and more white workers into the fight for full freedom for all.

We are not misled by the white labor leaders who spread the malicious slander that this is "dual unionism" in a desperate attempt to cover up their own failure to fight for Negro rights.

We, too, are determined that the Freedom Train shall roll once more!

To these ends, we white trade unionists will accept the responsibility of seeking the support of all white workers for the program of action of this Convention.

We pledge to start in our own shops, locals and unions:

To help and encourage the formation and development of Negro Labor Councils all over America.

To press the proposed campaign for establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission by Executive Order of the president.

To step up the fight for jobs for Negroes, to assure up-grading of Negro workers, to break through the lily-white departments and shops, and to guarantee that Negro workers are given full opportunity to achieve positions of union leadership.

GREETINGS TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL FROM THE DINING CAR AND RAILROAD FOOD WORKERS UNION DELEGATION

Brothers and Sisters:

The railroad industry is a classical illustration of the dangers of discrimination, white chauvinism and Jim Crow in the labor movement and its destructive effects on the wage and working standards of the workers. Due to this discrimination and the craft union principles of the railroad unions, railroad workers can never present a solid front in any given movement, whether it is wage demands, better conditions, pensions or any other issue.

Discrimination against the Negro in labor must be recognized by all workers as the weapon of the bosses who use it to negate the workers' fight for better conditions.

Discrimination against Negroes is one of the cancers that will slowly destroy the labor movement in the United States, unless this cancer is removed.

On the other hand, wherever there is Negro and white unity in a union there you will find better conditions and higher wages.

This is not an accident. This is the result of the ability of the workers to understand the benefits accruing because of their unity. Too many workers, even today accept the theory that Negro workers are not entitled to the same pay of white workers when doing the same job. This weakness is due, in part, to the failure of responsible trade union leaders to bring home to the workers the fact that such a theory is not to his best interests, but is a weapon used by the bosses to divide

the workers. These workers must be made to understand that when they permit a lowering of the wage scale to accommodate themselves to the white supremacist concept, they immediately establish a precedent that they cannot upset later on when it affects them.

The railroad labor lily-white Jim Crow movement is one of — if not — the weakest labor organizations in the country today. While this is not entirely due to its Jim Crow policies alone, there is no doubt that Jim Crow is a strong factor. In this industry the operating departments exclude the Negro worker from the unions. As a result of this, the Negroes in the operating department were forced to establish separate unions to protect themselves against both the railroad companies and the lily-white unions.

A brief history of their struggles will serve to highlight the meaning of this discrimination:

In the early days of the railroads many jobs were held by Negroes, such as firemen, brakemen, and occasionally engineers. Due to the arduous and dirty nature of these jobs at that time, the white workers were not concerned that Negroes held them. However, with the modern improvements in the railroad industry, the white workers soon began to displace the Negroes from these jobs. This was accomplished through the cooperation of the lily-white unions and the railroad companies between which certain secret agreements were made that prohibited the hiring and promotion of Negroes, and at the same time replacing them with white workers. As a result of this condition Negroes were forced to organize themselves into all-Negro unions to stop their elimination from the industry.

The obvious price of this unholy alliance between the lily-white unions and the railroad companies is a lowering of the wage and working standards of the workers and a deterioration of these unions.

There is a further weakness in the railroad unions that bears more directly on the work of this conference. This has to do with the non-operating unions, many of them have Negro members, most of whom are relegated to Jim-Crow auxiliaries.

These unions, about seventeen, are all separate entities and work together only in national movements and are committed to the principle of craft unionism.

There are Negro units in the railroad industry: the Pullman Porters, the Dining Car Workers, and the Red Caps.

Due to the craft unionism and the anti-Negro position of most of these non-operating unions, the Pullman Porters were forced to develop their own union under the "leadership" of A. Philip Randolph, while the Dining Car Workers were set up in Jim-Crow units of the Hotel and Bartenders International, and the Negro Red Caps under Willard Townsend.

Already the obstructive tactics of Randolph have been discovered and to a certain extent have been rectified by the rank and file porters. The misleadership of Townsend of the Red Caps has been exposed and cut short.

In 1947 dining car workers started a movement to pull out of the racketeer controlled Bartenders International in order to protect their seniority rights, job rights and the right to be upgraded, and are now building a union that will defend their interests as Negro railroad workers in the future. Dining car workers have set up a rank and file union known as the Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union and have been successful in winning bargaining rights on the Pennsylvania, the largest railroad in the country. Collective bargaining elections are expected to be held soon on the Southern Pacific. Similar elections are being prepared on the New York central and other big roads.

This new union within itself will guarantee that 22,000 dining car workers in the railroad industry will make policy and give leadership to the best interests of dining car workers and to the Negro people. This new union will do for dining car workers in the railroad industry what

the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union did for the same class of workers in the marine industry.

The new Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union is appealing to this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council for coperation and support. With this support this new union can achieve the liberation and bring first-class citizenship of Negro dining car workers in the railroad industry. This can only be brought about on the basis of Negro and white unity on the railroads.

Fraternally,

DANIEL BENJAMIN, *Vice President, Eastern District, New York.*

RALPH TURNER, *National Organization Director, Chicago.*

WILLIAM H. LOCKHART, *Eastern District, New York.*

LEROY WILSON, *Vice President, Southwestern District, St. Louis.*

KENNETH GARNER, *Midwestern District, Chicago.*

HAWARD FOWLER, *Midwestern District, Chicago.*

RESOLUTIONS ON JOBS

IT IS a fundamental human right of all the American people to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The key to this search for life, liberty and happiness is the right to a job and the opportunity to earn a decent living. Yet over 15,000,000 Negro Americans are denied an equal opportunity for a job.

The forces of Reaction and Big Business maintain a stranglehold on the political and economic life of America by constantly pitting white against black. This divide-and-conquer tactic has driven down the living standards of all the workers. While the living standards of all the workers suffer, the Negro worker is denied even an opportunity for a job in most industries.

The average annual income of the Negro family is 55 per cent below the general average for the country as a whole, and only 40 per cent of the income estimated as necessary to sustain the minimum standards of health and decency. In New York City tuberculosis in the Harlem community has increased by 44 per cent. The denial of the right of Negroes to a job in industry is not just a matter of health. It means no money for doctors and hospital bills. It means no money for clothes and fuel. It means no money for food for the wife and children. It means ten years less of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With an annual income already far below the minimum requirements of health and decency, the future looms even darker for the Negro worker. As prices climb and taxes skyrocket, the pressure on the Negro family almost reaches the breaking point. Life becomes just an unrelenting daily struggle to survive.

While Big Business and its stooges in government on one hand proclaim to all the world that it stands for freedom and democracy, and on the other hand a new tide of attacks are launched against Negroes.

Negro workers continue to find it increasingly difficult to find jobs in industry after industry. Promotions and upgradings to the more skilled and better paying jobs are denied the Negro. He is almost completely excluded from the crafts. Even industries which garner millions of dollars in profits from the meager and hard-earned dollars of the Negro wage earner close the door to him for a job, even in his own community.

The Negro woman, who is forced to work to help her husband sustain the breath of life for them and their family, finds every door for a job closed. In order to work, she is confined to domestic service or the most miserable and menial jobs in industry. The average yearly earnings of the Negro woman in 1948 was $492.00, as compared with $1142.00 for white women, which is way below the national average for men.

The struggle on economic issues and for a job is basic to the struggle for Negro rights. It will become more important

as the attacks on the living standards of the people increase.

It is this struggle for jobs and economic equality that is the weakest in the fight for Negro liberation.

Therefore be it resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council calls for an immediate end to the discriminatory hiring practices existing throughout industry and government employment in America, and toward that end to launch:

1. An immediate fight to end discrimination in hiring in shops and factories in all communities, with special attention directed to all the lily-white shops and industries.
2. An intensive campaign for upgrading of Negroes throughout industry,
3. In order to secure maximum support for jobs and upgrading, that all unions, whether AFL, CIO, Independent, or Railroad, as a matter of policy be urged to adopt the model no-discrimination clause adopted at the 1950 Chicago Conference.
4. We place major emphasis on breaking through on apprenticeship training programs to guarantee job opportunities for Negro workers on skilled jobs and in the crafts.

Be it further resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council call for an immediate end to the flagrant and glaring job discriminations that exists in the industries servicing Negro communities, such as utilities, bakeries, department stores, communications, etc. The Convention further calls upon all its affiliated Councils to at once initiate campaigns to mobilize the full support of their respective communities for this fight.

Be it finally resolved that this Convention calls for a nation-wide fight for a minimum of 100,000 new jobs in the industries, shops, departments, offices, crafts, skilled trades and government employment which now deny equal job opportunities for Negro workers. This campaign for jobs must center around three main objectives: Jobs for Negro women, cracking lily-white shops, and a general fight for up-grading throughout industry. We call upon our affiliated Councils, white allies, trade unions, and all fighters for freedom to support this campaign for 100,000 new jobs and guarantee its successful conclusion by May 15, 1952.

RESOLUTION ON FEPC

While the Federal Government collects millions of dollars in taxes from the American Negro, it denies him an equal opportunity for a job. Federal taxes finance billions of dollars in government contracts which are let to companies which are guilty of the most flagrant discrimination in employment practices. New Taft-Hartley Laws are enacted under the guise of phony "right to work" laws in state and local communities, which endanger the rights of all workers.

Both major political parties in the national elections in 1948 campaigned on a platform of civil rights and FEPC legislation. Republicans and Democrats outdid one another in their promises to put an end to discrimination in employment. Yet the present Congress, composed of these same Democrats and Republicans, have buried every proposed piece of legislation with FEPC. Even President Truman ran and was elected on a platform of FEPC and civil rights promises. Three years have passed since his election and he has consistently refused to assume leadership in the fight for a national FEPC law. He has even failed to follow in the steps of the late President Roosevelt by issuing an FEPC Executive Order which would guarantee no discrimination in government employment and in firms accepting government contracts.

Therefore be it resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council calls upon Congress and the administration for the immediate enactment of a national FEPC law. We further call upon the affiliated Councils to launch immediate campaigns for state and local FEPC laws.

Be it finally resolved that we demand that the President of the United States issue a National FEPC Executive Order and a Federal Fair Practices Committee to enforce it. To this end we call upon every affiliated Council, our white allies, every trade union, and all fighters for freedom to join us in a national petition campaign for a million signatures in support of our demand for this national executive order. To guarantee that no stone shall be left unturned in this fight for a right for equal job opportunity that we shall be prepared to deliver these million signatures around May 1, 1952, as a part of a national March on Washington.

RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

In America today 85 per cent of the Negro people are tied to some form of agriculture. Any discussion of the main problems of the Negro people cannot ignore the agricultural question any longer.

For far too many years agricultural workers have had no audience for their problems. They have had no consistent organization to fight in their behalf. The trade union movement has been guilty of considering agriculture as a separate and distinct problem not affecting the trade unions directly.

Such an outlook has for years doomed hundreds of thousands of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and white workers to the most horrible conditions to be found in America. President Truman's Committee, appointed to find and report living conditions of agricultural workers, found that agricultural workers were living worse than hogs in some States. Once Mr. Truman's report was made, the problem of the agricultural workers was duly bound in booklet form and placed upon the shelves to gather dust.

1950 saw the birth of the Agricultural Workers Union. This Union's field stretches from New York to Florida, amongst field workers, both migrant and permanent farm workers. Members of this Union are faced with Jim Crow at its worst. Police terror is the daily threat.

FRANCES WILLIAMS

Annual wages often are lower than $800.00.

Since Agricultural workers can't show residence in each state in which they travel, they are denied even emergency hospitalization, social scurity, the right to vote and the other normal rights of our citizens.

Jim Crow will rule as long as 11 million Negro people are shackled to the slavery of present day farm conditions.

Be it resolved, that the National Negro Labor Council endorse the efforts of the Agricultural Workers Union and any other organization that may strive to organize the agricultural workers of America.

Be it further resolved that the N.N.L.C. take steps to bring before the entire trade union movement the plight of America's agricultural workers. That organizational contact be established between the N.N.L.C. and organizations working amongst farm laborers. That financial aid and leadership be offered farm workers in their organizing efforts.

RESOLUTION ON COLONIALISM

All Over Asia and Africa and in the islands of the sea many hundreds of mil-

lions of dark skinned peoples are surging forward into determined struggle for freedoms that include the right of self government and full control of the natural resources that abound throughout the vast areas. The Asian and African peoples are serving notice upon the exploiters and oppressors of mankind that a dark era in world history is rapidly drawing to a close.

For hundreds of years a continuous flow of the natural and created wealth has been gouged out of the lands soaked by the blood and sweat of the inhabitants while whole nations of people have been enslaved and robbed of all human dignity. Except for the fact that the Negro people are not physically separated from the nation of people that oppresses them, there is a difference only in degree between the lot of colonial peoples of the world and the lot of the Negro people of America. All such people are denied economic, political and social freedom. They have been ruthlessly beaten, imprisoned and murdered—men, women, and children—the better to preserve the super profits that industrialists and bankers reap from semi-slave labor.

The Negro people understand perhaps better than any other national group of American people that there can be no peace and no security and no genuine progress in the world as long as the aspirations of the colonial people for full freedm is met with the force and violence of armed might. Certainly, we know that The National Negro Labor Council, therefor extends a fraternal handclasp of brotherhood to all oppressed peoples everywhere and particularly to those who have joined together to engage in positive struggle for their freedom.

CONSTITUTION PREAMBLE

WE, THE MEMBERS of the Negro Labor Councils, believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based on economic, political and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people (Negro) against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

Realizing that the old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels: to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use the public facilities, restaurants, hotels and recreational facilities in town and country, we form the National Negro Labor Council (N.N.L.C.), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all times a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions.

We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils and work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities.

We further pledge ourselves to work unitedly with the trade unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade union movement; to bring the principles of trade unionism to the Negro workers everywhere; to aid the trade unions in the great unfinished task of organizing the South on the basis of fraternity, equality and unity; to further unity between black and white workers everywhere.

DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION

The program of action that flows out of this Founding Convention must reflect in life itself and in its concrete application the specialized role of the National

Negro Labor Council in the general field of struggle for Negro rights. Since we have said that our primary and immediate mission is the achievement of economic equality for the Negro people, it follows naturally that the overriding theme of our program of action should be a concrete, measurable and down-to-earth fight for jobs for Negro Americans, new jobs and better jobs, with higher pay and better working conditions and without discrimination. The demand for national, state and local FEPC, while giving voice to our bread and butter needs, is not a new demand, nor is it in itself a departure from forms of struggle for Negro rights that have been conducted over the past several years throughout America.

But when the demand for an FEPC is joined with a day-to-day, city-to-city, fight for jobs, with a measurable national quota of jobs to be won, and with each local NNLC Council accepting quotas of actual jobs to be won, by campaigns in the community and at the shop gates, then we add a new ingredient, namely, the real life fight for FEPC that is not waiting on any law to be passed. We then place our demands for FEPC in the hands of the workers, Negro and white, who in joining with us in raising demands for specific jobs at a 1,000 specific places around the country, form the type of mass political pressure best calculated to make the powers that be in Washington and in the States and Communities give serious consideration to FEPC by government action. It is this type of campaign for jobs and FEPC that is offered in the following program of action to this Convention:

I. THE FIGHT FOR 100,000 JOBS

This Convention goes on record as immediately launching a national fight for 100,000 new jobs by May 15th for Negro workers in areas of employment now barred to Negroes. The newly elected Executive Board in consultation with the various NNLC local councils shall be empowered to break down the overall national quota of 100,000 into local NNLC quotas. This campaign for 100,000 jobs to be conducted generally in two stages:

A) The fight for jobs in the Negro community. The most striking evidence of economic Jim-Crow exists glaringly in every Negro ghetto in America. Utilities, bakeries, department stores, etc., located in and servicing the Negro community, and drawing out of that community thousands of dollars profit daily, arrogantly refuse to hire Negroes in any above menial capacities. The full organized weight of the Negro community, through boycotts, picket lines, etc., led by local NNLC councils, can produce in this campaign a substantial number of jobs toward the local quotas with a relatively small active organization.

In this campaign the following steps should be taken:

(1) Local trade union leaders and leaders in the Negro community should be invited to become a part of the NNLC jobs campaign committee.

(2) This committee should meet with the companies located in or servicing the Negro community and demand an end to discriminatory hiring in terms of specific jobs. In many cases this step alone will produce some jobs.

(3) Failing to get satisfaction from the company, the campaign must then be carried to the community with organized applications for jobs, affidavits recording the company's refusal to hire, picket lines, and boycotts where practicable, with letters of protest, resolutions from local unions, to the company and city authorities and where any government connection or control exists, to the Department of Labor in Washington, D. C.

(B) The fight for jobs should be entered into upon the momentum of having won jobs in the community campaign. The campaign for jobs in industry must center around three main objectives—jobs for Negro women, cracking of lily-white shops, and a general fight for upgrading throughout the industry. Here

in industry we come to grips with the basic official Jim Crow policy of the U.S. Government. The same general steps should be followed as listed above, with a shifting emphasis of the point of pressure to the seat of government itself —Washington, D. C.

II. THE FIGHT FOR JOBS FOR NEGRO WOMEN

The special needs of Negro women must be the constant, and conscious, concentration within the overall job campaign, which must include:

(1) Special campaign for hiring Negro women as the single demand.

(2) In every job campaign, special demands for the hiring of Negro women.

(3) Moving the trade unions into fighting specifically for jobs for Negro women.

(4) A special committee on jobs for Negro women in industry, to be established in the National Office of NNLC to guarantee this emphasis.

(5) 1,000,000 signatures for F.E.P.C.

III. THE FIGHT FOR 1,000,000 SIGNATURES FOR NATIONAL FEPC

The fight for model contract clauses adopted at the Chicago Conference for Negro Rights in June of 1950 was successful where a campaign was conducted. The results in UE, where the whole official job program of the Chicago Conference was adopted as official union policy by the United Electrical Workers international union is an outstanding example of how heightened unity of Negro and white workers around a program for Negro rights can be achieved if it is fought for in our trade union bodies. The model contract clause is reproduced below:

Model Contract Clause

"Regardless of any other contractual provision of this agreement, management agrees that:

A. No discrimination in interviewing or hiring applicants for employment as well as no discrimination against employees during and after their trial period of employment because of color, race, sex, age, religious or political beliefs.

B. Guarantee against discrimination shall in addition apply to promotion, upgrading, apprenticeship, job training, and discharges.

C. In the event of layoffs, every effort shall be made to maintain gains achieved in applying this policy and in the event of disagreement in relation to any issue arising out of the application of this clause, shall be subject to the grievance machinery of this contract.

D. It is the purpose of this contract clause to guarantee in collective bargaining and by contractual rights the application of the union's policy for the protection and improvement of job opportunities for Negro workers and other minorities.

How this Model Contract Clause Campaign will be carried out:

(A) Copies of this Model Clause to be circulated for adoption to all union locals, international bodies, etc.

(1) All unions, whether AFL, CIO, Ind., RR, will be urged to adopt this Model Clause as a matter of union policy with the replies of all unions being made public.

(2) Copies of Model Clause to be sent to the entire trade union press.

(3) Every effort to be made to get the above Model Clause endorsed by trade union conventions: AFL, CIO, Ind., RR.

(4) We call on all unions who succeed in getting such a Model Clause incorporated in their contracts to immediately organize actions in the shops to guarantee that the bosses live up to its provisions.

(5) Every effort must be made to win the support for such a Model Clause from the Urban League, NAACP, American Jewish Labor Council, American Jewish

Congress, B'nai B'rith, Negro churches, Catholic, Protestant and other religious groupings and all of the fraternal, civic and social organizations of the Negro community.

IV. THE FIGHT FOR FULL FREEDOM

While training our main guns on the economic front, this Convention is aware of the necessity of joining in the general struggle for full freedom of the Negro people in many fields of action. We specifically dedicate ourselves to join in this general struggle by:

(A) Making every effort to move the trade union movement into active struggle for the full freedom of the Negro people. We must guarantee that the trade union movement recognizes its responsibility to take leadership in the struggle for Negro rights as a primary action against the rising tide of fascism in America and as a first line of defense of the labor movement itself. This must be spelled out and translated in union after union into action around specific issues such as:

(1) The fight against the poll tax and for the full participation of Negroes in the political life of the nation, North and South.

(2) Anti-Lynch legislation.

(3) Abolition of Jim Crow in public places (especially in the vicinity of union halls.)

(4) Official union action in cases of police brutality against Negro union members.

(5) The right to integrated housing. (The trade union movement should have led the defense of the Clark family in Cicero.)

(B) Joining with and supporting other organizations (such as the NAACP demand to free Rosa Ingram) in their struggle for the advancement of Negro rights.

(C) In addition to, and not as a substitute for, the two above-outlined steps, initiating in our own right such struggle toward full freedom as may be dictated in a given situation and at a given time.

All the material in this book was transcribed from tape recordings made at the convention in Cincinnati. Any errors or omissions are due in the main to the necessity of changing the reels and other mechanical difficulties. Wherever possible all speakers have been identified with their union affiliations.

C O P Y

C O P Y

REMEMBER THE NIGHTMARE OF TRUMBULL PARK HOMES
AND THE POLICE STATE?

IT COULD HAPPEN TO ANY WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD!

The White Circle League of America P.O. Box 531 - Chicago 90, Ill.
Joseph Beauharnais, Founder

The forces of organized INTERRACIALISM that are destroying white neighborhoods will ultimately destroy our WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY, IF...WE, the white people do not organize 1,000,000 strong to prevent it. These destructive forces act like a malignant cancer that keeps eating and eating away at the very foundation that support everything which identifies the white race. Racial war has been declared upon the white race by the negro. WE MUST DEFEND OURSELVES! JOIN THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE AT ONCE!

WANTED! 50 Million white people in America to uphold the white man's rights
WANTED! White Circles all over America. Write us.

OUR MAIN PURPOSE

1. To oust the Reds from America.
2. To preserve white neighborhoods for white people and to bring about complete separation of the black and white races.
3. To adhere to Constitutional Government as established by our pioneer forefathers.
4. To oppose F.E.P.C.
5. To oppose One World Government.
6. To preserve States' Rights.
7. To support Wm. Langer's Bill, S. 138 to ship the Negro back to his Fatherland, Africa, with government aid. Write U.S. Senators.
8. To secure a 24-hour limit Police Protection Law.
9. To get America out of United Nations and drive U.N. from American soil.
10. To expose and resist the race-mixing evil growing up in our churches.
11. To dissolve the Human Relations Commission and Chicago Housing Authority (all they do is mix the races).
12. To stop the Community Fund from giving money to the Urban League in many cities (non-charitable organ).
13. To stop giving money to the Red Cross until it stops its horrible policy of mixing negro and white blood.
14. Stop negro mail carriers from delivering mail in all white neighborhoods.
15. Under emergency, due to housing shortage - stop further influx of negroes into Chicago.
16. Stop negro Police from doing duty in Loop and White neighborhoods. Assign them to 15 black belt districts.
17. Void all city ordinances and state laws that compel a merchant, restaurant tavern keeper or wearing apparrel shop to wait on or accommodate negroes, if they choose not to do so.

* * APPLICATION FOR YEARLY MEMBERSHIP * *

THE WHITE CIRCLE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
P.O. BOX 531 Chicago 90, Ill.

Date _____ 19_____

____ Membership _____ $2.00
Subscription (White Circle League News)
____ Per yr. _____ $5.00, 6 Months _____ $3.00

____ Voluntary Contribution $_____

____ I can volunteer some of my time to aid the White Circle League in getting under way.

(Signed) _____

Name _____

Address _____ Phone _____

City _____ State _____

"Dedicated to protect and maintain the Dignity, Social Edicts, Customs, Heritage and Rights of the White Race in America."

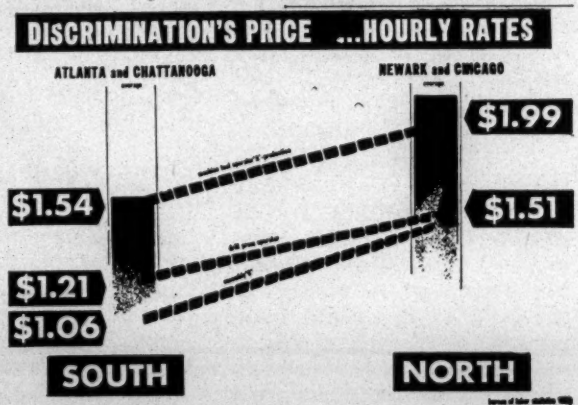
C O P Y

C O P Y

YOUR STAKE IN THIS FIGHT

The whole nation has a stake in this fight for job opportunities for the Negro people and against the "Southern differential." The head of Macy's department store in New York has said that the employing of Negroes at their present highest skills would add 6 billion dollars to the purchasing power of the American people.

A spokesman for the steel industry has said that elimination of the Southern differential would put 5 billion dollars a year more in the pockets of American workers. The living standards of the whole nation would be raised.



Workers and unions all over America are affected by the low Southern wages. Wages and conditions in the North are undermined because of competition with low rates in the South. Unity of all workers and their unions, fighting to prevent G.E. and like corporations from exploiting the South, will enhance the welfare of all.

Merchants and professionals have a stake because it is the working people who pay the shopkeepers' bills. When workers in the South make more money as a result of democratic hiring it means millions of dollars more for groceries, homes, doctor bills, insurance, etc.

The community as a whole thrives when all its people are happy. An end to the Southern differential means not only better business. It means more money for schools, hospitals, libraries, roads, churches, etc. Employment without discrimination means higher wages and a richer and more democratic life.

HERE'S WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Send a committee or a letter to General Electric Co., Louisville, Ky., demanding that it hire people on an equal basis regardless of race, creed, color, sex, or political belief.
- Demand that the Negro people get fair treatment in hiring, upgrading, training, etc., and that under no conditions should G.E. hire a less proportion of Negroes than they bear to the total population of the area.
- Demand that women get equal pay for equal work and that they be included in all phases of G.E.'s training program.
- Demand that G.E. include Negroes in its apprenticeship training program as well as in its on-the-job training program.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

For further information contact

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
Suite 214-16, 410 E. Warren Ave.
Detroit 1, Michigan
Telephone: Temple 2-1733

618

Give Us This Day Our Daily Bread

THE RIGHT TO WORK in our highly industrialized society is the most burning issue of our time. Yet one tenth of our nation—the black sons and daughters of America—are in a constant struggle to obtain jobs and walk in dignity alongside their white brothers and sisters.

THIS IS NOT ACCIDENTAL. It is only possible because of the blind greed of a few powerful corporations who play upon the concept of white supremacy for the sake of profit. These corporations are driving down the living standards of the American people, especially in the South. →

INDUSTRY EXPLOITS THE SOUTH

The big Companies have started a decentralization program. They are closing plants in the North and moving South to take advantage of the low wages there.

These corporations intend to pay Southern workers up to 60 cents an hour less than Northern workers for doing the same work. This despite the fact that they sell their products for the same price everywhere—and it costs just as much to live in the South as in the North.

In carrying out this program, industry is trying to make the Negro people the scapegoat. Wall Street has joined hands with the crooked politicians to fan the flames of disunity and prejudice. This serves the purpose of the companies as it has served the purpose of the Southern politicians for many generations.

The disunity and prejudice brought about as a result of this program results in mob violence, the denial of the right to vote, and the excluding of the Negro people from industry. It prevents black and white workers from uniting to fight for higher wages.

As a result, the Negro workers are paid an average of $1,286 a year less than white workers, a difference of almost $25 a week. For the Negro, the struggle to earn enough money to buy bread is a constant nightmare. The toll in human suffering is tremendous.

THEN COMES THE BIG PAYOFF

The Negro people are not the only sufferers from job discrimination. The effects of such discrimination are most dramatically proved by the situation of the white workers in the South. The South is the area where Big Business has made its greatest effort to spread the poisonous myth of white supremacy; where the tactic of divide and conquer has been most successful.

In the South, white families and single individuals were paid an average of $648 a year less than white workers in the North. In other words, Southern white workers pay a 20 per cent cash penalty because of discrimination against Negro workers.

For Southern white workers, as for Negro workers, this cash differential translates itself into poor housing, low health standards, disease, and early death. A Louisville, Ky. newspaper recently reported that one third of the white draftees from Kentucky were turned down because of illiteracy.

SUFFERING IN THE SOUTH

RUNAWAY PLANTS – THE BIG STEAL

The big companies not only benefit from the conditions they have created in the South. They are also able to take money out of the pockets of the people through a system called the rapid tax amortization program.

This is a deal worked out between Wall Street and the crooked politicians under which tax money helps to build the plants that are running away to the Southland.

So far the big companies have built about 25 billion dollars worth of plants under this program. The plan allows the company to write off the cost of the plant in a period of 5 years when making out its income-tax return. The saving is tremendous—and the people have to make up the difference by paying higher taxes.

The main tax load is borne by the workers, farmers, professional people, and small businesses. The corporations thus use the people's own money to impoverish them. The chart shows how your taxes have risen. Part of this increased load helped to pay for the runaway shop program.

G.E SPEARHEADS OPERATION DIXIE

General Electric Co. provides the outstanding example of what Big Business has in store for the American people. In 1951 this huge world monopoly moved into Louisville, Ky., seeking to exploit the community as a low-wage area. It hoped to play on antagonisms of black and white workers in the South.

G. E. denied that the new plant was a runaway shop. However, work from other plants is being moved to Louisville and layoffs are in the offing.

This corporation moved to Louisville with a promise of prosperity. It piously announced that it would hire on the basis of "qualification," without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

As this pamphlet goes to press, the company has hired about 1,000 of the 16,000 persons it plans to employ at the Louisville plant. Out of these 1,000 workers only 35 are Negroes, despite the fact that Negroes comprise 16% of the population of the area. The Negroes employed are concentrated on menial jobs, such as janitors and matrons.

The Louisville Area Negro Labor Council arranged with the Board of Education to specially train a large number of Negro workers for the kind of jobs that exist at this new plant. The Council and numerous civic and church groups have appealed to G.E. to adopt a democratic hiring program. but none of the trainees have obtained jobs.

This corporation has received over 100 million dollars from the Government, some of which went to build new plants. The people should insist that their tax money be used in a democratic manner.

Write to:

President Eisenhower and the Federal Contract Appliance Committee, Washington, D. C.

DEMAND that the provisions of the Executive Order be enforced against the railroads.

Presidents of the following railroads:

Southern Railway System, Washington, D. C.
Pennsylvania Railroad, New York City.
Santa Fe Railroad, Chicago, Illinois.
New York Central Railroad, New York City.

URGE that Negroes be hired as Brakemen, Stewards, Firemen, Engineers, Conductors, Ticket Agents, Telegraph Operators, etc. Demand an end to Jim Crow agreements with the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Support

The fight of the Negro Railway Labor Executive Committee and all other organizations seeking to end discriminatory practices by the nation's railroads.

Attend the Railroad Conference of the N. J. Negro Labor Council

— ADVANCE REGISTRATION —

New Jersey Negro Labor Council
3 Belmont Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Enclosed please find a $1.00 registration fee for . . . . . delegate(s) to the Railroad Conference or $2.00 for registration fee and membership for . . . . . delegate(s). (Attach list of additional delegates).

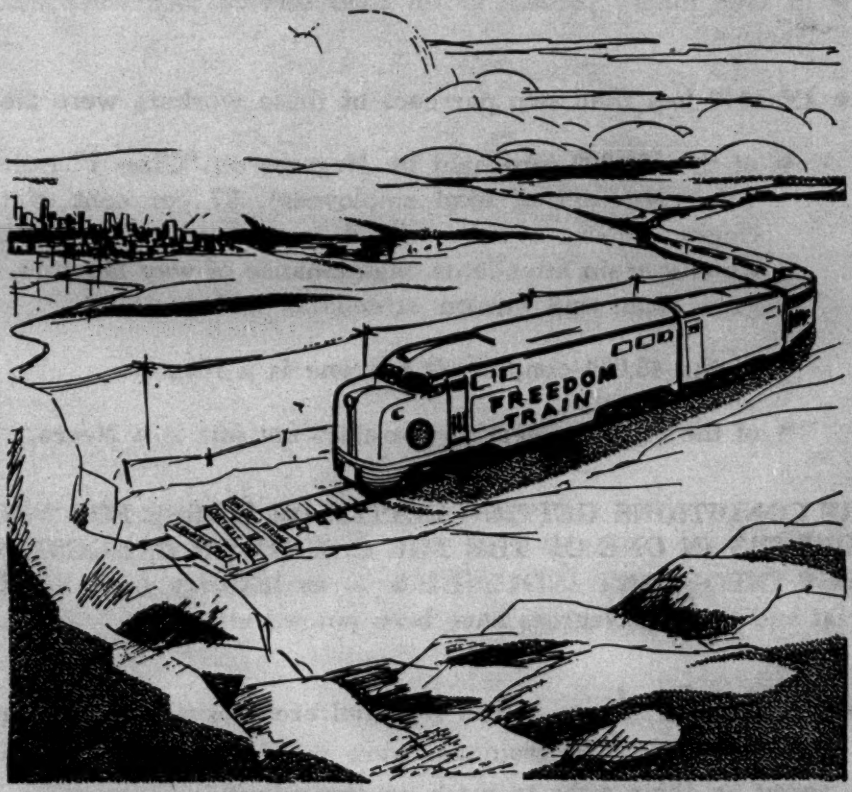
DELEGATE .....

ADDRESS .....

Make Every Train a

"Freedom Train"

End Jim Crow Hiring on the Railroads!



Attend the State R.R. Conference

of the

N. J. Negro Labor Council

February 28, 1954
10 a.m. Sharp

MASONIC HALL - 188 Belmont Ave., Newark, N.J.

Did You Know That...

- in 1890 there were more than 6,000 Negroes employed as firemen by the nation's railroads?
- **TODAY** there are less than 1,000 Negro firemen at work?
- in 1908 ninety percent of all road service jobs were held by Negroes?
- **IN 1949** less than two per cent of these workers were Negro?
  - of the 128,000 jobs held by Negroes on "Class I" railroads (nine per cent of total employees), 97 per cent of these Negro workers were confined to jobs as red caps, cooks, waiters, train attendants, maintenance of way laborers, baggage room and station attendants and janitors.
  - of the 46,000 conductors **not one is a Negro.**
  - of the 36,000 telegraph operators **not one is a Negro.**

ARE CONDITIONS GETTING BETTER OR WORSE FOR NEGRO WORKERS IN ONE OF THE THE COUNTRY'S LARGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRIES — an industry that the blood, sweat and tears of Negroes have been poured into?

Yes . . . Blood . . . The National archives will show that 13 Negro firemen and trainmen were murdered because they insisted on their right to work on the railroads.

In 1933 **Frank Kincaid** had his head blown off by a shotgun blast as he stood in the cab of the Creole Limited as crews changed at Canton, Mississippi.

A few days later **Ed Cole** was fatally shot in the side as he climbed down from his cab to throw a switch on the same line near Water Valley Junction, Mississippi.

These were just two murders. There were other cases of beatings and killings.

Negro Railroadmen Have Always Fought Back—

They have challenged the railroads and the jim crow unions in the courts — and they have won several cases against this most biased of all the nation's industries.

But this is no private matter between the railroad industry and its employees. These valiant Negro railroadmen need your help in their fight for the right to work.

This industry gets billions of your tax money through U. S. Government business and subsidies.

The railroads are controlled and regulated under the Railway Labor Act by your Government.

THEREFORE, RAILROAD JOB JIM CROW IS A MATTER OF PUBLIC POLICY.

What about the lily-white Railroad Brotherhoods? They have always let the railroads use them against their fellow Negro workers. The railroad companies have used this lack of unity between Negro and white railroad workers to lower the living standards of both groups. As a result — railroad workers, who in 1920, had the highest income of any group of workers — are, today, near the bottom of the wage scale.

WHITE RAILROAD WORKERS MUST STOP PLAYING THE COMPANY GAME AND UNITE WITH THEIR FELLOW NEGRO WORKERS AS A MATTER OF SELF-INTEREST AND COMMON ADVANCEMENT.

JIM CROW CAN AND MUST BE ENDED by the support of all democratic-minded people for the railroad workers.

In New York City recently the Pennsylvania Railroad, New York Central and New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroads, together with the Railroad Brotherhoods "Pledged full cooperation with the New York State Commission against discrimination to end discriminatory employment practices on the nation's railroads." This is a good beginning, but as yet only a promise which we must carefully watch, test and extend to all railroads. **YOU CAN DO IT!**

YOU, YOU and YOU! ➤➤

YOU CAN HELP!

Urge . . .

Your Union, Church, Fraternal, or other organization to pass a resolution calling for an end of discrimination in the railroad industry. Ask them to —

Write . . .

- **President Eisenhower,** Washington, D. C.
- **Federal Contract Compliance Committee,** Washington, D. C. **DEMAND that FEPC be enforced on the Railroads!**
- Presidents of the following big railroads:

  Southern Railway System, Washington, D. C.
  Pennsylvania Railroad, New York City, N. Y.
  Santa Fe Railroad, Chicago, Illinois
  New York Central Railroad, New York City, N. Y.

URGE that Negroes be hired as brakemen, stewards, firemen, engineers, conductors, ticket agents, telegraph operators, etc.

DEMAND an end to Jim Crow agreements with the Railroad Brotherhoods.

Support . . .

NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL CAMPAIGN TO END DISCRIMINATION IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

Give to . . .

"NNLC Equality on RR" Fund Drive

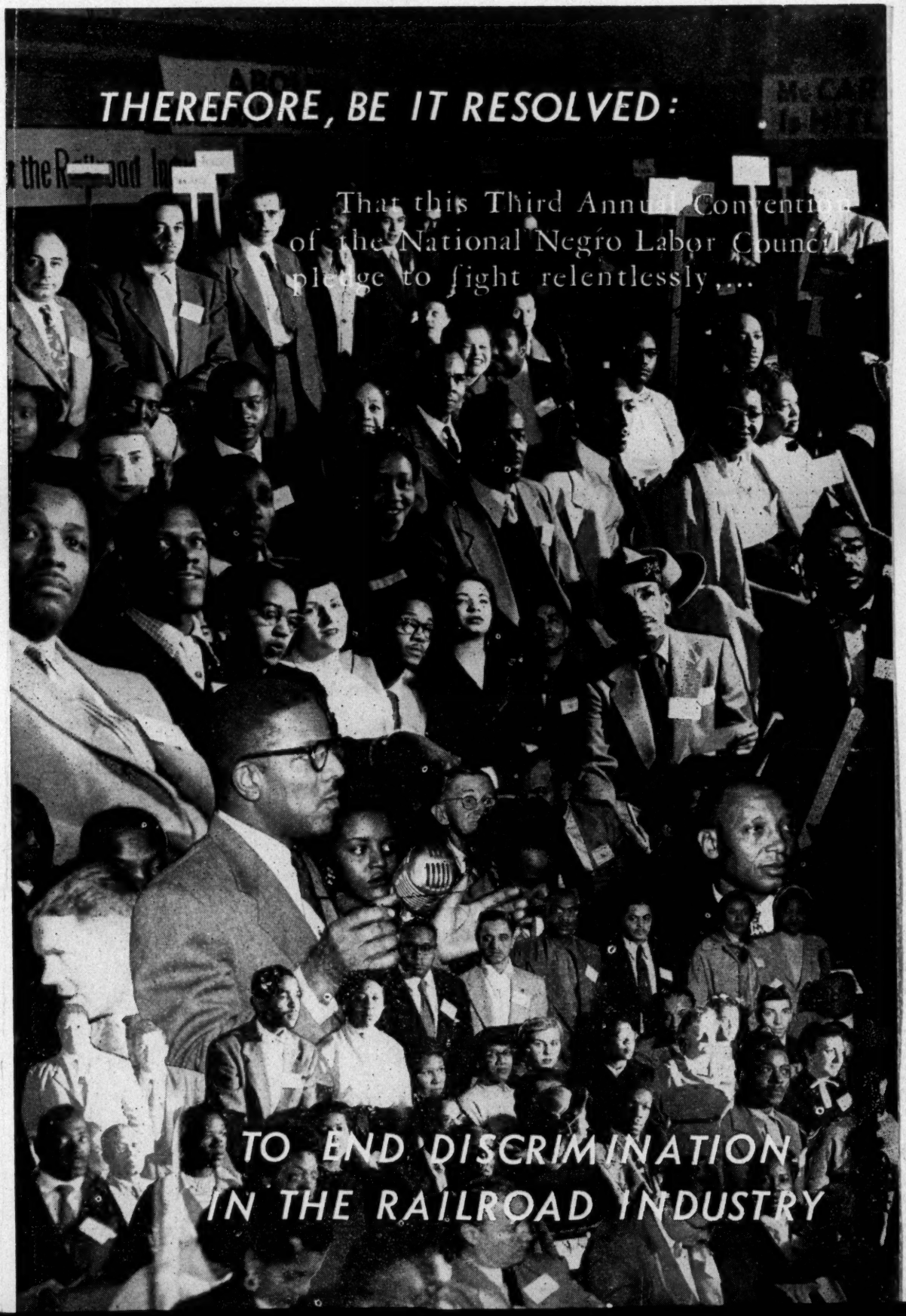
For Further information write

National Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren, Suite 214
Detroit 1, Michigan

or contact Local Negro Labor Council ➡

Address of local NLC

N.J. NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
3 BELMONT AVE. - RM. 103
NEWAR


THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:
That this Third Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council pledge to fight relentlessly....
TO END DISCRIMINATION IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

. . . and be it further resolved:*

WE PLEDGE ourselves to set as an immediate objective, the enrollment of the trade union movement, Negro people's organizations, church groups, civic groups, fraternal orders and others in the railroad campaign.

We will distribute thousands upon thousands of leaflets all over America, especially during holiday periods, and attempt to make all of America aware of this industry's crime.

If it takes a year, or ten years, we will not rest until every job category is opened to Negroes and other minorities. This means engineers, brakemen, firemen, conductors, electricians, telegraph operators, carpenters and the various other jobs necessary to operate the railroads.

WE DEMAND that full and equal opportunity be given Negro youth to receive job training on all job training programs conducted by the railroads; that Negroes already employed by the railroads be given upgrading opportunity, regardless of their present employment status.

WE DEMAND an end to Jim Crow eating, sleeping and seating arrangements, practiced by many of our nation's railroads, particularly in the South.

WE DEMAND that the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance conduct an investigation and conduct public hearings on the railroad industry discriminatory hiring practices.

WE CALL upon the government to withdraw all federal funds and subsidies, unless this industry begins the immediate employment of Negroes, Mexican Americans, and other minorities in all categories.

WE URGE the Railroad Brotherhoods to drop their Jim Crow policies and admit Negroes and other minorities into their unions and to join our fight as a means of enhancing their bargaining power and advancing the interest of their own members.

WE CALL upon all democratic forces in our country to join in this fight whether they be Negro people's organizations, trade unions, church groups, the Negro press, civic groups or others, and pledge our full support and cooperation.

* * *

TO HELP achieve these aims, this Convention instructs the Council leadership to set up a National Committee to coordinate this Campaign, and to launch an "Equality in Railroad" fund drive to supply the necessary finances.

**From the resolution on Discrimination in the Railroad Industry adopted unanimously at the 3rd Annual Convention of the National Negro Labor Council, Dec. 4, 5, 6, 1953, Pershing Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.*

N. Y. STATION 303 West 125 St., NYC MO 6 - 5122

Monthly Newsletter - Greater N.Y. Negro Labor Council - June 1954

NNLC RAILROAD CAMPAIGN

As announced in our last NEWSLETTER, successful mobilizations were held and thousands of leaflets distributed at Pennsylvania and Grand Central terminals, as well as in Harlem community, demanding end of discriminatory employment practices by the railroads. Public response was very favorable.

Two young men, responding to our leaflet urging them to apply to Long Island RR for available jobs as trainmen, were given run-around. They promptly reported to us for follow-up. Our Exec. Secy then accompanied them to SCAD to file complaints. Watch for developments in their cases.

GNYNLC to be on the radio soon with facts on railroad campaign. Date and station to be announced.

A pamphlet, "Operation Extermination in the RR Industry", will be off the press soon, published by our Nat'l Office.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE UNDERWAY

Deadline for the 1954 national membership drive has been extended. Because of our great potential in NYC, we agreed to increase our quota to 600. Let's all pitch in now to guarantee this goal. Renew your membership if it has expired, and sign up your friends and shopmates this week. Still $2 per yr.

BROOKLYN CHAPTER IN CAMPAIGN TO BOYCOTT N.Y. BREWERIES

Remember our Brooklyn Chapter's successful fight against Schaeffer which resulted in hiring of six Negro workers? It was a short victory. In Feb. Schaeffer and other N.Y. breweries laid off the newly hired Negroes.

The union, unfortunately, has placed itself in the position of being used by the companies to stall plan to retain Negroes.

Our Bklyn Chapter's Exec. Board has agreed on campaign of boycott of all N.Y. Beer, and has issued leaflets and postcards (1) to companies - Howard Lichtenstein, Brewery Board of Trade, 270 Madison Ave., NYC urging them to live up to previous agreement to hire 100 Negroes, and to take special steps to guarantee their permanent employment; (2) to union - J. Dunn, Pres., Loc. 1345 Teamsters, 949 Willoughby Ave., Bklyn to reconsider cases of 18 Negroes who failed to gain admittance to union this year, and immediate steps to refer 100 Negroes for employment.

NNLC REPEATS CHALLENGE TO BROWNEL ON PROPOSED LISTING

Our Nat'l Office in a letter to Att. Gen. Brownell on June 23rd inquired as to accuracy of newspaper accounts that NNLC had been placed on list of "subversive organizations."

"By what right do you impose your secret concepts of subversion upon us, if you have, without granting our request for a public hearing?...We challenge the authority of whatever powers you claim to prescribe what shall be orthodox in matters of politics, religion or other controversial issues under consideration by the American people. For our part, we have no desire to keep from the American people any facts relating to the NNLC, the principles upon which it is founded, the objectives for which it diligently works, nor the actions proposed to be taken to achieve our publicly declared goal. We openly

stand for, advocate and work for the right of working people to organize into unions of their own choice, to select leaders of their own choice in order to improve their wages, hours and working conditions, and for the right of Negro people to choose their own organizations and leaders in order to win the status of first-class citizenship which you have failed to provide with your authorized powers....We demand a full, impartial and public hearing on the vague charges you make against the NNLC in your notification of your intention to designate our organization as one deemed to be subversive", stated Coleman A. Young, Exec. Secy for our Gen. Exec. Bd.

JOBS NEEDED FOR ALL - NOW

Despite all business and gov't predictions of an early "upturn" in employment, labor's and NLC's warning that things are getting worse has proven true. Walter Reuther, Nat'l CIO and UAW Pres. recently pointed out that number of cities officially labelled "critical surplus manpower areas" has substantially increased in the past year. But Congress still fiddles while "Rome burns", indifferent to mounting layoffs, rise in relief cases, drying up of unemployment checks. Negroes, Puerto Ricans and women workers are facing serious crisis.

In utter disregard to needs of N.Y. workers, Gov. Dewey's special session of Legislature concerned itself with only "financial problems" of LIRR, approving measures to help the railroads make profits, but nothing to add bread and butter to our tables. Action needed.

Next month, our Man. Chapter will make its office available to community workers having problems collecting unemployment insurance as part of our anti-depression program.

SUPPORT TO TRADE UNIONS

As indication of solidarity with N.Y. longshoremen fighting for decent contract, 143 of whom are now on trial for strike activities, GNYNLC sent check to Defense Comm. of Loc. 327-1, ILA, in response to their request for financial aid.

Shipowners are making still another attempt to smash ILWU by trying to have gov't deport union Pres. Harry Bridges. We have sent our protest of this continued persecution to Immigration Bureau and urge you to do likewise. This is their fifth trial.

Congratulations to members of Transport Workers Union in NYC for standing up to and rejecting proposals of Transit Authority which would have wiped out union as effective bargaining representative. Recent overwhelming NLRB victory for TWU leaves no excuse for the Authority to delay contract.

NLC.

NEW JERSEY MAJOR FORCE IN NEGRO REPRESENTATION VICTORY

For first time in history of Newark, NJ, a Negro, Irvine Turner, was elected to City Council. We are proud of key role of NJ NLC in this campaign from beginning to end. Our leaders spotted and alerted voters to fradulent population statistics, and successfully challenged the proposed gerrymandering of the election districts. Up through nomination of candidates and the final run-off, NJ NLC provided leadership and leg work in a broad coalition.

NEW HEADQUARTERS FOR BKLYN CHAP.

Our Bklyn members will welcome the news that their new NLC office is now located at 1270 Fulton St. Do drop in one evening.

HOUSEWARMING PARTY

A good time was had by all May 14th, celebrating the opening of our new, more spacious headquarters in Manhattan. Many well known artists and community leaders joined us in dancing and refreshments.

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE COCKTAIL PARTY

At its first social affair commemorating Mother's Day and Intl Children's Day, with a special tribute to Mrs. Rosa Ingram, jailed Negro mother, GNYNLC's Women's Committee entertained members and friends at Bowman's Lounge. Alice Childress and David Joseph appeared as guest artists. Winner of raffle drawing donated the prize to one of his neighbors, a family of 7. Next month 13 year old John Organ leaves for a vacation at a camp in P a.

AFRICA MUST BE FREE

The Council on African Affairs held street meeting in Harlem recently at which several GNYNLC members spoke and gave out leaflets calling for aid to persecuted Kenyans fighting for freedom land reform and equality.

Our NY Chap. and Nat'l Office sent greetings to South African Indian Congress holding its 21st Conference in Johannesburg to plan cooperative actions with

other South Africans against M alan's apartheid policies of segregation and discrimination.

From "Juevento", a youth organization in Togoland, Africa, came appeal to support their petition to United Nations protesting persecution and brutality against its leaders by French authorities. Our Executive Board voted to send protest to United Nations.

The Women's Democratic Int'l Federation has published an excellent pamphlet titled "That They May Live - African Women Arise". If interested, please let us know and we will order copies. Small charge.

PAUL ROBESON RECEIVES WORLD SUPPORT IN PASSPORT FIGHT

Paul Robeson's passport fight got off to a big start at the Salute in his honr on May 26th. Enthusiastic supporters overflowed the Renaissance Casino and filled the Mother AME Zion Church.

Greetings and requests for concert engagements for Mr. Robeson arrived from all parts of the world. Simultaneous meeting in tribute to Mr. Robeson was held in Johannesburg same day.

SUPREME COURT RULING ON EDUCATION OFFERS MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROGRESS

We greet the historic and long-delayed Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated public elementary schools throughout the country. I n several states, steps have been taken to eliminate "separate but equal" accomodations for students. But the challenge remains to be met in major states in the South, which have openly defied the highest body of the nation. Every individual and organization must be alert to guarantee immediate and unconditional application of the ruling. No delay in this long-denied right to equal, non-segregated education!

Many organizations in our city, including the NAACP, Urban League, Teachers Union and others, are in a current campaign to end what is in effect segregated schooling in New York, due in part to housing discrimination and zoning. We join this demand for a prompt change.

Further we propose to fight to extend this acknowledged principle to the field of employment. Democratic education must be accompanied by equal access to all jobs. Our campaign for equal job rights on the railroads, one of the country's largest national industries which has historically had the worse record of racial discrimination can and must be our contribution to this fight.

In our letter of congratulations to the NAACP we pledged our support to the total drive of "Freedom by '63".

MCCARTHYISM STILL MAJOR THREAT

One of the most dangerous expressions of McCarthyism is the proposed legislation by Att. Gen. Brownell (and others) which will give the government power to dissolve trade unions and other organizations judged "communist infiltrated." Hearings are now going on, with several labor and other groups to testify. These drastic, fascist-like bills which aim to destroy freedom of organization and expression must be defeated. Wire your Congressman today to vote against all such legislation!

PEACE POSSIBILITIES GROWING

People everywhere longing for peace welcomed the progress made thus far at the Geneva Conference, at which China (550 million people) was represented. We hope for a speedy cease fire and a peace settlement in Indo-China, and a democratic unification of Korea.

Meanwhile we are concerned with the invasion of Guatamala by militarists seeking to overthrow the democratically elected government. Protests are mounting everywhere against the role of the U.S. Fruit Co. seeking to curb Guatamala's right to make necessary reforms.

rwdsu/65

FACT SHEET

NEGRO WORKERS IN THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY

The railroads are one of the most important and powerful industries in American life. They have historically served as the major means of transporting the tons of commodities produced by various industries for distribution and sale throughout the country, as well as of transporting passengers. They employ more than one million workers, and have gross operating revenues of more than five billions of dollars, and a net capitalization, in 1951, of more than fifteen billions of dollars (capital stock and funded debt). (1)

Despite a decline of almost 30 percent in passenger train mileage since the end of World War II, due mainly to decreased military operations and competition from other carrier means, the net income of the railroad industry has steadily increased, and today exceeds by many millions of dollars the net income of even the World War II period. The net railway operating income for the first 6 months of 1953 was $549 million, an increase of 24 percent above that of the first 6 months of last year. New York Central alone reported a 820 percent increase and Pennsylvania Railroad 233 percent. (2)

Our Negro grandfathers pioneered this industry, firing and laying tracks, when the going was rough. Yet today, more than 120 years after the first locomotive engine ran on steel tracks, and the firt Negro bent his back to fire that engine, some 125,000 Negro railroad workers are hemmed in by an ever-expanding jim-crow policy which denies them skilled jobs, and threatens to take away the jobs they currently hold.

Today, the majority of Negro railroad workers are in "service" jobs as dining car waiters, gang laborers, car cleaners, pullman porters, cooks and red caps. They are completely excluded from employment as engineer, conductor, signalman, telegrapher, dispatcher, ticket clerk, office personnel, etc. Negro firemen and brakemen, among the highest paid Negro workers in the nation, have been practically driven from the industry. Listed below is a summary of the current position of Negro workers in the various sections of this industry.

I. Maintenance of equipment - railroad shops

This is the largest division, employing in 1952 - 345,531 workers-skilled mechanics (machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, drop forgers, sheet metal workers, electricians, helpers, carmen, laborers, etc. Negro employment is confined to laborers and mechanical helpers. The age-old policy is to hire Negroes as helpers, not apprentices, thereby cutting off their opportunities for promotion. With increased mechanization during the 1930's Negro hand laborers were to a large extent displaced with white machine operators. Negroes were employed as skilled mechanics only as strikebreakers, soon replaced or reclassified to lower paid jobs. (3)

2. Train and engine service

In this division as of 1952, there were 255,099 employees working as engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen and flagmen. Negroes employed are confined almost exclusively to the southern and border states. As far as can be traced, there has never been any Negro conductors or engineers classified as such, though on occasions they have performed this work. Employment in these two top classifications proceeds only from promotion from fireman and brakeman respectively, the "apprenticeship" jobs.

Although Negroes at one period in history had some foothold as firemen and trainmen, they have always been barred from promotion to engineer and conductor. Up to World War I, Negro firemen and trainmen were employed on from 25 percent to 90 percent of the "runs" in the South. (4) As of 1890, it is estimated, there were 6,505 Negro firemen and trainmen. (5) In 1910 Negro firemen numbered 4,897, but by 1940 there was a decline to 2,128. (6) Negro trainmen in 1910 amounted to 4,886; by 1940 they dropped to 2,060. (7) These figures have fallen off further in the last decade.

Although total employment on the railroads has decreased, it is important to note that the proportion of Negro workers still at work dropped substantially.

In 1910, in the 10 southern states where 90 percent of all Negro firemen and trainmen were employed, 41 percent of all firemen were Negro and 30 percent of all trainmen were Negro. By 1930 only 31 percent of all firemen were Negro, and 16 percent of trainmen were Negro. (8)

Before World War I, 80 percent of all firemen on the Southern RR were Negro; by 1929 only 33 percent were Negro. On the Atlantic Coastline, the percentage Negro firemen in the same period fell from 90 percent to 25 percent, and on the Seaboard Airline, the percentage decreased from 90 percent to 25 percent. (9)

Negro train porters (not pullman porters) in 1920 numbered 7,000. This number decreased to approximately 3,000 by 1930. (10)

During the peak of the depression, 1931-34, a reign of terror existed in the Mississippi Valley during which at least 10 Negro firemen and trainmen were murdered, and 21 were wounded. (Ten years earlier, 5 Negro firemen were killed and 8 wounded.) (11)

3. Railroad clerical, freight handling, station employees.

In this division, Negroes are almost exclusively in common labor jobs. All "white collar" jobs - in the officers and in the terminals are held by white workers only.

In addition to handling freight, Negroes work as "Red Caps", a dead-end, non-oromotable job. In 1942 the Supreme Court ruled that tips are to be considered as part of the wages of the "Red Caps", to be reported to management. The railroads later introduced the system of the passenger paying 10¢ per bag, to be submitted to the company, and now pay these workers the minimum rate (75¢ hour) stipulated by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

4. Pullman porters

Practically all the Pullman porters are Negroes, also a dead-end job with no promotion to conductor.

5. Dining Car

In 1940, 70 percent of all waiters, kitchen help, cooks and chefs on Class I railroads were Negro. They are denied promotion to steward and dining car supervisor. (12)

ROLE OF THE RAILROADS AND THE GOVERNMENT

The railroads, concerned only with making profits however they can have persistently pursued a policy of "divide and rule", with super-exploitation of Negro workers. Historically they have paid Negro workers wages considerably lower than that paid to white workers holding the same jobs. In some instances they have assigned Negroes additional duties, classifying them as porter-brakeman, porter-in-charge, etc., but denied them pay equivalent to that received by white workers performing the higher skill.

Using the threat of displacing Negroes with whites, and whites with Negroes, the railroads helped to foment racial antagonism and to withhold from white southern workers wages comparable to those paid white railroad workers in other areas.

On occasions, Negro workers were hired as strikebreakers. At other times, railroad unions threatened or conducted strikes when management proposed to hire Negro workers. (13)

During World War I, the railroads were taken over by the government. Because of the labor shortage and to attract Negro workers back into the industry who had left because of unequal and low wages, the U.S. Railroad Administration in 1918 issued an "equalization of pay" order that "colored men employed as firemen, trainmen and switchmen shall be paid the same rate of wages as are paid white men in the same capacities."(14) Porters who performed brakeman's work were classified as porter-brakeman, at brakeman's pay. However, in consolidating the seniority list of white brakeman and porter-brakeman, white workers became eligible for porter-brakeman work, but Negroes were barred from the brakeman job. (15) "Braking work is 90-95 percent of the Negro train porter's duties, As a matter of fact, on troop trains during the war, the Negro on the head-end who was called a train porter had no portering work to do because Pullman porters

kept the sleepers clean. Color is the only reason that these men who are doing all the braking work on head-ends of trains are not brakemen. (16)

As unemployment increased following World War I, Negro porter-brakemen were "bumped" off their jobs. When the railroads were returned to private management, Negroes were generally reclassified to train porter, but with no change of duties. (17) The Railroad Adjustment Board, the official government agency which administers the Railway Labor Act, ruled in 1926-27 that the "use of porters who do not hold seniority as brakemen violate the seniority rights of brakemen." (18) The effect of this ruling upheld the practice of denying Negroes brakeman work, and also reversed the order of the Director General of the Railroads in 1918 establishing the porter-brakeman classification and rate of pay. The net result has been the gain to the railroads who benefit from extra work at lower pay.(19)

In 1941 the National Mediation Board helped produce an agreement with 22 southern railroads and the Brotherhood of Enginemen and Firemen which reduced the percentage of Negro firemen from 41 percent to 5 percent. (20)

In 1943 the FEP Committee created by President Roosevelt's Executive Order held hearings on the railroads and issued findings that the "non-promotable" agreements between the companies and the unions were null and void. However, many companies immediately announced their intention to disregard these findings. The FEP Committee took no further action, and lacking enforcement power, the companies won still another victory. (21)

The National Railroad Adjustment Board has served to perpetuate the undemocratic, jim-crow practices of the railroads. It is composed of 36 members, 18 representatives of the railroad carriers and 18 union representatives. These members have no fixed terms of office, are nominated by the employer and union groups respectively, and are paid by them. (22) It is impprtant to note that the international railroad unions whose representatives serve on this Board are all lily-white. Among other things, this body passes judgement on all grievances filed with and accepted by them, including those of the Negro railroad unions.

The railroads have powerful influence in Congress and in government agencies such as the Interstate Commerce Commission to protect their interests. The following revealing items reported in the September 1953 issue of Railway Age Service, an industry publication, are one significant illustration:

1. "Despite the fact that Congress has not yet acted on the 'time lag bill, the Interstate Commerce Commission seems to have realized the necessity for faster action as evidenced by the speed with which it authorized a 22 month extension of the 15 percent increase in railway freight rates granted in April 1952. The extension is a double source of satisfaction to the carriers. Not only will it mean a boost of nearly $1 billion in annual railway income, but it also indicates a willingness on the part of the I.C.C. to keep at least partically abreast of rising wage scales and material costs within the industry.

2. "In the same vein, the I.C.C. voted 8 to 2 to give the Railway Express Agency an average rate increase of 15 percent. The new rates become effective on or before October 15th next. This places the R.E.A. in a much better competitive position because of a 36 percent increase in parcel post rates approved by the commission a short time before.

3. "Another favorable aspect is that the I.C.C. has already received an examiner's report recommending dismissal of the government's complaints in its pending demands for so-called reparations, amounting to $2 billion on its wartime payments of railway freight charges. Although the I.C.C. must pass on these recommendations before the case is finally decided, present indications are all to the good.

4. "The railways also are awaiting the Commission's action on their petition for an increase in compensation for the transportation of U.S. mail. Although the 83rd Congress ended its first session with little or no affirmative action having been taken on the several measures affecting the railways, there are hopeful signs for the next session."

In addition to passenger and freight revenue, a good percentage of which is paid for by the government with our taxes for transportation of military servicemen, supplies and other items, the railroads are further subsidized by mail contracts with the government. In 1952 mail revenues added up to $319 million on the Class 1 railways, $198 million more than the average for the years 1946-50. (23) Although the revenue from U.S. mail is relatively small in relation to total railroad income, this in no way minimizes the responsibility of our government to intervene and enforce the President's FEP order on government contract compliance.

The Railway Express Agency, an "independent" company, whose rates are set by the Interstate Commerce Commission, through contacts with the railroads paid them in 1952 $134 million, $20 million more than the average spent during 1941-45, and $37 million more than the average during 1946-50. (24)

TIES BETWEEN RAILROADS AND OTHER BIG BUSINESS INTERESTS

The directors of the major railroad companies hold positions of leadership in many of the country's major banking institutions, insurance companies, public utilities and giant industries, thereby exercising control over the financial and employment policies of a tremendous section of our total economy. See partial listing below. (25)

New York Central

Bank connections of directors: Chase National, First National, Emigrant Industrial Savings, Guaranty Trust, N.Y. Trust, JP Morgan
Insurance: John Hancock, Glen Falls
Industry: Coca Cola, Nash Kelvinator, Owens-Illinois Glass, Moore-McCormack Lines, National Biscuit, U.S. Steel, American Radiator and Standard, General Motors, American Sugar Refining, General Dairies, Kennecott Copper
Utility: Ohio Bell Telephone, Consolidated Edison

(States serviced: Mass, N.Y., PA, Ohio, Ind. Ill, W.Va., Mich)

Southern Railway

Bank connections of directors: First National, Guaranty Trust
Insurance: Metropolitan Life
Industry: General Electric, Sheffield Steel & Iron, American-Hawaiian Steemship, National Sugar Refining, U.S. Paper & Foundry
Utility: Carolina Power & Light, Piedmont Natural Gas

(States serviced: Va. N.C., S.C., Ga, Fla., Ala, Miss, Tenn, Ky, Ind., Ill., Washington, D.C.)

Louisville & Nashville

Bank connections of directors: U.S. Trust, Citizens Fidelity Bank & Trust, Southern National Bank of Atlanta
Insurance: Continental, Transportation Mutual
Industry: E.R. Squibb, Fruitgrowers Express, Century Coal, Cumberland Coal, Railway Express, Davison Chemical, Maryland Biscuit
Utility: Louisville Gas & Electric

(States serviced: Ala., Fla, Ga, Ill, Ind. Ky, La, Miss, NC, Ohio, Tenn., Va.)

Pennsylvania Railroad

Bank connections of directors: National City, Mellon National, Hanover, Girard Trust Corn Exchange, Central-Penn National
Insurance: Prudential, Penn Mutual, Fidelity Mutual
Industry: Montgomery Ward, U.S. Steel, General Baking, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, National Lead, Garland Coal & Mining, Atlantic Refining
Utility: National Light & Power, Phila. Electric

(States serviced: N.Y., N.J., Pa., Dela, Md., Ohio, Ind. Ill, Mich., Ky.)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe

Bank connections of directors: Guaranty Trust, Merchants National
Insurance: Farmers & Bankers Life
Industry: Int'l Harvester, Inland Steel, Chicago Bridge & Iron, Sunshine Biscuit

(States services: Tex., Kan., Calif., N.M., Ariz., Colo., Mo., Ill., La., Iowa, Neb.)

Frisco Railroad

Bank connections of directors: Commerce Bank & Trust, Mercantile Commerce National, Bank of St. Louis, First National, Union Planters, Excelsior Savings, Industrial Loan
Insurance: Metropolitan, General American Life, American Central
Industry: Joseph Lead, Missouri Portland Cement, U.S. Cold Storage, Husky Oil, Trans-Delta, Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Mid-Continental Petroleum, Zephr Petroleum, McConnell Aircraft, General Steel Castings, Bessemer Coal & Iron, West Coast Wharf & Storage
Utility: Southwestern Bell Telephone

RAILROAD UNIONS AND NEGRO WORKERS

As Charles Houston, deceased general counsel of the Negro Railway Labor Executives Committee, said in testimony at the May 1949 hearings of FEPC bill H.R. 4454 of the sub-committee of the Committee on Education and Labor, "the history of Negroes on the railroads has been a history of exploitation on the part of the carriers and suppression on the part of the Brotherhoods. The carriers always used them (Negroes) when they could hire them for fractional percentages or substandard wages." (26)

It is indeed a major blot on the record of the Railroad Brotherhoods that they have permitted themselves to be a tool of the railroads in helping to curb full and equal job opportunities for their fellow Negro workers. The only correct alternative to the union-busting, divisive policies of the railroads was and still is for white workers to unite with and organize Negro workers into the existing unions on a basis of full equality as a solid front against the companies.

One Major problem has been the persistent policy of excluding Negro workers from the established railroad unions which cover more than 90 percent of all railroad workers, with union shop agreements. The "Big Four" - Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen; Railway Trainmen; and Order of Railway Conductors have historically had color bars in their constitutions. In some instances, jim crow auxiliaries were set up with Negro members paying dues to the parent body but having no representation on them or genuine collective bargaining rights.

The following are some of the means through which the railroads, in contract agreements, have deprived Negroes of their equal employment rights:

1. "Non-promotable" clauses to bar Negroes from promotion and even from hiring in the lower classifications. "Only 'promotable' men will be employed for service as locomotive firemen or for service as helpers on other than steam power." (27)

2. Maximum percentage quotas on employment of Negro firemen. (28)

3. Banning on some lines of Negroes from work as baggageman, flagman, and foreman. (29)

4. Designation of areas in which Negroes are denied hiring rights to fill new runs and vacancies. (30)

5. "Examination" provisions which stipulated that "promotion examinations are to be held for fireman to engineer. Those who decline to take the examination and meet all other requirements for promotion, or fail to pass the examination will be dismissed from service." (31)

The "percentage and non-promotable" agreements have been declared invalid, but considerable damage has already been done, and the results largely achieved. (32)

NEGRO WORKERS FIGHT BACK

As a matter of self-protection, Negro workers resorted to organizing themselves into separate unions. There is a Negro Railway Labor Executives Committee composed of the following Negro unions: Association of Colored Railway Trainmen & Locomotive Firemen; Colored Trainmen of America; Dining Car & Food Workers Union and Southern Association of Colored Railway Trainmen & Firemen. They have a few collective bargaining contracts, but because of the forced dual union set-up are generally weak. Railroad executives have contemptuously told them, "if we have to pay a white man's wages, we might as well hire whites"(33)(Of course the same threat is used against white workers when the companies consider their demands too high.)

In 1925 the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was founded, and finally granted an international charter by the AFL in 1935. This union has jurisdiction over train porters, porter-brakeman and sleeping car porters employed by railroads owning their own sleeping cars. This union has been faced witha running battle to maintain the classification of porter-in-charge who performs conductor work at extra pay, but below that received by white conductors. At their last convention this year the BSCP pledged to wage a campaign for the hiring of Negro workers in skilled classifications.

Because of dissatisfaction with their position in the Railway Clerks Union (lily-white, with Negro auxiliary), the United Transport Service Union, CIO, composed of Red Caps, was organized in 1940. They represent approximately one-third of all Red Caps on Class I mileage, the majority of the workers. The balance are still in the Railway Clerks Union. (34)

In their fight back for equality, Negro railroad workers have filed many court cases, some of which they won.

In New York City this past fall, a significant but token victory was won when Pennsylvania Railroad hired its first Negro brakeman. This hiring followed a struggle which resulted in a commitment to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination by the N. Y. Central, Pennsylvania and the N. Y., New Haven & Hartford Railroads and the Railroad Brotherhoods "pledging full cooperation to end discriminatory employment paractices on the nation's railroads." This promise, of course, must be further implemented by urging applicants to apply for work on these railroads, and by following up the results.

In Denver, recently, a Negro railroad worker denied skilled employment filed a protest with the President's Federal Contract Compliance Committee. Such action should be duplicated throughout the country.

The NAACP, in convention this year, agreed to wage a campaign to end jim crow facilities of the railroads.

The fight to make the railroad industry truly democratic in all its aspects is gaining momentum, and can be won through the united effort of all people devoted to the cause of freedom.

FOOTNOTES

1. Railway Age, September 1953
2. Railway Age, September 1953
3. Northrup, Herbert, R., Organized Labor and the Negro, Harper & Bros., 1944, pps. 78-80
4. Northrup, op.cit,p. 49.
5. U. S. Census Bureau.
6. Northrup, op.cit., p. 53
7. Northrup, op.cit., p. 53
8. Northrup, op.cit., p. 54
9. Northrup, op.cit., p. 52
10. Northrup, op. cit., p. 54
11. Northrup, op. cit., pps. 54-55
12. Northrup, op. cit., p. 96
13. Northrup, op. cit., p. 79 ; Hearings on H.R. 4453 81st Cong., 1st Session, May 1949, p. 133
14. Northrup, op. cit., p. 50
15. Northrup, op. cit., p. 51
16. Hearings, op. cit., p. 199
17. Northrup, op. cit., p. 51, Hearings, op. cit., p. 198
18. Northrup, op. cit., p. 69
19. Northrup, op. cit., p. 70
20. Hearings, op. cit., p. 154
21. Hearings, op cit., p. 156
22. Hearings, op. cit., p.266
23. Yearbook of Railroad Information, 1953, Eastern RR. Pres. Conference
24. Ibid
25. Poor's Register of Directors & Executives, Standard & Poors Corp.
26. Hearings, op. cit., p. 203
27. Hearings, op. cit., p. 193, Northrup, op. cit., pps. 63-65
28. Northrup, op. cit., p. 52, 64, Hearings, op. cit., p. 201, 263
29. Hearings, op. cit., p. 183
30. Northrup, op. cit., p. 63
31. Hearings, op. cit., p. 194
32. Hearings, op. cit., p. 194
33. Northrup, op. cit., p. 74
34. Northrup, op. cit., p. 88

WESTERN UNION

MESSRS. ROGER M. YANCEY and SYLVESTER STEWART
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

As a Central Ward Councilman candidate, I withdrew from the race to make it easier for the many church, trade union, fraternal, civic and social organizations to select and support a single Negro council candidate on May 11th.

SUPPORTS NEGRO UNITY SLATE

HAZLEWOOD & TURNER

The task of selecting a UNITY SLATE was accomplished by the Voters Independent Council on February 20th, 1954, at 604 High Street. The Council, which represented the aforementioned organizations, endorsed HARRY HAZLEWOOD for Councilman-at-Large and IRVINE I. TURNER for Councilman from the Central Ward. I sincerely feel that my modest sacrifice in withdrawing from the race was not in vain.

ELECTION OF NEGRO COUNCILMAN IS NOW POSSIBLE

The selection of HAZLEWOOD and TURNER created the possibilities of victory for the Negro people in their long sought desire to see an elected representative in the city government.

URGES SPLINTER CANDIDATES (YANCEY AND STEWART) WITHDRAW

You pledged to the Voters Independent Council to withdraw from the councilmanic race if not selected by that body. I hereby urge that you live up to your pledge. By so doing you will be making a great contribution to the aspirations of the 75,000 Negro people of Newark.

I am sure that men of your calibre are not desirous of being held responsible by the Negro people for having prevented the election of a Negro to City Hall for the first time in the city's history.

392 Littleton St.
Newark, N.J.

Lorrayne Hayes

THE
ORGAN GUILD

OF

SHORTER A. M. E. CHURCH

PRESENTS

A Musical Recital

Sunday, October 19, 1952

4:00 p.m.

Shorter A.M.E. Church

19th and Cheyenne Place

Denver, Colorado

Reverend J. Russell Brown, D. D.

The Shorter A.M.E. Church

ORGAN GUILD

Presents

EDNA DODD ..... ORGANIST

IVAN SCHOOLEY ..... VOCALIST

KATHLEEN DODD ..... VIOLINIST

COMPLIMENTS

OF

Joseph E. Cook

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

For

JUVENILE JUDGE

Your Vote Will Be Appreciated
For This Worthy Candidate

TUESDAY **NOVEMBER 4, 1952**

MASON K. KNUCKLES
Republican for Congress—
1st Congressional District

Compliments

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Mason K. Knuckles

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

for

Congress

Your Vote Will Be
Appreciated

TUESDAY, NOV. 4, 1952

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FINE BARBECUED MEATS

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of

James T. Burke

Republican Candidate

FOR

County Judge

Your Vote Will Be Appreciated

TUESDAY, NOV. 4, 1952

COMPLIMENTS

TO

The Organ Guild of Shorter

MORGAN W. F. DICKERSON. D.D.S.

L. D. QUICK, M.D. O. EARL CORBIN, D.S.C,

AL. 1309 AL. 4100

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REAL ESTATE LOANS
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S. T. Anderson
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
for
District Attorney
Your Vote Will Be
Appreciated
TUESDAY, NOV. 4, 1952

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To

The Organ Guild of
Shorter A.M.E. Church

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2602 Welton Street

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From

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GREETINGS

To the many friends of the Shorter A. M. E. Organ Guild, whose encouragement and cooperation have meant so much to us in the planning of this occasion, we extend cordial greetings.

The purpose of our organization is:

To encourage the people of the entire Denver area in furthering their knowledge and appreciation of the pipe organ as an instrument and of organ music.

To encourage new talent in our community, particularly among our youth.

To obtain and maintain an organ fund which will be used exclusively in maintaining the organ and piano.

It is a privilege and a pleaure to have had you as our guests this afternoon, and we do hope that you have enjoyed our presentation.

THE SHORTER A. M. E. CHURCH

ORGAN GUILD

PROGRAM

I.

VIOLIN and ORGAN

a. ANDANTE CANTABILE (Fifth Symphony) ..... Tschaikowsky

b. ROMANCE Op. 45 ..... Tschaikowsky

c. EXCERPT from PIANO CONCERTO ..... Tschaikowsky

Kathleen and Edna Dodd

II.

VOICE

a. HILLS of HOME ..... Fox

b. I HEARD A FOREST PRAYING ..... DeRose

c. INVICTUS ..... Huhn

Ivan Schooley

III.

ORGAN

a. MOONLIGHT SONATA ..... Beethoven

Edna Dodd

IV

VIOLIN and ORGAN

a. ETUDE in E ..... Chopin

b. CLAIR DE LUNE ..... Debussy

c. ANDANTE ..... Wieniawski

Kathleen and Edna Dodd

INTERMISSION

PRESENTATION to ARTIST ..... Marian M. Bailey

V.

VOICE

a. TRAMP - TRAMP - TRAMP ..... Herbert

b. BECAUSE ..... D'Hardelot

c. THE BLIND PLOWMAN ..... Clarke

Ivan Schooley

VI.

ORGAN

a. THE LOST CHORD ..... Sullivan

Edna Dodd

VII.

VIOLIN and ORGAN

a. INTERMEZZO (Cavalleria Rusticana) ..... Mascagni

b. ON WINGS OF SONG ..... Mendelssohn

c. THEME and VARIATIONS (Corelli) ..... Kreisler

Kathleen and Edna Dodd

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OF

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Democratic Candidate

FOR

House of Representatives

YOUR VOTE WILL BE APPRECIATED

ELECTION TUESDAY NOVEMBER 4, 1952

GREETINGS FROM

THE

Denver Democratic County Central Committee

Lawrence Henry
CHAIRMAN

Oglesvie L. Lawson
CAPTAIN, DISTRICT V

Ann May Doyle
VICE-CHAIRWOMAN

John R. Barry
SECRETARY

Registration 10:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M.

Fee $1.00

Conference is open to all persons as representatives of organizations, individuals or observers.

HOUSING: Limited amount of free housing and low cost housing can be arranged.

Please notify Washington Office of housing requirements as soon as possible.

930 F St., N. W., Room 519, Washington 4, D. C.

Place:

ODD FELLOWS HALL

9th and T Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Progressive Party of the District of Columbia

Chairman:	Joseph Forer
Executive Secretary:	Gertrude Evans

call

to a

conference to end

discrimination and

segregation in

the nation's capital

● may 16, 1953 -:- 11 a. m. to 6 p. m. ●

Discrimination against Negroes in Washington, D. C. is a failure of democracy and an international scandal. It is a window through which all the world looks at the gap between our preachments of freedom abroad as against our practices at home. Our Nation's Capital is shunned by distinguished colored Americans as an inhuman place in which to live and bring up their children—and dreaded as a place of humiliation by foreign visitors from half the world.

For a decade, both Negroes who suffer its inequality and thoughtful white citizens who share its shame, have fought together to make the Nation's Capital a fit place to live in equality for both Negro and white. Today that struggle stands at a vital point. A new Administration has taken office and rules the Capital. The Republican Party pledged in its platform to abolish discrimination in the District of Columbia.

During the election campaign and in his State of the Union Message, President Eisenhower promised "to use whatever authority exists in the office of the President to end segregation in the District of Columbia."

It is now four months since inauguration—and nothing has been done to redeem the pledge. The citizens of the District of Columbia want performance. They do not want repetition of the pattern of eloquent denunciations and promises, followed by interminable delay that only serves to perpetuate the pattern of segregation and discrimination.

Negro people make up 35% of the Capital's population but enjoy less than a fraction of its privileges. Discriminated against in private employment, in publicly regulated utilities, even in the District of Columbia and the Federal Governments, they earn little more than half the income of whites. And the cost of discrimination weighs on white citizens too, who must pay in higher taxes and unequal facilities to maintain segregation.

The President has enormous powers of appointment and executive action. With a stroke of the pen he can eliminate many aspects of segregation and discrimination from the fundamental aspects of the Capital's life. The President cannot be expected to take appropriate action unless aroused citizens make their demands upon him in clear and ringing terms.

WE CALL, therefore, upon all persons—members of trade unions, civic, fraternal and women's organizations and churches, Progressive Party members—who desire to see the Nation's Capital a place where all people may live in dignity, to attend this CONFERENCE and work out a program of action to achieve this end.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM — 11:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M.

Chairman: Erma Henderson,

P. P. National Committeewoman, Michigan

Keynote Speaker: Hugh DeLacy

Former Congressman, Washington State

District of Columbia Program of Action

Joseph Forer, Chairman, Progressive Party of D. C.

Discussion: Delegates and Visitors.

Adoption of Program of Action.

Public Rally — 8:15 P.M.

Speakers:

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party Presidential Candidate, 1952

Eslanda Goode Robeson, Author, Lecturer.

Entertainment: Earl Robinson, Composer (Ballad for Americans)

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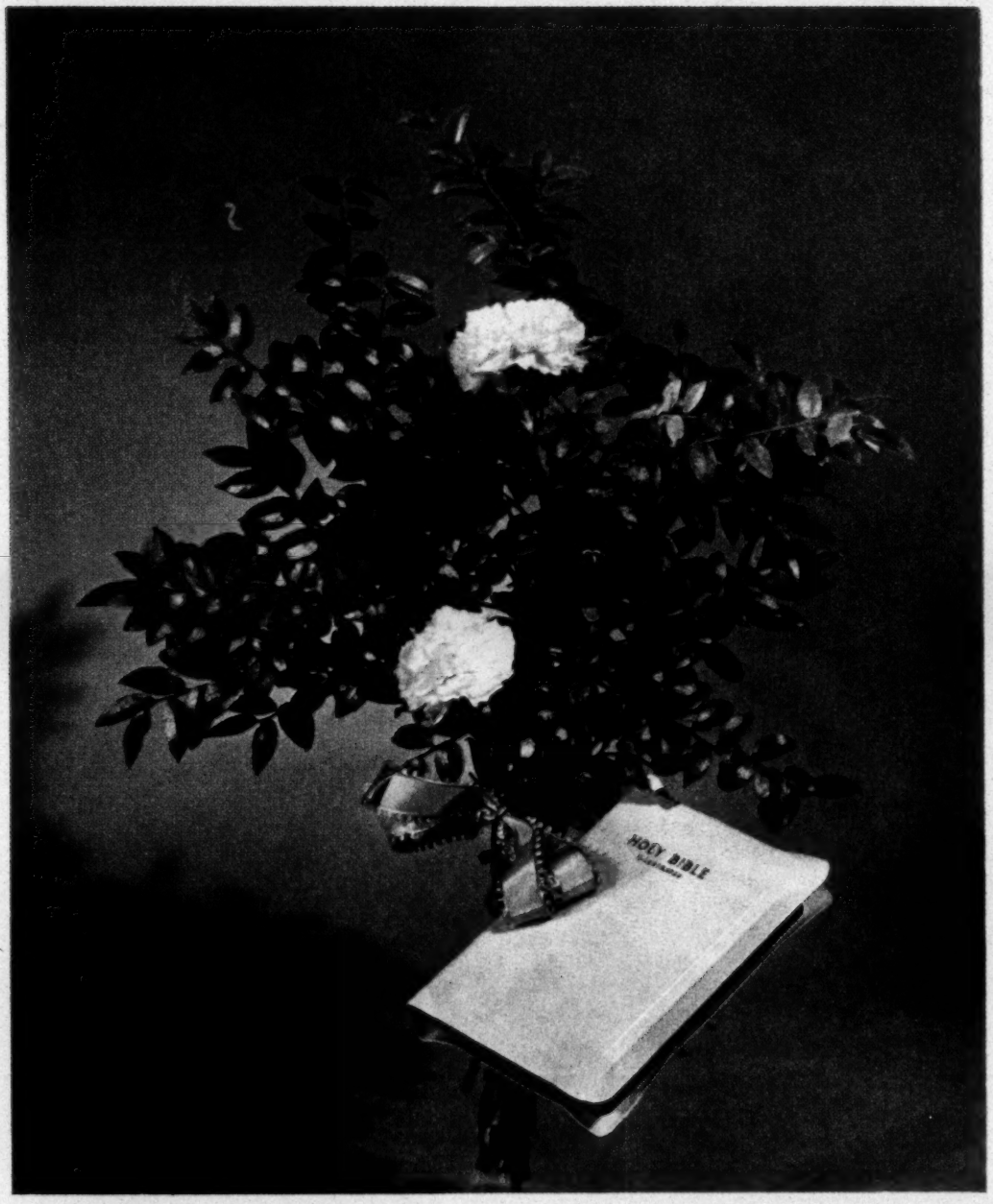

MOTHER'S DAY

Greater Bethesda Baptist Church

Sunday, May 10, 1953

A. A. Watts, M.A., Th.D., Minister

TODAY
Order Of Service

9:30 A.M.—Sunday School
10:30 A.M.—Junior Church
11:00 A.M.—Divine Worship
Speaker: Dr. A. Alfred Watts
Fourth Sunday evening Forum, 7:30
Missionary Meetings- 1:00 p.m.
(Every Monday)

All Women's Day Captains and Chair- of the Teamsters Committee, please meet with Mrs. Georgia Sanders in the Ladies Parlor immediately after morning worship. Very important.

* * *

The Senior Usher Board will meet this afternoon at the home of Mr. Foley Myers, 6033 Vernon Ave., at 4 o'clock. Please be present.

Mrs. Mrs. Maud Mitchell, Pres.

Alpha Circle will meet this afternoon at the home of Mrs. Curry, 309 E. 60th St., at 3:30. All members are requested to be present.

Mrs. Irene Waterford, President.

* * *

The Service Link Club will meet with Mrs. Ethel Booker, 150 W. 55th St., at 5 o'clock this P.M. Members please be present and on time.

Mrs. Philonise Davis, President.

* * *

The regular monthly meeting of the Candle Light Club will be held Sunday, (today) at 4 o'clock, with Mr. William A. Oliver, 5412 South Parkway (2-W), 2nd flror. Hostess: Mrs. Oliver and Tommie Hoggatt. All members please be present. Mrs. Annie C. Bush, Pres.

* * *

GREETINGS TO MOTHERS

We think of you with all our heart;
May cheerfulness and happiness never depart
May memories of you stay
With us each and every day;
For mother is the sweetest word
We have learned to say.
Her cheers when sad, the greatest friend
We ever had;
There is none other who can take the
Place of Mother.

* * *

All that I am or hope to be, I owe to my angel Mother.—Lincoln.

The Alabama Club wishes you to join them Sunday, May 24th, 1953, in a delightful trip to the House of David. For reservations, see Atty. A. Jackson, Pres. or call KE. 6-8169 or OA. 4-0575.

Team No. 4, a Women's Day Committee, is serving a turkey dinner with all the trimmings, Saturday, May 16, at the home of Mrs. Mattie Sanders, 6053 Eberhart Ave Ready at noon. Dinners: $1.00; Delivered: $1.25. Please call FA. 4-2205.

* * *

Sick and Shut-ins

Mr. Robert McDaniel, 5059 Vincennes.
Mrs. Amanda Harris, 2735 Prairie Ave.
Mrs. Mae Sanders, Michael Reese Hosp.
Mrs. Josie Rogers, 5626 South Parkway
Mr. Jerry Goodwin, 745 E. 40th St.
Mr. David Wright, 1362 W. 14th St.
Mrs. Lula McEwen, 5518 Indiana
Mrs. Ella Gentry, 5849 LaSalle
Mrs. Tuland Banner, 7341 South Park.
Mrs. Eloise Moy, 6110 Evans Ave.
Mrs. Frances Jones, 4315 Vincennes, Apt. 2.
Mrs. Elizabeth Brantley, 6718 Evans
Mrs. Dorothy Gossin, 4503 Michigan, Apt. 2.
Mrs. Ellen Johnson, 5337 Michigan Ave. (Mrs. Irene Waterford's mother.)
Mrs. Gertrude Haynes, 6026 S. Michigan
Mrs. Annie Blackwell, 7233 Champlain.
Mrs. Cora Williams, 5959 Michigan.
Mrs. Julia Brown, 5420 Prairie Ave.
Mrs. Ruth Tilly, 68 E. 57th St., Apt. 1

Let us all visit and pray for the Sick and Shut-ins. If you cannot visit, send a get well card.

Memorials

In loving memory of my dear uncle, Atty. James E. White, May 10, 1953.
Mattie L. Priester.

In loving memory of mother and sister,
Bobbie Owens,
Harriet F. Wardo.

In loving memory of our mother and teacher, Mrs. Hattie Robinson, whose birthday was May 15, and departed this life six years ago, April 29th. Loving Daughters, Corine Dunagan, Vera Benton, Helen Calhoun, Sadie Johnson, G. Beasley.

Bethesda Circle is serving turkey dinner with all the trimmings, also a Ham Dinner Saturday, April 18, ready at noon. Dinners $1.00; if delivered, $1.25.
Mrs. Mattie Sanders, President.

The Greater Bethesda Nursery is open to all children between the ages of 2-6 years. Hours 7-5 p.m. and 9-4 p.m. Pick up service if desired. WAgner 4-9114.
Edythe Watts Geraldine Hardwick

Pastor's Hymn No. 625

1. I can never forget the day I heard my mother kindly say
("You're leaving now my tender care; Remember, child, your mother's prayer.
2. I never can forget the voice that always made my herat rejoice,
'Tho' I have wandered God knows where,
Still I remember my mother's prayer.

REFRAIN

When e'er I think of her so dear,
I feel her angel spirit near;
A voice comes floating on the air,
Reminding me of my mother's prayer.

4. I never can forget the hour
I felt the Savior's cleansing power;
My sin and guilt He cancelled there,
'Twas there He answered mother's prayer.

REFRAIN

O, praise the Lord for saving grace
We'll meet up yonder face to face
The home above to-gether share,
In answer to my mother's prayer

• • •

Choir's Hymn No. 626

MOTHER

1. Can I ever forget mother's beautiful face
That reflected such heavenly love,
As I leaned on her breast with a tender embrace
Ere she passed to the mansions above?
2. Can I ever forget mother's fond, trusting prayers
Which ascended to God thro' her tears;
That her child might be kept from the tempter's dread snares
As the days ripened fast into years?

REFRAIN

No, no, I can never forget
That dear name prized a-bove
ever other;
It's the key that unlocks the glad scenes of the past,
The beautiful name of mother.
A-MEN

• • •

The Service Link announces their "Third Annual Family Day Services,' Sunday, May 24, 1953. Please look for more information next Sunday.
Albert Williams, General Chairman,
Mrs. Philonise Davis, President.

• • •

The September Club will serve dinner after the mornings worship. Women's Day Dinner, $1.00. Mrs. E. E. Claytor, President.

Mother's Day Greetings From Our Advertisers

C. B. WATERFORD, Funeral Director
5438 S. State St., DR. 3-7040-41

CHARLES L. RAGSDALE, Clothier
4724 State Street LI. 8-2219

L. C. PLINER Shoe Store
131 E. 55th Street NO. 7-0364

KING SHOOL OF MUSIC
5810 South Parkway BU. 8-4139

ARTHUR B. KNIGHT, Insurance Broker
4500 S. Michigan, KE. 6-3600

GEORGIA SANDERS Hosiery that Please
6826 Prairie Ave., HU. 3-6761

WILLIAM L. JORDAN, Funeral Director
5822 Wentworth Ave. MI. 3-7614-5

KATIE THOMPSON, Specialty Shop
5955 S. Michigan Ave. NO. 7-3740

SIDNEY FIELDON, New & Used Cars
446 E. 61st St., BU. 8-6793

DAISY R. BLACKNELL
Ladies Tailor, 346 E. 57th St. NO. 7-3831

• • •

ALL UNION, CHURCH, CIVIC AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE URGED TO SEND DELEGATES TO THIS CONFERENCE. INDIVIDUALS MAY ATTEND AS DELEGATES OR OBSERVERS.

REGISTRATION FEES: Delegates $1.00 — Observers 50 cents.

Registration fees and names of delegates should be forwarded immediately to the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council, 736 E. 63rd Street, Suite 1, Chicago 37, Illinois

DELEGATE CREDENTIAL

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone ...., State .....

Organization .....

Office held .....

☐ Delegate ☐ Observer ☐ Fee enclosed

Advance Registration Should Be Sent To:

GREATER CHICAGO NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

736 East 63rd Street, Suite 1, Chicago 37, Illinois

Attention: Chatman C. Wailes, Executive Secretary

Call To A Conference Of The Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council

SATURDAY and SUNDAY, MAY 9th and 10th, 1953

AGENDA FOR SATURDAY AND SUNDAY

Keynote address by Mrs. Octavia Hawkins
National Treasurer, National Negro Labor Council

Address by Rev. H. B. Hawkins
Pastor, Trinity Baptist Church, Chairman Public Policy Committee Baptist Ministers Conference of Chicago and vicinity

Remarks by Miss Thelma J. Barksdale
Director, Youth Department Greater New Era District, Incorporated

Report by Chatman C. Wailes
Executive Secretary, Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council

Address by Joseph Jefferson
Editor, THE CRUSADER

Resolutions

Reading and Adoption of Constitution

Election of Officers

Adjournment

FORUM HALL (Main Auditorium), 322 East 43rd Street, Chicago 15, Illinois

All sessions at Forum Hall, Opening Session: 10 A.M. Saturday, Sunday Session: 12 Noon:

Equal Rights For All

We call this Conference of the Greater Chicago Negro Labor Council to realistically measure where we have come since the Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati in 1951.

We must honestly estimate how we are measuring up to the needs of the time. How are we meeting the new tasks that faced us in Cleveland in 1952?

It is our firm conviction that the justification of the founding of our organization is not only found in the numerous accomplishments we have made around the country. but also by the many activities we have influenced in our country.

Greater obstacles lie in the path of all efforts to contribute to the winning of fuller democracy for our people and other minority groups. A greater responsibility must be accepted by us in helping to weld strong and unbreakable the unity of Negro and white workers.

Our old and new tasks demand more determination on our part to meet the challenge of building a new organization — of finding the ways that we can contribute toward developing unity and cooperation of all groups working toward the same aims.

National Negro Labor Council

Excerpts from Our Historic Cincinnati Documents

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES from our Constitution. . .

"We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils' work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities."

"FOR THESE THINGS WE FIGHT"

address by William Hood, President, National Negro Labor Council

"The Negro Labor Council has come into being at a time when democracy needs fearless champions. We accept this role that history has thrust upon us; we gladly act as a part of America's conscience. We warn America that the whole world watches. World peace hangs in the balance while the majority of the world's peoples are exploited and oppressed."

"NOW IS THE TIME"

address by Maurice E. Travis, Vice-President, National Negro Labor Council

"This is a time for new John Browns to arise, up and down the land. And I am convinced that out of this conference will come a whole army of John Browns — men who are convinced that jim-crow can be licked, and that the time has come to lick it, so that the Negro can take his full and rightful place as a first class citizen of this land — with full social, economic, political, and civil rights.

"The time is ripe. Let's go!"

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND MISS MARIE RICHARDSON
BOX 5095
Bennings Road Station, Minnesota Ave., N. E.
Washington, D. C.

On March 7th. Miss Marie Richardson, courageous Negro woman leader who has devoted her life to the cause of freedom in her native Capitol, was unjustly sentenced to jail for a term of from 2 to 7 years and fined $2,000. She was falsely charged with having denied being a Communist in 1948 when she applied for a job in the Library of Congress. She was convicted through the untrustworthy and framed-up testimony of informers: one who admits he faces perjury charges under a Taft-Hartley Law violation; the other a paid informer--neither of whom were even able to claim direct and personal knowledge of such alleged Communist membership. The jury consisted of government workers not in a position to bring in an impartial verdict in a case of this nature, due to their government jobs.

The truth is that the false charge of "Communist" is a smokescreen that we all know from experience is used widely against anyone and everyone who dares to speak up for social and economic progress, or for a truly free America. Miss Richardson is being persecuted because she worked for genuine democracy for the Negro people as well as for the rights of labor unions and civil liberties of all Americans. As a national representative of the Federal Workers of America, she organized government workers for improving their working conditions. She worked actively in the NAACP, the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, the National Council of Negro Women, and many other organizations, and as Executive Secretary of the National Negro Congress fought against police brutality in the District of Columbia and for new job opportunities for Negro people. In fact, Miss Richardson joined with others everywhere and anytime she could, for the advancement of the rights due the Negro people and the democratic rights of white Americans as well.

Our Committee is determined in the name of justice and future progress, to see that her case is appealed through every court necessary, until she is vindicated! Neither she nor her family and friends are wealthy people--we are just ordinary people and we know that it is the ordinary people who will win her freedom. The appeal to the higher courts which is now in process under the legal direction of the distinguished attorney, George E. C. Hayes, must necessarily involve great expenses and these funds must come from the combined dimes and dollars of thousands of people--each of us helping and thereby making the victory of justice possible.

Contributions and Suggestions may be sent. Needless to say, we shall be most grateful--all of us--for any amount you may see fit to give in this case, which we sincerely believe, involves the rights and freedoms of every individual.

Yours very sincerely,

LYNWOOD CUNDIFF
Chairman

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

An Open Letter to the AFL and CIO

The Only Road to Labor Unity is Equality and Democracy for All!

The present widespread debate and discussion of the impending labor merger is a reflection of intense public interest. The Negro people, in particular, are deeply concerned with the implications of the merger insofar as they affect the issues of democracy, equality and full citizenship. Powerful voices in labor, such as A. Phillip Randolph of the Pullman Porters, AFL, Mike Quill, of the Transport Workers, CIO, and Woodruff Randolph, of the AFL Typographical Union, are now beginning to be heard in protest against present constitutional weaknesses around the issue of democracy and equality. But the rank and file of labor, and most of the leadership have yet to speak out. The National Negro Labor Council takes the occasion of this open letter to the leadership of the AFL and CIO to join these discussions. It is our hope that in this way we can make our contribution to the unceasing struggle for equality, democracy and freedom.

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

December 5th, 1955, will be an historic date for American Labor. In combining their 15,000,000 members into a new merged labor organization, the AFL and CIO will have taken a long and significant step toward the realization of one of labor's most cherished objectives—the unity of all who labor, under the banner of a single mighty union.

By eliminating divisions that have existed in labor's ranks over considerations of craft, jurisdiction, race, creed and color, and pooling the strength of our nation's workers in the strongest bonds of democratic unity, the new merged federation has the potential for ushering in a new era of peace, prosperity and democracy for the whole American people.

Such a powerful organization will undoubtedly have the strength to secure and advance the economic interests of all workers, the potential to defend and extend the democratic rights of labor and the American people. Such a united labor movement could be the mainspring in such a vast crusade to organize the unorganized as has never before been imagined, could have the vigor to complete labor's great unfinished task to organize the South.

The National Negro Labor Council hails present developments toward labor unity because of these positive potentials for general advancement, and because of the specific impetus that labor unity could give to the centuries old struggle of the Negro people in America for Full Freedom.

We do not look upon the advancement of democracy and Negro rights, however, as the automatic or built-in results of current merger negotiations. In fact, as the merger provisions now stand, there is every reason for grave concern around these vital questions.

END JIM CROW IN UNION

As an organization founded on the premise that the Negro people and the labor movement are natural allies in the struggle for democracy, The National Negro Labor Council feels duty bound at this time to warn the labor movement that a positive end to all forms of Jim Crow within its ranks is absolutely necessary if the workers of America are to reap many of the advantages promised by the merger.

The National Negro Labor Council believes it to be the duty of the leadership of the AFL and CIO to guarantee genuine labor unity by adopting among the principles of the merger, a clear cut policy guaranteeing the full and unrestricted right of Negro and other minority workers to full and equal union membership within the new federation, to outlaw now and forever jim crow locals and all other policies of exclusion, whether practiced on an international union, district, region, or local union level.

So far, the leaders of AFL and CIO have failed to live up to this duty.

PRESENT CONSTITUTION WEAK AND INADEQUATE

For it must be noted that on the question of equal membership rights and full equality for all, the currently proposed Draft Constitution, as it is now written, is weak and inadequate, thus subject to all kinds of undemocratic interpretations and practices.

Article II, Section 4, of the Draft Constitution of the New Merged Labor Organization provides for the rights of minority workers by declaring that one of the Aims and Principles shall be, "To encourage all workers without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin to share in the full benefits of union organization."

Now to encourage all workers regardless of race, creed, etc. "to share in the full benefits of union organization," is a good deal short of, and different from, an ironclad constitutional provision that all workers are to be guaranteed **full and equal membership in the new federation** and full and equal participation in **all union organizations and activities.**

More than that, the mealy mouthed language, "to encourage all workers . . . to share in the equal benefits," has the curiously reminiscent odor of the now legally condemned jim crow practice of "separate, but equal." It would be possible under this constitution for certain AFL unions to continue the practice of separate unions for Negroes, or even to exclude Negroes entirely from union membership as long as they claim that these Negro workers are sharing "the equal benefits of union organization." Most trade unionists should know by now that jim crow separate locals cannot be equal. More important, such set ups do not lend themselves to the unity of Negro and white workers, and are, in fact, injurious to the interests of both.

The long bitter history of the Railroad unions is proof enough of this. The jim crow, separate but equal, policies of the RR Brotherhoods, and the AFL RR unions have cost the Negro and white RR workers millions of dollars in lowered wages and working conditions. At the turn of the century, railroad workers were the nation's highest paid wage group. Today they are not even listed in the top twenty, and are steadily falling futher back on the

---

Labors Immediate Future Hinges on the U

list. This is the payoff in dollars and cents, for over fifty years of jim crow and division.

Yet, there is nothing in the Draft Constitution to prevent the Railroad Brotherhoods from bringing their disastrous and anti-Negro policies into the New Merged Labor Organization.

Today, labor's leaders have a golden opportunity to set forth in their new constitution, a positive solution to this persistent trade union problem which has plagued labor since the first union was organized in America.

SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" THEORY

The issue here is the same as was involved in last year's Supreme Court Decision on equality in education. The highest Court in the land has declared the "separate but equal" doctrine to be illegal. Most Negro and white workers must necessarily believe it to be in their own best interests for labor to get in step with the Supreme Court.

Unless corrected, the present weakness in constitutional provisions for equality of membership represents a distinct danger of backsliding on the part of the labor movement in the fight for democratic principles.

The failure of the new, merged, labor organization to come out forthrightly on the question of full and equal membership rights for all workers would not only be a body blow to the economic needs of Negro and other minority workers and to the democratic aspirations of the Negro people, but could have a disastrous **effect upon the living standards, working conditions, and democratic rights of the white workers as well.**

ORGANIZE THE SOUTH

The growing importance of organizing the South again brings the labor movement face to face with the Negro question.

With more and more industries joining the run-away shop movement toward the anti-labor and unorganized hinterlands of white supremacy, the problem of organizing the South now looms as a bread and butter issue for labor. Present conditions indicate that the South must be organized if the jobs, union organization, working conditions, and wage standards among the organized workers in the North are to be preserved.

It has already been demonstrated by the CIO's ill-fated "Operation Dixie", and many another unsuccessful organizing efforts, that the South cannot be organized by labor's capitulation to the "separate but equal" doctrines of the racists.

Negro workers in the South have indicated on numerous occasions that they will not rush to join a union and pay out dues money for the dubious bargain of jim crow with a union label. White workers, on the other hand, have discovered that there can be no trade union security in a labor organization that does not include up to and sometimes over half of the Southern work force, namely, the Negro workers.

For labor, the only solution to this "Dixie Dilemma" is the democratic one! The South can, will, and must be organized. The workers of the South,

Negro and White alike, are crying out for "the full benefits of union organization." But this organization and these benefits can only be realized on the basis of equal rights and absolute equality for all.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY AND EQUALITY

This struggle for equality within unity, and unity through equality, is the major challenge that faces labor today. It is a challenge that calls for the highest levels of statesmanship and courage on the part of labor's leaders, and above all else, it calls for confidence in the integrity and basic democracy of the rank and file.

It is indeed ironic, that in this current period of American history, a period which has witnessed a forward surge by the Negro people in their struggle for full freedom, we should now find the labor movement, the main supporter of that freedom struggle, contemplating a backward step on the basic democratic question of the equal rights of all workers.

The National Negro Labor Council declares that there can be no compromise on this issue. The need of the hour is for stronger, not weaker, bonds of unity within the trade union movement.

Those voices within labor who call for compromise and retreat on the question of equal rights speak only for themselves. Theirs is the counsel of intolerance, division, and disaster. They do not voice the sentiments of the vast majority of American workers, white as well as Negro.

The National Negro Labor Council publicly calls upon the leadership of the AFL and the CIO to correct the grevious error of their current constitutional provisions on the question of equal membership rights. In the highest interests of all the workers of America, white and Negro alike, we urge labor to stand fast by its highest concepts of democracy, to provide in their new constitution for an end to "lily-white" unions, and Negro auxiliaries, for an end to "second class citizenship" in the labor movement, to guarantee Negro leadership on all union levels, and for the full support of the labor movement to the Negro people's fight for freedom and equality.

FOR THE UNITY OF ALL THE WORKERS

This we ask in the name of unity of all the workers. This we ask in behalf of the cause of democracy in America.

We call upon all Negro trade unionists and their supporters in the fight for democracy to join with us in bringing these urgent appeals to the halls of every labor union in America.

Yours for the unity and strength of Labor,

The National Negro Labor Council

73

The NNLC feels the widest discussion of the facts and provisions of the labor merger to be in the public interest. We solicit your financial support, opinions, and suggestions in order to insure the greatest possible circulation of this statement and similar material.

Address all contributions and communications to:

THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

8276 Grand River — Detroit 4, Michigan

FREEDOM *"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"*

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
585 Gratiot Avenue
Detroit 26, Michigan

Please find enclosed one dollar ($1.00) for one annual subscription to

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PAUL ROBESON'S PAPER . . .

Brings you an up-to-date, lively view and interpretation of the changing world. A regular column by Paul Robeson . . . news of Africa and the colonial world . . . major trends in Negro life . . . developments in the battle for equality and the world struggle for peace . . . "Conversations from Life" by Alice Childress . . . humor . . . and vivid cartooning by Ollie Harrington.

READ IT EVERY MONTH — SUBSCRIBE TODAY !

GREATER DETROIT NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
410 E. Warren Ave., Rm. 207
Detroit 1, Michigan, TE. 1-8912

☐ Enclosed find $2.00 for one year's membership in the NNLC.
☐ Send me information on the G. D. N. L. C.

JOE MORGAN, Pres. GERALD BOYD, Exec. Sec'y.

The Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council

presents . . .

PAUL ROBESON

in . . .

CONCERT

on the occasion of
MR. ROBESON'S
54th BIRTHDAY

Sunday Afternoon
June 22, 2:30 p. m.

MADISON BALLROOM
Woodward at Forest

— *Program* —

NATIONAL ANTHEM

WILLIAM ARMOUR (Baritone)

"None But the Lonely Heart" ..... *Tschaikovsky*

HERMAN DAGON AND HIS QUARTETTE

"Maria Elena"
"Mambo No. 5"
"Ritmo"

MR. PAUL ROBESON

Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

"Over the Mountains" (Old English) .. *Arr. by Roger Quilter*
"Star Vicino" (Old Italian) ..... *Salvator Rosa*
"The Orphan"
"After the Battle" } ..... *Moussorgsky*
"Air from Boris"

INTERMISSION AND PRESENTATIONS

WILLIAM ARMOUR (Baritone)

"Land of Degradation" ..... *Robert McGimsey*

HERMAN DAGON AND HIS QUARTETTE

"Dolores Santa Cru"
"Cachita"

MR. PAUL ROBESON

Mr. Lawrence Brown at the Piano

FOLK SONGS

"I Got a Home in a Dat Rock" .... *Arr. by Lawrence Brown*
"Night" ..... *Arr. by Alexandroff*
"Vi Azoi Lebt Der Keiser" ..... *Yiddish Folk Song*
"Balm in Gilead" ..... *Arr. by H. T. Burleigh*
"Every Time I Feel De Spirit" .... *Arr. by Lawrence Brown*

(NOTE: From the rich repertoire of songs of the peoples of all countries, Mr. Robeson will make every effort in his concert this afternoon to include those most often requested by his friends in Detroit and vicinity).

About Our Artists

— ❦ —

The Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council takes great pleasure in presenting to the Detroit people, from all walks of life, the great and renowned artist, Paul Robeson, with Lawrence Brown assisting at the piano.

Along with you we welcome Mr. Robeson's return to the concert stage, to take the art that came from the people "back to the people."

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort led to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's *"Emperor Jones."* In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's *"Othello"* in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theater Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

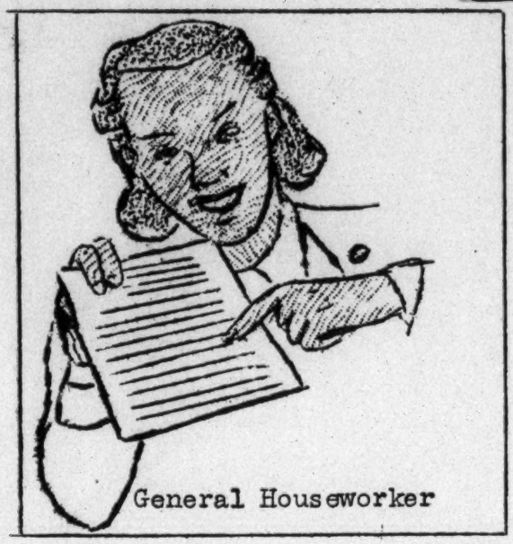
Paul Robeson, perhaps more than any other living artist, deserves the characterization of "great." In 1943, he won the Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City. The following year, he was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theater; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Paul Robeson, all-American athlete, Phi Beta Kappa scholar, outstanding actor and baritone, has earned a niche in the halls of fame in all these fields. But it is Paul Robeson the man, unflinching fighter for the rights of his people who has earned for himself a lasting place in the hearts of the "common men" all over the globe.

— ❦ —

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals. It is rare indeed when the accompanist can qualify as a vocal accompaniment. Lawrence Brown, however, is the happy exception to the rule. His vocal assists to Mr. Robeson's renditions of spirituals are absolutely appropriate and delightful.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY



HELP RAISE YOUR PAY !!

IMPROVE YOUR WORKING CONDITIONS !!

END SLAVE MARKETS FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS !!

JOIN THE DOMESTIC WORKERS UNION!

These are some of the working conditions under which I work, and that the Union can get for you:

PAY:
$45 week minimum, plus carfare to and from work and lunch. Time and one-half for over time.

WORKING HOURS:
45 hours a week; no more than eight hours a day.

WORKING CONDITIONS:
No window washing; or washing of walls. No paste waxing; no heavy laundry.

HOLIDAYS:
Four holidays per year with pay.

SICK LEAVE:
One week sick leave per year with pay.

And the Union has an organizer and union committee to see that I get what's coming to me, and that I don't get fired unjustly. They take care of my grievance along with me. No member of the Domestic Workers Union has to try to settle problems with the employer by themselves.

SIGN UP WITH THE UNION NOW, SO THAT YOU AND I CAN WIN BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS AND PAY. UNIONIZE AND HELP DO AWAY WITH THE SLAVE MARKETS THAT WORSEN OUR CONDITIONS AND DEPRIVE US OF OUR DIGNITY.

----------Tear off; mail to Union today----------

Domestic Workers' Union
103 W. 110th Street, N.Y., N.Y.
MO 2-6921

I wish to know more about the Union _____. I wish to join the Union _____.

Name _____ Job _____

Home Address _____

(Information on this form will be held in the strictest confidence.)

DPO W.2/65

ISSUED BY: Organizing Committee, Domestic Workers Union and the Gr.N.Y. Negro Labor Cl

WITHOUT

STRUGGLE

THERE IS NO PROGRESS

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL VOL. I NO. 1

COUNCIL CRACKS JIM CROW ON WEST COAST R.R.

CHESTER REPORTS 100 JOBS WON

SPECIAL BULLETIN

A telephoned report from Bill Chester, N.N.L.C. West Coast Regional Vice-President, announce the successful culmination of a struggle to obtai the hiring of Negro workers on the KEY SYSTEM RAI ROAD which operates coastwise in California. The R.R. immediately hired 90 workers.

Chester also reports that another signal victory was won with the agreement of SEARS-ROEBUCK to hire Negro women as salesladies. Fourteen have been engaged this far.

Complete details of these victories which have sparked the entire West Coast in the Job Drive, will be reported in the next issue of "Struggle".

EDITORIAL

The most urgent organizational need of the Council since the Cincinnati Convention has been a newspaper or information bulletin which would convey to our far-flung local councils the news of our activities, struggles and accomplishments thruout the nation. It would also serve to keep our membership informed of important policy decisions of the Resident Board and be a weapon of inspiration in the mounting drives ahead.

However, in order for "Struggle" to accomplish these objectives, we must have the consistent cooperation of each Local Council. The National Office must be regularly informed of all activities in all sections of the country. Each Council should appoint or elect a reporter whose job this will be.

The National Office has already sent out a form for an information report from the local councils. This report, if complied with before the 10th of each month, will guarantee the regular publication of "Struggle" with the necessary and effective content. If this bulletin is to reflect accurately the thinking of our people, we must also have additional contributions from you in the form of feature articles, critical discussion, cartoons, poetry, etc.

The funds of the National Office do not permit at this time the mailing of the paper to each of the thousands of members of the Council. For the present we must limit it to the leading corp in each locality. Therefore, please submit to us a list of officers, board members and active people with their addresses whom you wish to have receive the paper. Try to keep the list within twenty or twenty-five people for your locality.

Let us make "Struggle" our key organizational weapon,- trading ideas, experiences and information from coast to coast and from the North to South. Let us, through this medium, knit our regional struggles into one powerful offensive which will be a significant contribution in the fight for FULL FREEDOM!

NEW COUNCILS ORGANIZED

The powerful demand of Negro workers for organized struggle has continued to express itself in the almost spontaneous formation and rapid growth of 17 newly chartered Councils since the Convention. The heaviest concentration has been in the industrially important Midwest Region.

The new Councils are:

****
Fort Wayne, Indiana
South Bend, Indiana
Dayton, Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio
Cincinnatti, Ohio
St. Louis, Missouri
Flint, Michigan
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
****
Louisville, Kentucky
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Boston, Massachuetts
Hartford, Connecticut
Schnectady, New York
Buffalo, New York
Oakland, California
Seattle, Washington
****

The National Office and the Regional Vice-Presidents have received calls and letters from many other localities requesting information and assistance in establishing Councils. Some preliminary work has already been done in Baytown, Texas, Canton, Ohio, Evansville, Indiana and Richmond, Virginia.

We anticipate that the next issue of "Struggle" will report continued organizational growth with many new charters issued througout the country, with special emphasis being placed on the Southland.

BULLETIN

WORD CAME JUST AT PRESS TIME THAT THE LATEST CITIES TO ORGANIZE COUNCILS ARE ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA. AND JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY.

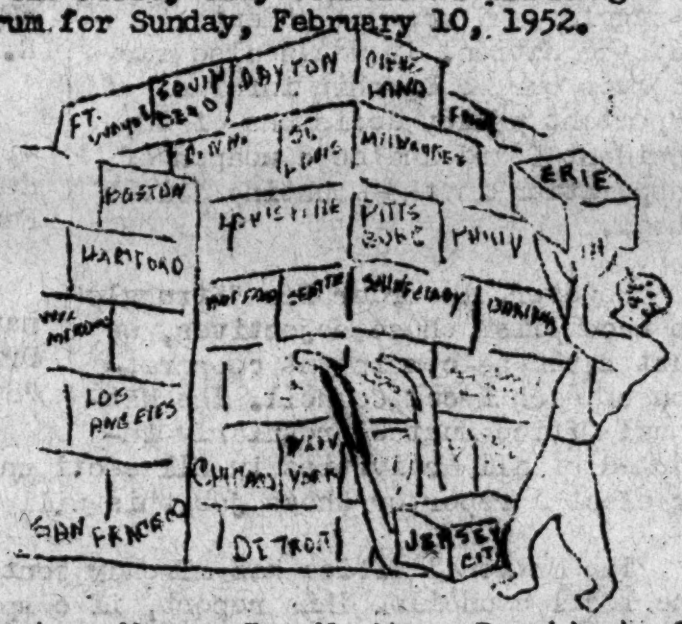
OFFICERS ELECTED ARE:

E LEON DAVIS, PRESIDENT
R DAVID COLE, VICE PRESIDENT
I EDNA NICHOLSON, SECRETARY
E

JERSEY CITY

ARNOLD MCGHIE, PRESIDENT
MARTHA KENNERLY, SECRETARY

The Jersey City Council is planning a forum for Sunday, February 10, 1952.



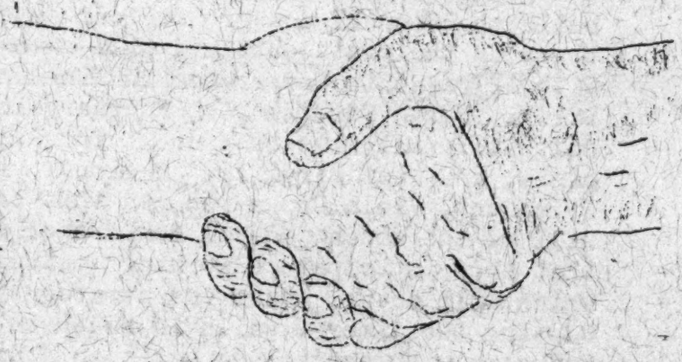
Boston, Mass.- Roy M. Atus, President of the New England Negro Labor Council announced today that plans had been completed for the New England Negro Labor Council Conference to be held February 24, 1952 in Boston. Featured speaker at this Conference will be Ewart Guinier, Vice-President, National Negro Labor Council.

2 VICTORIES IN DETROIT

HOOD & YOUNG MEET WITH FORD EXEC'S.

"....APPLICANTS FOR JOBS WITH THE FORD MOTOR COMPANY AS STENOGRAPHERS, TYPIST AND COMPTOMETER OPERATIORS WILL BE HIRED WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION AS TO RACE"

These were the words of Ford's Director of Labor Relations, Manton Cummins, to William Hood and Coleman Young, National Council's President and Executive Secretary respectively. The huge corporation had agreed to the meeting with the Council's Officers after the Council had charged that the Ford Motor Company discriminated against Negro women in its vast administration building.



Upon leaving this historic meeting, President Hood stated to the press: "The NNLC is gratified to learn that the Ford Motor Company intends to follow a policy of hiring without discrimination in the Administration Building. However, the test of any policy is the concrete results which flow from it. We intend to watch this situation very closely. We do not expect nor intend that Mr. Cummin's words shall be empty ones."

The Detroit Council immediately arranged to send dozens of qualified Negro women for job interviews and as Cummin's words become realized in action a major break through will be won in the front office hiring policies of the auto industry.

MARKET CHAIN AGREES TO COUNCIL DEMANDS

Gerald Boyd, Executive Secretary of the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council aanounced that a meeting with Mr. Max Shaye, Vice-President of the Big Bear chain of supermarkets and a Council delegation, led by himself, had produced spectacular results.

Mr. Shaye, after an amiable and fruitful discussion, agreed to the hiring and integration of Negro men and women into all job opportunities in their chain.

The Big Bear Chain is one of the largest in the city of Detroit, employing many hundreds of people and until now, employed Negro workers in the warehouse only.

The agreement will concretely mean jobs as cashiers, clerks, office workers and in supervisory capacities. This significant victory is only the first in a series, which is part of the drive to thoroughly destroy the jimcrow pattern existing in Detroit markets.

Mr. Shaye has agreed to accept applicants sent to him by the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council.

Eastern Conference Launches Petition Drive

The Greater New York Negro Labor Council, one of the original founding units of the National Negro Labor Council, played host to the Eastern Seaboard Councils for a conference on February 2nd. National Organization Director Ernie Thompson addressed the meeting which launched the F. E. P. C. petition drive and undertook job quotas for the East. Details of this Conference will appear in the next issue.

A series of conferences designed to build the Council and promote our objectives in the vast Southland will open with a Tri-State Conference in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, on February 16th. Delegates will also be present from Virginia, and West Virginia. Regional Vice-President, Viola Brown reports that this will be the second annual conference and that they anticipate a working meeting which will detail plans and strategy for busting the jimcrow walls in southern industry with special emphasis on jobs for Negro women. Ernest Thompson will be the keynote speaker.

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DETROIT CALLS JOB CONFERENCE

The Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council issued a Call for a Job and Organiza- Conference on February 23, 24, 1952. The Call was issued to all trade Unions, people's organizations in the area and to all those who agree to all out struggle to deal a death blow to jimcrow.

Many local unions have already indicated that they intend to send officials delegates, and many hundreds of Negro workers will participate in answer to the Council's clarion call for a struggle for full freedom.

The exciting victories in the Ford Administration Building and Big Bear supermarkets, has given impetus and enthusiasm to the entire Negro community and has justified our confidence that this Conference will lay the basis for more and greater victories in Detroit.

WE WILL SPEAK OUT

We will speak out, we will be heard,
Though all earth's system crack;
We will not bate a single word,
Nor take a letter back.

Let liars fear, let cowards shrink,
Let traitors turn away;
Whatever we have dared to think
That dare we also say.

We speak the truth, and what care we
For hissing and for scorn,
While some faint gleamings we can see
Of FREEDOM'S coming morn?

James Russell Lowell

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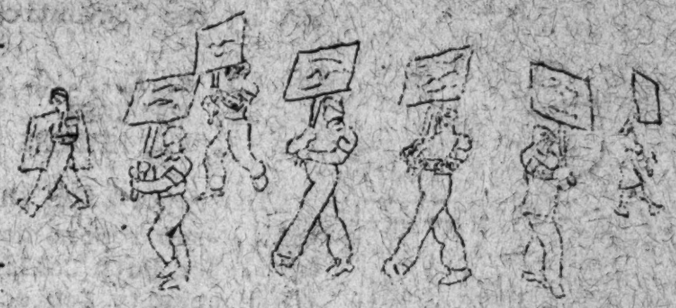
CHICAGO N.L.C. SMASHES BANK JIMCROW

Several weeks of picketing by the Chicago Negro Labor Council and wide-spread community support was more than the Drexel National Bank at 4859 S. Wabash Avenue, in the heart of the Negro community could take. Their abrupt announcement on February 2nd, that the Bank had hired Mr. Harry B. Deas as Assistant Service Manager of the Savings Department was hailed by Council President Sam Parks as a signal victory in an important and flagrantly jimcrow profession.

At the same time President Parks warned Drexel's Vice-President Poffenberger: "...We will be watching with stern concern for the complete elimination of this un-american practice in the Drexel Bank as well as in other such establishments in the Chicago area. The Negro people are on the march and our Council is determined to intensify our efforts to compel equal treatment."



FLINT COUNCIL PICKETS JIMCROW SUPERMARKET

Flint, Michigan, the birthplace of the sit-down strike and scene of many historic battles for labor's rights wrote another page in progressive history when Negro and white auto workers joined the Council-sponsored picket line in front of Zerka & Bassey supermarket, protesting the jimcrow hiring policies of that store. The picket line was decided upon after the Council delegation was told by the owner: "I will hire anyone I want to and when I see fit." Zerka flaunted his arrogant white supremacy despite the fact that 85% of the store's income is derived from Negro customers. Flint is confident that it will not take many more days of picketing to reduce the income and with it the white supremacy.

'....AN ANNOUNCEMENT

GENERAL COUNCIL TO MEET MARCH 1-2, IN DETROIT

President Hood and Secretary Young informed all National Executive Board Members and Presidents of all local Councils that in accordance with the Constitution, a General Council meeting would be convened in Detroit on March 1-2. The notice took cognizance of the rapid growth of NNLC since the Convention and of the necessity for nailing down concretely our course of action in the immediate period ahead.

The Councils were also informed that the Resident Board had voted that each Local Council could be represented by one delegate in addition to the President, but that voting rights would be restricted to Local Council Presidents and National Board Members.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES PIN-POINT JOB DRIVE

PETITION CAMPAIGN AND COUNCIL BUILDING ALSO HIGH-LIGHTED

In order to unite and direct local Council activities in the drive for JOBS, F. E. P. C. PETITION AND COUNCIL BUILDING, Regional Conferences were held during the month of January in Chicago, for the Midwest, in San Francisco, for the West Coast and in New York for the Northeast.

The Midwest Conference on January 5th., featured enthusiastic discussion on the part of the delegates of all phases of the Council's activities and the adoption of the following quotas as the Midwest's share of the goals set at the Convention:

WOMEN'S RIGHTS CONFERENCE

1	F. E. P. C. PETITION SIGNATURES	350,000
2.	NEW JOBS	35,000
3.	NEW MEMBERS	500 per month

The report for the Region was given by Vice-President Sam Parks with a sub report dealing with the special problems of Negro Women by Sister Ruth Collins. Discussion on the latter report revealed the necessity for concentration on this phase of the Council's work and the delegates voted that a Women's Rights Conference be called in Chicago and recommended to the National Office that such Conferences be considered in all localities.

The Conference was also addressed by a delegate of the Puerto Rican people who reported on the vicious economic exploitation and political persecution of his people and called for solidarity with with the Negro people of America

SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE OPENS WEST COAST DRIVE

Seventy-five delegates from Local Councils on the West Coast met on January 26 & 27th. for a concerted thrust throughout the area for jobs for Negroes and civil rights. Prominent in the battle plans was serving notice on the powerful Pacific Telephone Company that the jimcrow hiring of women will no longer be tolerated. And, special plans were made in this state for a campaign against the vicious "Freedom of Choice" initiative which has been proposed by the notorious Senator Tenney to legalize discrimination.

Following the fighting keynote address by Regional Vice-President William Chester, the delegates made specific recommendations for action which included at the head of the list: F. E. P. C. petition campaign, new jobs in industries which presently discriminate and organization of many additional local councils. The Conference set a goal of 400,000 petition signatures and 5,000 new jobs (by May 15) by October 1, 1952.

Other reports were made by San Francisco Council Chairman, Al Thibodeaux, the Rev. R. L. Turner, Mrs. Marie Bowden, Vice-President of the Los Angeles Council, Ralph Cuaron who brought greetings from the Mexican-American Association, and Dr. Carlton Goodlet, who pledged the support of the newspaper of which he is publisher, the Sun-Reporter. Discussion leaders included Flossie Ainsworth, Mary Helen Jones, and John Forrester.

Chicago Plans PARLEY ON NEGRO WOMEN'S PROBLEMS

Chicago Negro women, highly conscious of the important role that Negro women have historically played (and will continue to play) in all phases of our people's struggle for complete freedom and acutely aware of the special problems confronting the women in a jimcrow and male-supremacist society have called a Conference on the problems and role of the Negro Women to be held in that city on March 16, 1952. The call to this Conference has been issued by a committee headed by Octavia Hawkins, National Secretary-Treasurer of the National Negro Labor Council and Secretary-Treasurer of UAW Local 453. Mrs. Hawkins stresses in the Call that the participation and assistance of the men is important for the successful realization of the objectives of the Conference.

L. A. COUNCIL LAUNCHES PROTESTS

The Los Angeles Negro Labor Council in a leaflet distributed city-wide called for an outpouring of the Negro people and their white allies in a mass demonstration against the murders of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, the bombings of the churches and synogogues, the Cicero riots, the legal lynchings and the whole pattern of terror and oppression against the Negro people.

The Council plans called for workers to take the day off on February 14th., the birthday of Frederick Douglass, and join a MOURNERS' MARCH around the Federal Building in downtown Los Angeles. Special calls were issued to the Jewish, Mexican and Japanese people to join in this gigantic protest against the nazi-like terror which must ultimately affect all sections of the American people. Meetings would be sought with Federal Officials to demand that these un-American criminals be apprehended and punished instead of the government hounding those who stand up for true democracy.

The Council further called upon workers and their Unions to stage 15 minute work stoppages throughout the Los Angeles are to protest the government's obvious reluctance to apprehend the Moore Killers.

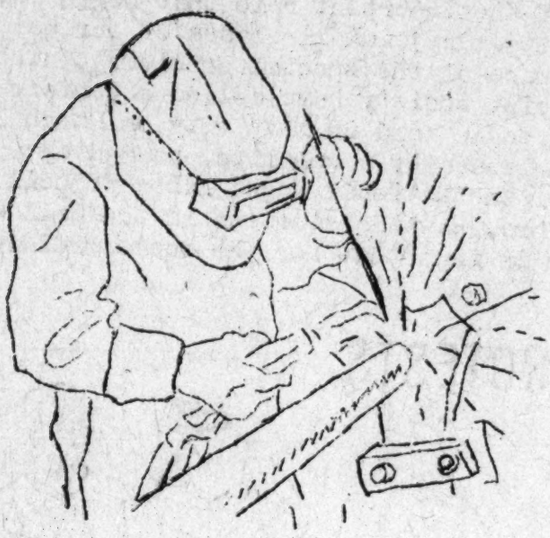
.....'FOR MY PEOPLE.....

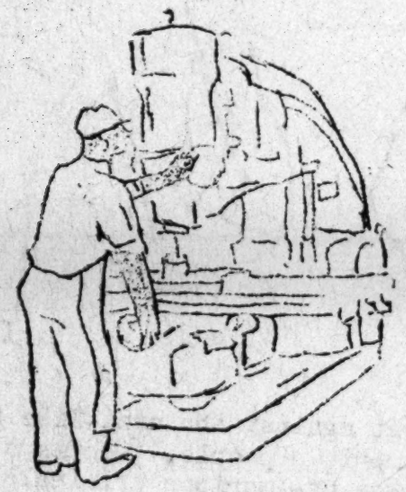
Let a new earth rise. Let another world be born. Let a bloody peace be written in the sky. Let a second generation full of courage issue forth; let a people loving freedom come to growth. Let a beauty full of healing and a strength of final clinching be pulsing in our spirits and our blood. Let the martial songs be written, let the dirges disappear. Let a race of men now rise and take control.

Margaret Walker

LOUISVILLE COUNCIL WINS

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING PROGRAM





Negro workers in the South made a powerful contribution in the drive against jimcrow jobs when the Louisville (Ky.) Negro Labor Council sucessfully negotiated a precedent-shattering agreement with the Louisville Board of Education to offer special courses to Negro workers in armature winding, motor wiring, trouble shooting and allied skills.

This training will be given in preparation for the opening of a huge General Electric plant which will employ some 16,000 workers. Needless to say, the Council and the Negro people of Louisville do not intend that jobs for Negro workers in this plant shall be limited to janitors and other menial and unskilled jobs.

The Board of Education further agreed to make available to Negro workers any other courses that they might desire to take which are not being taught in the Negro High Schools. This may conceivably be the opening wedge to break down the jimcrow school system in this important industrial city.

submit material to:
"STRUGGLE
c/o n.n.l.c.

National Council Hdqtrs:
410 East Warren Avenue
Detroit 1, Michigan tel. TE.2-1732
Wm.R. Hood, Pres.
Coleman Young, Exec. Sec.

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THE LOS ANGELES NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

cordially invites you to a

reception in honor of

MR. PAUL ROBESON

SUNDAY, MAY 25th
10:30 p. m.

Phillis Wheatley Home
2125 South Harvard Boulevard

By Invitation Only

LET FREEDOM CRASH

THE

GATEWAY TO THE SOUTH

CAMPAIGN

GREATER N.Y. NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL 303 WEST 125th St., N.Y.C.

History is rapidly being made in this "gateway city." For here is where the giant corporations have run away to seeking lower wages and weak trade union conditions by exploiting jim crow.

They come at a time however when the Negro people's fight for full freedom is on the upswing, and when the unity of black and white workers of the South is growing by leaps and bounds. The coming of this great corporation to the "gateway city" seeking lower wages and permanent enslavement of the South, has created the conditions for one of the great democratic battles of our age. This battle is now unfolding and will ring upon the ears of all of democratic America.

National Negro Labor Council Launches Giant Campaign For Jobs

The Negro people of Louisville, under the leadership of the NNLC, are conducting a significant campaign to win new jobs from General Electric, Ford and other runaway plants.

This campaign challenges the abuse by southern industry of Negro women, who have been historically excluded from industrial jobs. The demands around this burning issue are that Negro women be given their full share of industrial jobs, which GE and other companies steadfastly refuse to them.

The Louisville people's fight for jobs in these runaway plants proceeds alongside the struggle to win jobs in the L. & N. and other southern railroads, and to halt the elimination of Negroes from such jobs as brakemen, firemen, and trainmen. This combination makes this fight the greatest struggle for economic democracy ever fought in the South.

The Campaign To Win Jobs In GE

The policy of the General Electric Company to deny equal job opportunities to Negro people is in direct violation of a most basic right of every human being:- the right to work and obtain bread. Its undemocratic practices are not confined to Louisville, Ky. alone, but are part of the operation of this huge world monopoly which spreads disunity among its workers by encroaching on the rights of Negroes, women, and other suppressed groups of people.

This is particularly true where Negro women are concerned.

In Louisville this company stubbornly retreated from the hiring of Negroes in the face of an all-out campaign in that community, spearheaded by the Louisville Council. However, the winning of jobs for Negroes in the initial steps of the campaign was only an opening wedge. And, though a few Negro people have been upgraded to production jobs, this corporation has arrogantly insisted that the ten Negro women (out of 5,500 employees) be relegated to the status of maids and janitresses.

In the light of the fact that approximately fifty percent of the employees in this plant are women, this bold and open challenge to the democratic processes indicates that its aim is to drive Negro women out of the labor market and to confine them to service and domestic categories.

The Louisville Council has already encouraged Negro women to make application for production jobs in this plant and has established a committee for the winning of full job rights for Negro women in the GE plant, spearheaded by women workers who are pledged to bring to the attention of all America the wanton discrimination practiced by this corporation.

The courageous efforts of the women of Louisville in tackling this giant corporation should have the backing of the democratic forces in our nation.

The Louisville people have had some experience in dealing with this company. When GE first came to Louisville, the people of Louisville, under the leadership of the Louisville Council, were successful in conducting a campaign that produced a number of jobs for Negro people. They raised the demand that GE hire no fewer Negroes than they (Negroes) bear to the total population. The figure is 17%. After numerous communications, visits, leaflet distributions, speaking before various civic groups - seven church and civic groups in the Negro community joined with the Louisville Council to bring pressure to bear.

This company does not give in easily. But under the barrage of protest from this and other communities, and the growing realization of southern white workers that their economic needs can best be met by challenging the myth of white supremacy and joining with their darker brothers and sisters for a more democratic South, the company was forced to concede.

The battle is still on, and the Negro people of Louisville are determined that this great struggle for economic freedom and democracy in the "gateway to the South" be fought until all America is aware of this gigantic hoax, and demands that this corporation be brought to its knees.

Ford In Louisville

The Ford Motor Company is opening up a new plant in Louisville that will employ 5,000 workers. The Ford policy in the South is not to hire Negroes as production workers. Ford has had a plant in Louisville for 20 or 25 years, employing 2,000 workers. They have six Negro janitorial workers. This same policy prevails at Ford's other plants in Virginia and elsewhere. Applications by Negro workers are being made at Ford's. Vigorous protests will help us force this giant to yield to democratic demands.

Southern Railroads

The Louisville Council has as a part of its program the spearheading of the fight to break the job jim crow on the southern railroads.

Of the eight railroads in Louisville, the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, the largest in the South, has its national headquarters in Louisville, where it also maintains its largest yards and repair shops. While they employ Negroes in menial capacity, they exclude them from the operating, clerical, maintenance, and most service classifications.

This is a sad commentary on the largest industry in America and an affront to the Negro workers of the South on whose backs the railroad industry was built. The great working-class legend of John Henry, the Paul Bunyan of the railroads, is a symbol of the sweat, blood and toil of the Negro workers in the South in building the railroads, and is a tribute to their great contribution in building up the economy of our country.

By concentrating their initial campaign around the L. & N. R.R. in Louisville, the people of that area are determined to restore the Negro workers in the South to their rightful status in employment on the southern railroads and to prevent the systematic elimination of Negroes from the operating and service categories which now prevails. Applications have already been made.

The Louisville Council is working with the Negro Railroad Unions and Auxiliaries in the South, organizing them along with other sections of the community to campaign for the upgrading and hiring of Negroes, to force the elimination of the jim crow character of the Railroad Unions and in support of the Council's petition to the President's Committee on Government Contracts to hear the case of Clarence Watkins of Denver, Col.,and to render a favorable decision.

Companies Insult $30 Billion Negro Market

These companies arrogantly insult the Negro market. They stubbornly maintain a divided South, while appealing to this vast market.

Ford cannot afford to insult this market further, if the Market will act forcefully.

The Ford Motor Company runs big ads in the Negro newspapers and magazines, assuring the prospective Negro automobile buyer that "There is a Ford in your future." Unless present policies change drastically, there is certainly no "Ford Job" in the future of the Negro unemployed in Louisville.

In advertisements across the land, industry glorifies the American woman - in her gleaming GE kitchen, at her GE laundromat, before her GE television set. Nothing is too good for her - we guess this means Negro women too - unless she wants a job at GE in the South.

We appeal to that Market to put pressure on Ford and GE.

Support "Let Freedom Crash Gateway to the South" Campaign

We believe that this fight in Louisville is important to every American. We believe the slogan, "Let Freedom Crash the Gateway to the South" should be on every tongue for it signifies that economic jim crow is being challenged as never before.

We don't believe that Ford, GE, or any of the others can continue to get away with their southern jim crow policy. The people together in Louisville, with our help, are going to win.

The NNLC is doing its share by raising $15,000 to "crash the gateway." We appeal to you to help, too.

You Can Help Too

You can help too, by getting your trade union to donate to the special campaign. Finally, you can raise funds among your friends, church group, social club, etc.

You can also help get letters of protest go GE, Ford and the railroads, demanding that Negro workers be hired on the basis of equality.

Send contributions and copies of protest letters to

Greater New York Negro Labor Council
303 West 125 Street, New York City

National Negro Labor Council
410 E. Warren, Detroit, Mich.

Nathaniel McKenzie
422 S. 12 Street, Louisville, Ky.

ftul/1283

STATEMENT OF UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, (UE), SUBMITTED TO SUB-COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, MAY, 6, 1952

UE FIGHTS FOR FEPC!

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Statement of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) to Sub-Committee on Labor and Labor Management Relations of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee Urging Immediate Adoption of Federal FEPC Legislation.

Resolution on

FAIR PRACTICES PROGRAM

The UE warned last year that Wall Street and southern politicians would continue to impose Jim Crow and white supremacy u[illegible] and our [illegible] everyone, therefore be it

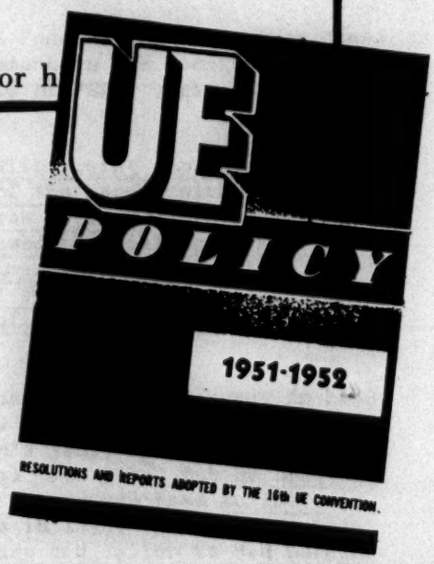
Resolved: That we as UE leaders and members, strengthen our determination to carry on the fight for economic equality and the elimination of vicious discrimination in all its forms, and therefore this 16th National UE Convention shall continue the fight for the following program:

1. Continuation of the enlarged UE National Fair Practices Committee with a full-time secretary.

2. Continuation and establishment of Fair Practices Committees in all Local Unions and Districts.

3. Adoption of a "Model FEPC Clause" for inclusion in all contracts.

a) No discrimination in interviewing or h[illegible]



STATEMENT OF THE UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA (UE) TO SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR AND LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS OF THE SENATE LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE URGING IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF FEDERAL FEPC LEGISLATION.

On behalf of the more than 300,000 workers in the electrical and machine industry, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE), states to the Congress that:

1. National legislation such as S.551 and S.1732 to establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Committee with strong enforcement provisions is long overdue and is now a matter of utmost urgency;

2. Pending the above legislative enactment, the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations considering this question should insist that the President use the power he now has to establish by Executive Order an effective FEPC.

The UE states that now is the time to end the political buck-passing, double talk, and the long betrayal of politicians' promises and put into effect through vigorous government action the necessary machinery to stop completely the undemocratic vicious death-dealing practices of job discrimination now oppressing the 21 million Negroes and other minority people of our nation.*

The UE states that 21 million Americans are suffering from poverty and early death because of job discrimination, and that our own UE experience in fighting this evil practice has proven the need of strong government action as a matter of life and death for the Negro and other minority people of our nation. In face of the long record of double talk and no action, the UE insists there be no appeasement of white supremacy, jim-crow racist forces and that a determined impatient and outraged America must immediately strike down the deadly practices of minority job discrimination.

Non-whites Worse Off Since 1944

We are sure that this Committee and Congress will be shocked to know that the economic position of the non-white families since 1944 has deteriorated.

This startling fact is a complete refutation of those who argue that "time" alone has brought a lessening of economic and other forms of discrimination against the Negro people and minority groups.

It was not time but the pressures of World War II, a Federal FEPC and other democratic efforts which brought about the temporary improvement in the conditions of Negroes and minority groups in World War II. With the end of FEPC, these gains were largely lost.

The gains between 1940 and 1944 were not automatic with rising employment, but only when the pressures of the democratic organizations of the people with the help of FEPC forced war industry employers to lower the jim-crow barriers. It is important for Congress to note that the losses after 1944 followed the killing of FEPC by Congress, which gave a clear field to employers to discriminate at will against Negroes and minorities in post-war jobs. In the absence of FEPC, the increasing employment of the Korean war boomlet led to no relaxation of discrimination against Negro workers in industry.

The proportion of male jobs held by Negro men increased from 8.6 percent in 1940 to 9.8 percent in 1944, then fell to 8.3 percent in 1950. In 1940, Negro men held 2.8 percent of all professional and semi-professional men's jobs; by 1944, Negro men held 3.3 percent of the professional and semi-professional male jobs; but by 1950 their share had fallen to 2.6 percent, which was a lower percentage than in 1940. Negro men held 5.9 percent of the male jobs as operatives in 1940; by 1944, the proportion had risen to 10.2 percent; but by 1950, their share had fallen to 8.5 percent.

*Most of the detailed information which follows applies specifically to the 15,500,000 non-whites, 96 percent of whom are Negroes. But the situation is just as bad for the 5½ million Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other Spanish speaking minorities who are classified generally as whites by the Census.

Graduate and Professional Education

GRADUATE DEGREES	WHITE	NEGRO
MASTER'S DEGREE (MA)	AT LEAST ONE STATE-SUPPORTED COLLEGE IN ALL 17 STATES	8 STATES
DOCTOR'S DEGREE (PHD)	12 STATES	NONE Public or private
PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION	**WHITE**	**NEGRO**
DENTISTRY	4 STATES	NONE
LAW	16 STATES	4 STATES
MEDICINE	15 STATES	NONE
PHARMACY	14 STATES	NONE
SOCIAL WORK	9 STATES	NONE
LIBRARY SCIENCE	11 STATES	ONE

EXPENDITURE PER PERSON IN STATE-SUPPORTED HIGHER AND PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTIONS		White	NEGRO
	1930	$1.39	$.33
	1945	$2.43	$.56

Thus the difference in favor of the white institutions increased by 13%, instead of being decreased, during the period 1930-44.

Source. Journal of Negro Education, Census Reports

Southern Patriot Chart

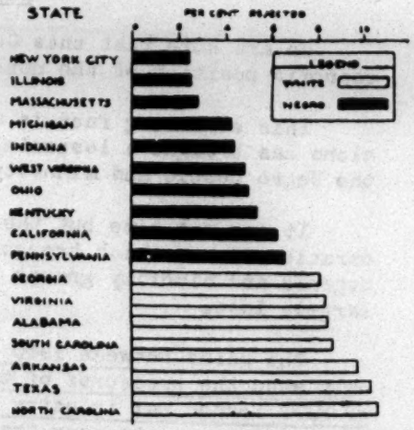
The chart above applies to the states maintaining separate schools by law. See opposite page for the results of this exclusion of Negroes from professional schools.

There Is No Superior Race; Only Superior Opportunity

Many scientific tests have demonstrated there is no basis for the theory of intellectual superiority of one race over another. Some interesting evidence on this point of capacity to learn was furnished by the figures on draft rejections in World War II.

Talmadge, Rankin, et al., will have a difficult time trying to explain the facts in the chart below. What they show, of course, is not that Northern Negroes are more intelligent than Southern whites. What they show is that the general level of education in the low-income South is so low that even the children of the more favored white group do not have as good an opportunity to develop as do all groups in the more prosperous states. And they show that what counts is not the mythical racial traits imagined by a Hitler or a Rankin, but the opportunity a community gives its children through education.

Draft Rejections Below Army Minimum Intelligence Standards



The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 5 OCTOBER, 1947 No. 8

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JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
Editor

In 1944 and 1947 one-fourth of all non-whites employed outside agriculture were in manufacturing but by 1950 only one-fifth were in these industries. The corresponding decline for whites was less than half as severe. In 1944, 8.3 percent of non-whites employed outside agriculture were in transportation, communication, and public utilities; sections of which were traditional strongholds of segregation. But by 1950 the percentage of the non-whites engaged in these industries had fallen to 5.9 percent, while there was no decline among whites. The proportion of non-whites in transportation and public utilities in 1950 was even lower than in 1940. In 1944, two-fifths of Negroes employed outside agriculture were still in the services, the most characteristic segregated Negro occupations. In 1947, this proportion had fallen to 38.2 percent, but by 1950 rose to 43.0 percent. Between 1947 and 1950 the proportion of whites engaged in the services did not increase. (Source: U.S. Employment Service Study, "The Status and Characteristics of Non-whites in the Labor Force in the United States," April 1950 and U.S. Dept. of Labor Employment figures.)

U.S. Census Bureau's Preliminary Reports for 1950 reveal that now 4 out of 5 Negro workers are relegated to the least desirable and least paying non-farm occupations as factory operatives, domestic workers and other service workers and laborers. Not only are Negro workers ghettoed in low-wage occupations, but they are also forced to perform such occupations in a restricted number of industries.

Plant by plant investigations in every major industrial area fill in the outlines of the over-all picture presented by the Census Bureau: Negro workers are maintained as employees to fill the most difficult, most hazardous and most unpleasant jobs such as foundry workers, blast furnace operatives, fertilizer factory workers, lumber workers, common laborers, janitors and matrons. Although the work they perform is most onerous, the occupations predominantly filled by Negro workers are compensated at the very bottom of the pay scale, and are paid less than other jobs requiring less physical exertion or responsibility. Toolrooms across the nation and the skilled machinist and maintenance trades are lily-white with lily-white apprenticeship programs guaranteeing that these higher paying jobs will remain "out of bounds" to Negro wage earners.

The overwhelming elimination of Negro workers from their rightful place in high wage occupations is clearly revealed in the U.S. Census Bureau data of 1940:

Percent of Negroes in Skilled Occupations: 1940

Occupation	Total	White	Negro	Percent of Negro
Boilermakers	27,572	27,066	506	1.8%
Cabinetmakers and Patternmakers	81,206	80,209	997	1.2%
Carpenters	556,267	535,469	20,798	3.7%
Compositors & Typesetters	157,834	156,309	1,525	1.0%
Printing Craftsmen (other)	60.793	60,527	266	0.5%
Electricians	196,440	195,209	1,231	0.6%
Machinists, Millwrights & Toolmakers	604,460	600,060	4,400	0.7%
Mechanics & Repairmen & Loom Fixers	858,508	832,282	26,226	3.1%
Roofers and Sheet Metal Workers	103,677	102,128	1,549	1.5%
Painters (construction) Paperhangers	350,069	337,000	13,069	3.7%
Plumbers & Gas & Steamfitters	173,294	169,623	3,671	2.1%

That this picture remains no less true today than in 1940 is revealed by our first-hand experience in our own industry as well as by our knowledge of conditions in other industries in communities in which our membership works throughout the country.

The limited progress made during World War II period has since been reversed. Negro workers had secured their greatest beachhead in rapdily expanding wartime industries such as shipbuilding, aircraft and ammunition. With the decline of these industries, tens of thousands of Negro wage earners were thrown on the street at a more rapid rate than whites. The U.S. Census Bureau revealed that under the "last hired, first fired" policy which is always applied to minorities, unemployment among whites in the period from July, 1945 to April 1, 1946 increased one-and-one-half times, while among non-whites it more than tripled.

The grim warning made by the FEPC in its final report - that "the war time gains of Negro, Mexican-American and Jewish workers are being dissipated through an unchecked revival of discriminatory practices" went unheeded. In spite of the great rise in unemployment among Negro wage earners, the "for white only" tag is increasingly being applied by employers throughout the nation: from Los Angeles, come reports that 67.5 percent of job openings in a two week period in January, 1951, were discriminatory, (Los Angeles Metropolitan Offices of Department of Employment); from Chicago - at the end of 1950, 45 percent of Chicago USES offers were for "white only," (Report of Illinois Interracial Committee): and from New York - discrimination in employment increased in 1949 by 15 percent over 1948, (New York State Commission Against Discrimination.)

Preliminary Census figures show that in April 1950 in northern cities 5.7 percent of white males were unemployed, but 14.2 percent of non-white males were unemployed.

Nor has the current war production program resulted in the removal of barriers against employment of Negro workers in industry. The National Urban League, as a result of surveys made in 30 key industrial cities this year, concludes that, "Unless drastic steps are taken to curtail discriminatory employment practices in the majority of the nation's industries having defense contracts, there will be very few Negro workers in the manpower mobilization program." The report also notes the following:

> "Discrimination against Negroes, follows a uniform pattern in plants located in northern and southern industrial centers... As the work force expands a few Negroes have been added to the maintenance and common labor group of workers. Negroes are rarely accepted for in-plant training programs in any of the communities studied by League personnel. The employment of Negroes in white-collar, administrative and technical jobs in these expanding industries is practically unheard of. In those communities where new plants are being constructed for defense production, it is almost impossible to obtain any statement of policy with respect to the utilization of Negro personnel."

In anyone's language this is not progress of even a gradual nature. It is retrogression, swift and terrible.

The Economic Position of Negro Women

The economic treatment of Negro women is one of the nation's major scandals. Negro women have to work at the most menial jobs at the lowest rates of pay to supplement the income of the family.

While women, generally, have to work to live, this is true to a much greater extent of Negro women. More so than white women, married Negro women have to work to supplement the pitifully inadequate income of the family. Census figures show that the lower the income of the family, the greater the percentage of the wives who work. Since Negro men are in the lowest income brackets, more of their wives have to work than is true of the families higher up in the income scale. Consequently, married Negro women remain in the labor force in much greater proportion than white women -- 41.4 percent of Negro married women to 25.3 percent of white married women.

Similarly, a higher proportion of Negro women with children have to work than white women with children. As of March 1950, 20.7 percent of Negro women with children under 6 had to work as compared with 11.2 percent of white women, although the husband was present in both cases. The Negro woman is unable to make adequate provision for the care of her children when she is at work because the total income of the family, even with two or more breadwinners, is extremely low. Thus the average Negro family with three or more workers had an annual income in 1950 of only $2,556, or $659 less than the average white family with only one worker.

Altogether in 1950, 46 out of every hundred Negro women were in the labor force as compared to 32 out of every hundred white women. (Current Population Reports)

The 1940 Census presented the most detailed statistical account of the extreme discrimination against women in the character of the jobs in which they were employed.

The discrimination against all women workers was shown by the fact that out of 451 occupation classifications, three-fourths of all women workers were concentrated in 23 of the lowest paid job categories. But Negro women's opportunities were even more limited. Almost four-fifths of Negro women workers were employed in 5 of the

lowest paid of the 451 census classifications. These 5 were domestic service, (close to one million), unpaid family labor on farms, paid farm laborers, servants working outside of private families and teachers. These occupations, other than teaching, are commonly acknowledged as being unpleasant, gruelling occupations. As for teaching, it is a notorious fact that the teachers in the jim-crow southern schools are grossly underpaid.

The current census figures show the same extreme discrimination in the type of jobs Negro women are allowed to hold. Three out of every five Negro women workers are forced to earn their livelihood as domestic workers in private households or as service workers in menial capacities outside the home.

A greater percentage of Negro women were employed in clerical, sales and similar jobs in 1950 than in 1940 only because the economic status of workers in these unorganized occupations had deteriorated greatly and employers hired Negro women at low wages to depress even more the wage standards in those jobs.

The figures quoted above clearly indicate that the bulk of Negro women are excluded from the basic sections of American industry and almost entirely from the better-paid white collar field. Negro women employed in government service are mostly in the low-paid clerk-typist category.

This is no less true of the industries in which UE has jurisdiction. UE's fair practices committees in our local unions have been fighting these discriminatory practices against Negro women in the electrical and machine industry. Nevertheless, the basic sections, -- electrical apparatus and the like -- of the electrical and machine industry still discriminate on a large scale against Negro women, and for the most part Negro women are not employed in the industry.

Current census data show how the position of Negro women has deteriorated since 1948. In 1948 the average earnings of Negro women was $492 a year as against $1,133 for white women and $2,396 for all men. In 1950, however, the earnings of Negro women dropped to $474 a year while the earnings of white women dropped to $1,062 a year and average earnings for men rose to $2,570. (Negro men averaged $1,471 as against $2,709 for white men in 1950.) The compounding of two kinds of discrimination against Negro workers who are women is shown by the fact that the average earnings of Negro women were barely one-sixth the average earnings of white men.

Discrimination Against Puerto Ricans

Puerto Ricans in this country are subjected to the same kind of discrimination Negro workers face. They, too, find it difficult to get jobs in industry, and when employed are placed in the lowest wage jobs. In a study made by the Welfare Council of New York, February 1948, of Puerto Ricans in New York City it was found that of 117 families interviewed 37 adults were unemployed; the average income of the 79 families who were called "completely self-supporting" by the Welfare Council amounted to $43.75 a week. Thirty-eight families were dependent either partially or totally on relief. Of the 79 families considered "self-supporting," 56 families had weekly deficits, ranging from less than $1 a week to $30 a week. This is not surprising since white familite in cities, who according to the Census Bureau had an average income of $66.63 in 1947, couldn't get along.

UE local unions in New York have been fighting against discrimination against Puerto Ricans in their conditions of work and have pressed for upgrading and training opportunities for Puerto Ricans in plants organized by UE. Federal FEPC legislation would supplement the New York State law in helping overcome this discrimination.

The Bitter Fruit of Job Discrimination
Poverty for Twenty One Million People
All Workers Suffer

Job discrimination traps 21 million Negro and minority group people in poverty. According to preliminary reports of the 1950 U.S. Census, the median income of white families and single individuals in 1949 was $2,804. For Negro families and individuals, it was $1,217. Shocking as these figures are, they do not tell the whole story. The Negro family must use $1.00 to meet living costs which are higher than the living costs met by white families on $2.00. Rents in the Negro community are far higher for inferior living quarters than those in communities available to white workers. Prices are higher in Negro communities than in other communities while at the same time the available products are inferior.

Between 1939 and 1949 the reduction in income difference between white and non-white workers amounted to 6.5 percent. At this rate of "gradual progress" the Negro people would achieve income equality in 87 years or by the year 2036. But even this comparison is deceptive because in the last 6 or 7 years, with war-time FEPC eliminated, even this crawling progress has been replaced by retrogression. As a result of displacement from industry and growing unemployment among Negro families and the fact that industry has been given free rein to reinstitute discriminatory practices unchecked by government action, there has been an actual decrease in the income of Negro families. A comparison of urban income during the period 1945 to 1949 (U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Reports) shows that the median income of white families and single individuals increased by $416 while the median income of non-white families and single individuals dropped by $28.00.

Corresponding figures for 1950 have not been published. But the figures released for all families and single individuals, farm and city combined, show that between 1945 and 1950 the average real income of white families and single individuals decreased 5.6 percent, and of non-white families and single individuals 9.0 percent. This is according to the BLS Consumers' Price Index, which does not show the full increase in the cost of living, especially for Negro people who have suffered more from rising living costs.

This increasing poverty among the Negro people must be borne under living conditions which are already at rock-bottom. These figures also show how the increasing poverty of the Negro people helps drag down the living conditions of white people.

White workers in the South especially pay heavily for the myth of "white supremacy". In 1949 southern white families and single individuals earned $638.00 less than northern whites, a 20 percent penalty paid by southern whites because of discrimination against Negro workers.

Laws, ordinances, restrictive covenants and the increasing activities of insurance companies and real estate interests imprison the Negro people in such insanitary and unfit housing from coast to coast. Because much of the nation's housing is unavailable to Negroes, the concentration of population in the areas to which they are relegated is almost unbelievable. A single block in Harlem has a population of 3,871 persons. According to the Architectural Forum, "at a comparable rate of concentration, the entire population of the United States could be housed in one-half of New York City."

Even in illness, the Negro people have no relief from the effects of poverty and jim-crow. Consistent discrimination in private and public hospitals has resulted in the fact that only 15,000 hospital beds out of a total of one and one-half million are presently available to Negroes - one percent of our hospital beds for 10 percent of our population. (Report of U.S. Public Health Service, as quoted in "To Secure These Rights.")

Inequality in education accompanies the Negro youth from first grade to college diploma. In the South where educational facilities as a whole are at pitiful levels, there is nevertheless a racial differential in teachers' salaries, school terms, number of teachers and condition of school properties. ("To Secure These Rights.") In the North as well as in the South, institutions of higher learning bar all but a token representation of Negro students.

Denied an opportunity to earn a livelihood, deprived of decent housing, education and medical facilities, the Negro people are prevented from securing redress of grievances through the basic democratic instrument of the franchise. In the South, the poll tax, unusual and extraordinary requirements for voting, white primaries and physical violence prevent Negro people from access to the polls. In the North

gerrymandering denies Negro communities the full benefit of their vote. Together with the failure of both the Republican and Democratic parties to nominate Negro candidates for political office, this practice has resulted in an absence of Negro representation in all levels and branches of government - executive, legislative and judicial. Since 1900, there have been only five Negro Congressmen and not one single Negro Senator. Of the thousands of state legislators only forty Negro men were elected to serve in the governing bodies of all 48 states in 1946-47 (Source: The Negro Handbook). Consider the courts, municipal bodies, federal departments, the foreign service - and the total picture is one of a people subjected to the worst abuses among all the governed who are shut out of the ranks of the governing.

The income lost by Negro families through the denial of full economic opportunity does not remain a monetary differential. Together with the whole fabric of discrimination in housing, health, education and political affairs, this money differential grows into a monstrous differential in human life. After 300 years of labor in this country, the Negro men have achieved that status of "equality" which cuts off their life 7.4 years earlier than their white contemporaries; Negro women are robbed of 8 and one-half years of life in comparison to white women. (Census Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 43, August 10, 1950). The infant mortality rate among Negro children is twice that of white children. The racial differential in death rates took the lives of 24,601 Negro people in 1948 - people who would have lived had they been white. (Statistical Abstract, 1951, pages 65,66,68).

Disease and early death - this is the meaning of job discrimination and jim-crow for the Negro people.

UE Fight Against Discrimination

The UE has been fighting discrimination in the electrical, radio and machine industry throughout the 15 years of its existence. Our experiences show an urgent need for governmental prohibition of discrimination in industry and for governmental enforcement of fair employment practices.

This Union was founded in 1936 on the principle that only by uniting all workers in the industry, "regardless of skill, age, sex, nationality, color, religion or political belief or affiliation" was it possible to defend effectively the interests and improve the working conditions of our members.

By unanimous decision of our national conventions, we adopted as a UE minimum contract requirement that "every contract should provide that there be no discrimination by the employer against employees on account of...sex, race, color, creed or national origin." We succeeded in incorporating no discrimination clauses into contracts covering 201,000 workers.

National, district and local UE Fair Employment Practices Committees were set up to educate and mobilize the membership behind the Union's program against discrimination. In recent years UE has intensified efforts to incorporate into all our collective bargaining contracts clauses barring discrimination in hiring, upgrading, apprenticeship training, layoffs and other conditions of employment.

But our battle against discrimination has met with widespread resistance from the big corporations in the industry. We have had to mobilize all our forces and to enlist government and community aid wherever it was available to make even a dent in the discriminatory practices of employers in the electrical, machine and farm equipment industry.

Progress Under President Roosevelt's FEPC

Before the start of UE's campaign against discrimination prior to World War II, Negroes, Jews and other minority groups were almost completely excluded from the electrical machine and farm equipment industries. As a result of UE's efforts, the work of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Commission, and the use of state FEPC where available, for the first time during the war years, Negroes and other minorities began to be admitted into the industry.

For example, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation in 1945 was going to Western Pennsylvania and West Virginia to hire hundreds of white women for its Trenton, New Jersey plant, and would not even accept applications from the large number of unemployed Negro women in the community. UE filed charges with the state FEPC and after continued pressure, forced the company to hire Negro women. Company foremen then tried to harass the Negro women to drive them out of the plant. Only after the filing of grievances and other union protests were they finally protected on their jobs. Today, approximately 25 percent of the workers at the Trenton Westinghouse plant are Negro women, as a result of the barriers knocked down by the UE and the FEPC.

The U. S. Cartridge Company in 1942 was combing the South for thousands of white workers to meet war production demands despite the fact that thousands of unemployed Negroes were available in St. Louis. It took the joint efforts of the UE, the NAACP, FEPC and the War Manpower Commission backed by large demonstrations to get the company to hire Negro workers.

Practically no Negroes were employed in the large radio manufacturing industry in New York City when the UE started organizing in 1937. By the end of World War II, a vigorous UE campaign for the hiring and upgrading of Negroes backed by a forceful government fair employment policy had so overcome this discrimination that 15 percent of the 8,500 workers in the industry were Negroes. In addition, many Puerto Ricans were hired. After the war, despite a large cutback in total employment in this industry, the percentage of Negroes fell only to 12 percent. A study made of the New York radio industry in 1948 for Columbia University's School of Social Work attributed this fact to the Union's campaign against discrimination and to the President's anti-discrimination order as follows:

> "The UERMWA had to take an active part in most cases to secure the hiring of Negroes at the beginning of the union's life. Often, the companies tried to get the white workers to adopt a position against the hiring of Negroes. The influences for prejudice included habit or tradition and the principle followed by employers of making white people feel in a preferred or

superior status. Even recently, when the union tried to organize a few shops, the employers warned their employees that the union would bring in Negroes to take their (white workers') jobs over...

"The two most important influences in opening up employment of Negroes in the industry were, (1), the efforts of the UERMWA and (2), the position of the President of the U.S., as formulated in Executive Orders 8802 and 9346.

"The union has had a conscious policy of Negro upgrading, and has not hesitated to use pressure on concerns in matters of discrimination. For example, a number of years ago toward the beginning of the war, a plant manager advised that the white workers would not permit Negro workers to come into that plant and would cause trouble if the attempt was made to bring them in. The union insisted on no discrimination, and pointed up that although a 'no strike' pledge was in effect, discrimination was one basic matter which could not be compromised. Negro workers were consequently hired, and no difficulty was encountered."

The fact that Negroes were not driven out of the industry again after the war resulted from the fact that the Union prevented any Class B segregation of the Negro workers, protected them in layoffs with plantwide seniority and provision for transfer to other departments, etc., and through job training programs and the fight for upgrading succeeded in fully integrating them in the plants. At the close of 1945, a clause was won by UE Local 430 in the master contract with the New York Electronics Manufacturers Association stating:

"There shall be no discrimination against any employee either in hiring, promoting, advancement or assignment, because of such employee's union membership or activity, sex, race, creed, color or religious affiliation."

The study concludes:

"Evidence from varied sources seems to establish that the majority union in the field, Local 430, UE, has actively fought against discrimination and for equal opportunities for Negroes in the industry, and has had success in this fight."

On the other hand, the study found that there was "flagrant discrimination, reflected in the almost complete absence of any Negro production workers, in the two non-union concerns" visited.

It was the study's conclusion that "some forms of compulsion will probably be needed to overcome these situations. The apparently common compulsive force in the industry in New York City today is the UERMWA Union. However, it has been unable apparently, to organize these concerns. Government is another source of compulsion. It is to be noted that these two non-Union discriminating concerns referred to evidently are both engaged in work for the government, with one known to be producing wholly for the U.S. Navy." The study quoted the finding of President Roosevelt's FEPC that: "Discriminatory practices, if they can be solved by negotiation, are the more quickly ended when the National Government makes clear that its authority will be exercised against offenders. Such authority need be sparingly used. Its mere existence serves to ease the way to settlements at every stage of negotiation."

Corporations Persist In Discriminatory Practices

Since the end of the war and the abolition of governmental Fair Employment Practices Commission, UE has had to fight continuously to prevent Negroes from being driven out of the positions they had won in the industry, especially in the big corporations. The major companies with which we bargain persist in both open and subtle forms of discrimination against minority groups. Few Negroes are employed in the main parts of our industry today, despite some successes won by the Union in battles on hiring policy. Where Negroes are employed, they are placed in the lowest labor grades, in the most undesirably dirty and hazardous jobs. They are excluded from apprenticeship training systems, and from the skilled crafts. Recent intensive campaigns fought by the Union to win upgrading and apprenticeship training for Negroes have been bitterly resisted by the companies.

Discrimination in our industry is often practiced by companies whose spokesmen pretend to be liberal and who employ a token number of Negroes as a cloak to conceal actual discrimination in their plants.

Discrimination in the General Electric Company

Dominant corporation in the electrical manufacturing industry is the General Electric Company which pays loud lip service to democracy while practicing the most flagrant forms of discrimination in its plants. GE's former president, Charles E. Wilson served as Chairman of the President's Civil Rights Committee during the years that GE persistently fought the inclusion of any no-discrimination clause in its collective bargaining contracts.

In 1948, while GE's president signed the report of the President's Committee recommending that discrimination in employment be outlawed, the UE in collective bargaining negotiations with GE proposed for the fourth straight year a clause stating: "The provisions of this contract shall be applied to all employees without discrimination on account of race, color, creed or national origin." The answer of the General Electric Company was that it would only be willing, "to add a paragraph on the question of discrimination providing this paragraph can be so worded that the company and the union will not be involved in grievances relating to transfers and upgrading" -- they did not want to give the UE a lever to really press for upgrading of Negro workers.

When the General Electric Company finally agreed in our 1950 contract to an anti-discrimination clause, it refused to include the decisive matter of hiring. UE's campaigns to win hiring and upgrading of Negroes in GE plants have met strong opposition from the company in recent years.

On May 18, 1951, in a grievance case taken to the national level between the UE and the General Electric Company, GE refused upgrading to a Negro worker with 28 years' service at its Pitney Glass Works in Cleveland, Ohio. The company vehemently denied any factor of racial discrimination in connection with this case, stating that discrimination is opposed to GE company policy, but the company repeatedly refused to submit the justice of its position to arbitration.

The record of the Pitney plant in Cleveland shows that more than 20 years elapsed between the hiring date of these Negro workers and the hiring date of the next Negro employed by this plant. The Pitney plant operated for many months with excessive overtime and short personnel during the World War II period before available Negro workers were finally employed in this plant in addition to the three Negro employees then on the payroll.

Of the original three, one has since left, one remained a sweeper for 18 years before upgrading, and is now classified as a millwright; the other is but two steps in the progression schedule above common labor, classified as a "material unloader."

Three recent openings on higher-rated jobs were denied to Harris Reese, the Negro worker on whose behalf the grievance was filed, and filled by white workers with shorter service. Plant management admitted that Mr. Reese had a good work record and was a good worker. Yet every single worker with 22 years' service, (six years less than Reese), was in a higher rated job classification.

The Cleveland Weld Works, the Bulb Works and several smaller GE units all are located on the same premises as the Pitney plant and employ more than 2,000 workers, but with the exception of the cafeteria, these plants do not employ a single Negro worker.

The Euclid Lamp and Cleveland Lamp plants are located side by side within walking distance of the Negro community in Cleveland. Since the opening of these plants more than 30 years ago, no Negro workers were hired in any capacity whatsoever until last year when a Negro sweeper and a woman cafeteria worker were hired at the Euclid Lamp plant. Since then, a determined UE campaign against discrimination in hiring succeeded in getting more than 50 Negroes employed on a variety of production jobs at the Euclid plant.

The entire picture in Cleveland shows GE employing between 9,000 and 10,000 workers of whom less than 300 are Negroes, and of these, 250 are concentrated as janitors and common laborers in three plants.

Elsewhere in Ohio the same pattern is found: GE Mazda Lamp, Youngstown - 1,000 workers, about 15 Negroes hired after the city passed an FEPC ordinance; GE Mahoning and Niles Glass Works, Niles - 550 workers, no Negroes; GE Base Works, Conneaut -

2,000 workers, 4 Negroes; GE Lamp Plant, Bellevue - 600 workers, first Negro hired only a few months ago; Service Shop, Cincinnati - 75 workers, no Negroes; GE Small Motor Plant, Tiffin - 1,000 workers, 30 Negro women; GE Plastic Plant, Cochocton - 375 workers, no Negroes; GE Glass and Lamp plants, Bucyrus - 300 workers, no Negroes.

Examples from other states confirm the pattern of discrimination found in GE plants in Ohio. In the summer of 1950, in the Bloomfield, N. J., GE plant, the UE local union found it necessary to bring the company before the New Jersey State Fair Practices Commission before they changed their hiring policy with regard to Negro men. In March, 1951, the UE had to take the company again before the State anti-discrimination commission on charges regarding the employment of Negro women.

A total of 20 odd cases of discrimination have been filed against the GE lamp plants in Newark, N.J., by UE Locals in the past few years. Most of these cases involved hiring and upgrading of Negro women.

These plants are located in a Negro community and Negroes are continually applying for work there. The company was forced to hire Negro workers during the war, but in 1948, GE management had segregated almost all the Negroes on the night shift, despite the fact that they had seniority over other workers, and Negro workers who were laid off were not rehired. The UE filed a grievance and forced the company to transfer Negro workers with seniority to the day shift and to rehire Negro workers.

The following year the Union forced the company to transfer Negro workers into formerly all white departments, but as soon as there was a shortage of work, the company tried to transfer Negro workers with seniority out of these formerly white departments. Again it took a fight by the Union to stop this discrimination. Recently the company started using a private employment agency in Newark for the purpose of avoiding hiring Negro women, and started hiring displaced persons in order to prevent the hiring of Negro women altogether. The Union is fighting this discriminatory hiring at the national grievance level.

In the main GE plant in Schenectady, N. Y., approximately 250 Negroes are employed out of a total of 24,000 employees. The UE Local 301 has a list of some 30 Negro workers who applied for jobs at a time when the plant was hiring. They were trained assembly and office workers. During this time the company hired a number of inexperienced white workers, but these available Negro workers were not hired.

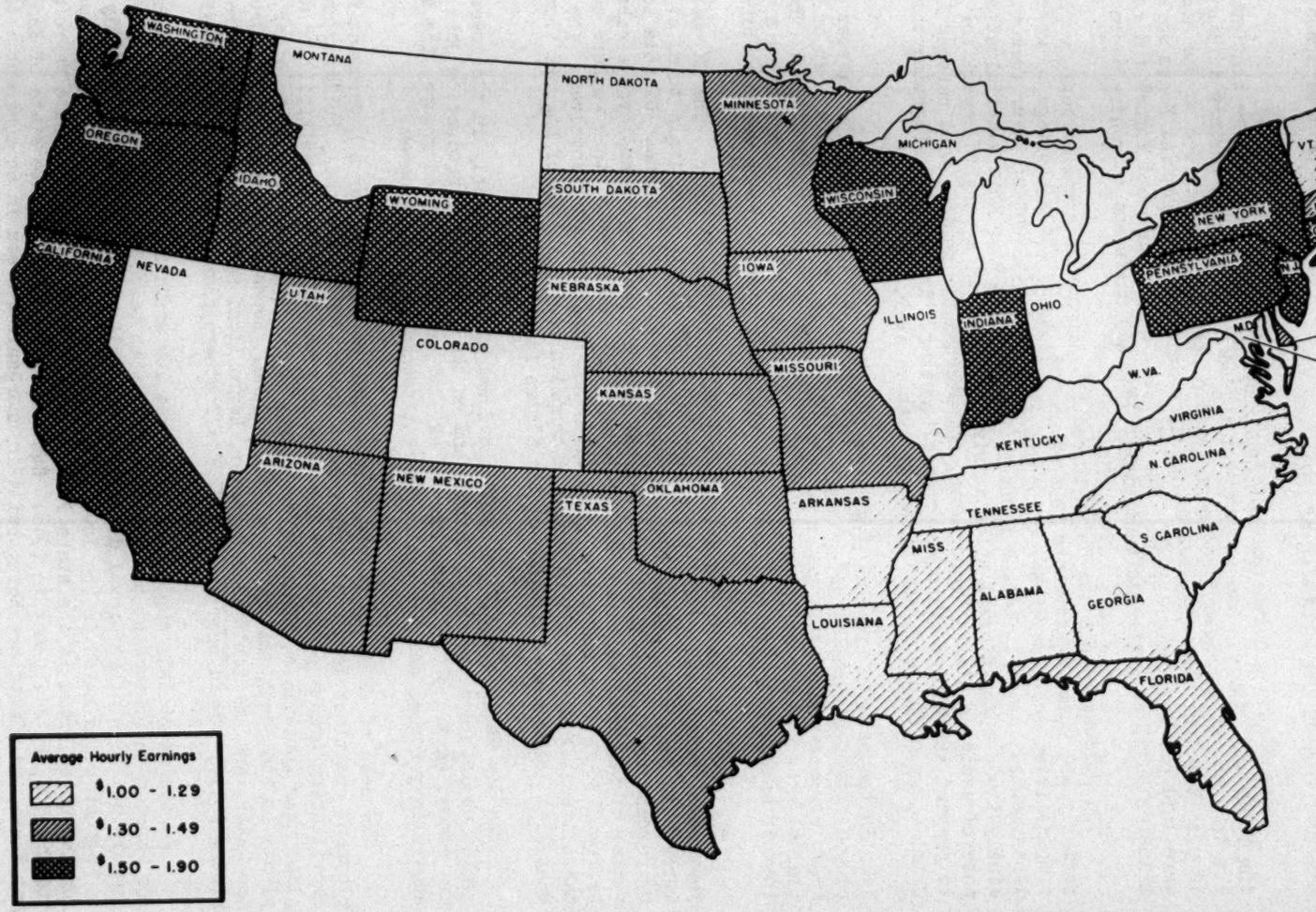
The same discrimination exists everywhere in the GE chain. The UE, several years ago, made a survey of 11 representative GE plants covering a total of 61,897 workers in New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and Indiana. Of this total only 2½ percent or 1,592 workers were Negroes. Where the company employed a substantial number of Negroes, as in the Elmira foundry, it was because other workers could not be found to perform the heavy, hot, dirty and hazardous work involved. The company has bitterly resisted the UE's recent campaign for upgrading of Negroes from the unskilled labor classification at the Elmira foundry.

The few Negroes employed by GE are found almost invariably in the lowest labor grades as laborers, porters, matrons and on the lowest wage production jobs. They are almost entirely excluded from the skilled crafts, salaried groups, the sales and supervisory force, and the entire apprenticeship training program.

The case of GE is an outstanding example of the need for a government fair employment practices law, with enforcement power. GE is currently building under tax amortization grants provided by the Defense Production Act, a multibillion dollar plant near Louisville, Kentucky, to employ 16,000 workers, as well as other new plants in the South and throughout the nation. Repeated attempts by the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Louisville Defender, Negro local newspaper, to have GE reveal its hiring policy toward Negroes at this new Southern plant have been unsuccessful.

A government fair employment practices law would help insure equal opportunity for Negroes in these vast new plants, built with taxpayers' funds. Without such compulsion, GE's often proved discriminatory policy of hiring would probably result in Negroes being hired in the lowest, dirtiest jobs, if at all. It was necessary for the UE to bring in the state FEPC to get GE to hire even a single Negro man in its Trenton, N. J., plant in 1948. But there is no FEPC in the state of Kentucky. And these new plants are being built in unorganized areas in an apparent attempt to escape from the vigilance that Unions like UE maintain upon the democratic interests of the workers.

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS IN MANUFACTURING
BY STATE, DECEMBER 1950



Data not available for Colorado, District of Columbia, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, Ohio, West Virginia.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

Discrimination at Westinghouse

The Westinghouse Electric Corporation, another of the giants in the electrical manufacturing industry, does not even talk about civil rights to cloak its rank discrimination. Westinghouse refuses to put any form of no-discrimination clause in its collective bargaining contracts. A number of its plants have no Negro workers. Those that do, employ Negroes mainly as foundry workers, elevator operators, janitors, truckers and laborers, with a small group in the lower labor grades of production work. Upgradings are a source of continuous battle between the Union and the company, and no Negro workers are entered in Westinghouse apprenticeship training programs.

A survey several years ago of some major Westinghouse plants revealed the following: In the East Pittsburgh home plant of the Westinghouse Company there was at this time only 620 Negroes out of a total of 15,500 employees. At the Westinghouse plant in South Philadelphia, between 500 and 600 Negroes are employed out of thousands of workers. Up until recently at So. Philadelphia, the highest job held by a Negro was operating a lift truck, and there were no Negro machine operators or skilled workers of any kind. Only recently was UE able to overcome the strong resistance of the company and upgrade Negro workers.

Westinghouse also is building new plants in the South under millions of dollars of tax grants under the Defense Production Act. Government action to insure that Negroes will have equal opportunity for hiring at jobs of all levels of skill in these huge new plants is urgently required, in view of the company's record of discrimination in the past.

Discrimination at International Harvester

In a recent speech, Mr. Ivan L. Willis, executive vice president of the International Harvester Company boasted of his company's fair employment record. He claimed that 2,291 of the 9,000 Negroes employed by the company were upgraded last year, failing to mention that this was the result of bitter struggles led by the UE and resisted by the company management. Moreover, his figures showed that even after the upgrading only 285 of the Negroes employed, or 3 percent, are in the skilled labor jobs, as compared with 26 percent skilled for all workers in the farm equipment industry; and that only 73, or less than 1 percent, were in clerical and office jobs, in an industry where about 20 percent of all workers hold such jobs.

In the International Harvester chain, Negroes are found in somewhat larger number, but confined to the heavy, dirty, lowest-paying jobs in the foundries and mills. UE's farm equipment locals have fought against strong company resistance to win upgrading opportunity for these Negro workers. Recently the Union won a special job-posting agreement at the big Harvester Tractor Works in Chicago requiring the posting of all open jobs and transfers, for bid according to seniority. As a result of the struggles of the UE Tractor Local, several hundred Negro workers have been upgraded to better jobs during the past year under this agreement, and the company was forced to admit Negroes into several departments that it had previously maintained as all white.

But Harvester management is still fighting to keep Negro apprentices out of the Tractor Works. The Union has sent a number of Negro vocational school students, recommended to us by the Chicago Trades School as being more than capable of meeting apprenticeship requirements. Yet every one of these applicants were flunked out. Strangely enough, the company refused to show us the results of the examinations, or the contents of the examination. There is no employment practices act in the state of Illinois, so there was no other recourse to supplement the serious democratic efforts of our Local Union.

At the Harvester Farmall plant in Rock Island, Illinois, 1,000 out of the 5,000 workers are Negroes who have been denied any opportunity for upgrading from the lowest jobs by the company. At the Louisville, Kentucky plant, the Harvester company has fought every step of the way against the Union's battle to end discrimination. Convinced that unity between the Negro and white workers and equal job opportunity was the means to better conditions for all workers in the plant, the Union did not compromise and fought, department by department, to end segregation and win upgrading for the Negroes. The company resorted to special job classification and seniority tricks to maintain its discriminatory practices, and union members had to conduct a bitter struggle to insure equal democratic opportunity for the Negro workers. The fact that this is probably the only plant in the South where discrimination and segregation of Negroes has been significantly reduced -- and the fact that this was done only after years of militant battle by the workers -- is a strong argument for a federal fair employment practices law. For too many unions have either been

intimidated by the anti-labor Southern employers out of organizing in the South altogether, or have tried to appease these employers by agreeing to help them maintain segregation and job discrimination against Negro workers.

Industrywide Discrimination In Hiring

The pattern of discrimination found in GE, Westinghouse and Harvester, the giants of our industry, is followed by the smaller companies throughout the nation. In the past year our local unions and Fair Practices Committees have conducted a number of campaigns to get Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority workers hired for the first time in a number of our plants. While we were successful in a number of cases, there are practically no plants to our knowledge where constant policing and fighting is not necessary to establish fair hiring practices. In states where there are fair employment practices acts, they have aided our efforts to combat discriminatory practices of the companies. The problem in states where there are no fair practices acts, and that includes most of the states, is many times more difficult, especially if the company has successfully resisted an anti-discrimination contract clause. Since many unions are not yet doing what UE has done to combat discrimination, the job of establishing even a semblance of economic democracy and opportunity for minorities in our country seems virtually impossible unless fair employment practices become the enforced policy of our government.

Industrywide Discrimination In Upgrading

A number of our local unions have devoted much attention to the problem of upgrading for Negro workers, for it is true throughout our industry that those few Negroes who are hired are unable to move out of the low-paying, menial jobs. Despite bitter company resistance, a number of our locals have succeeded in breaking through on the semi-skilled and some of the skilled categories on behalf of Negro workers and other minorities. But I know of only a few shops in the electrical, radio and machine tool industry where the companies have completely ended their policy of discrimination and exclusion of Negroes in all job categories.

Mr. Jacob Seidenberg of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, notes in the research bulletin, "Negroes in the Work Group", published in February, 1950:

> "One of the most effective determinants of a successful program of integration is the ability of the Negro to be promoted from one position of importance to another in the hierarchy of jobs. Many companies, without being compelled by the coercive power of a state anti-discrimination law, have been willing to give custodial, janitorial and common labor jobs to Negroes. Beyond that they were unwilling to go. It is to the extent that members of minority groups can advance vertically within an organization that the success of a democratic employment scheme can be measured."

Industrywide Discrimination In Apprenticeship Training

Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and other minority workers throughout the nation are denied the training opportunities that are the key to moving upward to skilled jobs. In New York State there are over 100,000 apprentices currently in training in the various skilled trades. There are large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in this state, but almost none receiving this apprenticeship training. Our Union has suggested to the New York State Apprenticeship Training Council and Federal Manpower Commission that they work out a program to combat discrimination in the plants where they set up apprenticeship training programs, but so far they have refused to take that responsibility.

While working for the passage of national fair employment practices legislation this Union has also urged upon the Manpower Resources Commission (June 18, 1951 letter to Dr. Arthur G. Fleming, commission chairman) immediate action to end discrimination in hiring, upgrading and training against Negro women; and to establish fair employment practices in the federal apprenticeship training program.

In the past year-and-a-half our National Fair Practices Committee has had apprenticeship training programs started in three of the major corporations in the industry -- out of which during that time we were successful in getting exactly one Negro apprenticeship trainee. With some of the lesser corporations we succeeded in opening up apprenticeship training programs to Negro workers, and where we set up our own training programs in New York, New Jersey and Ohio, we have been able to meet the companies' traditional excuses -- lack of training, lack of skill, etc., --

with regard to upgrading Negro workers. However, many unions which administer apprenticeship training programs, particularly in the printing and building trades, exercise the same discriminatory barriers as are maintained by the big corporations in our industry.

In spite of all our efforts, the very small number of Negro and minority workers in our industry who are able now to receive apprenticeship training indicates the need for a federal fair employment practices act to help break down the barriers of discrimination that prevent Negroes from entering the skilled fields.

Drastic Action For FEPC Needed At Once

The tragic and appalling human consequence of the continued oppression of the Negro people in the United States and the hard lessons the UE has learned in its fight against job discrimination does more than just underline the urgent need for an FEPC: Two vital features of this need are likewise underlined -- FEPC must be made fully effective through inescapable and drastic enforcement provisions adequate to overcome all efforts at evasion; and speed -- immediate action -- for full effectiveness is demanded by the existing sufferings of minority people.

The UE has noted with concern that the Committee discussions on pending legislation, emphasized almost exclusive reliance on education, voluntarism, conciliation, and due process. We are concerned not because we are opposed to due process, education and conciliation, but because of the evils involved in job discrimination must be corrected by immediate, effective action.

No honest participant in the fight for fair employment practices can deny that what is needed is not appeasement, dilution or a softening of the urgency of FEPC. First the emphasis on voluntarism, education and conciliation must not be permitted to be a disguise to hide lack of really effective enforcement laws and obligations. It must be clearly recognized that the opponents of FEPC at one stage will attempt to sabotage FEPC by emasculation of its enforcement sections and the language of voluntarism, education and conciliation may well be used for this purpose. FEPC must have teeth that will bite anyone who attempts to evade the letter or the spirit of fair employment practices. Secondly, the conceptions of voluntarism, education and conciliation must not be permitted to be a mask for delay in the full effectuation of FEPC. We have already delayed too many scores of years in making our Constitution a reality for the Negro and other minority peoples of our country.

There must be no compromise. There can be no appeasement of those economic and political forces who fight to maintain the racist discrimination to which they are wedded and who now support and champion the jim-crow-racist-white supremacy lynch traditions of the South. America's minorities need, and the interest of our country requires emphasis, not on softness and delay, but on effectiveness and speed as a determined, impatient and outraged America moves to strike down the deadly practices of racial job discrimination.

Who's Responsible

The years have passed with talk and no results for FEPC -- who is responsible? Above all, it must be recognized that profits are made from job discrimination, and these economic forces lie behind the fight against FEPC.

We need only look at the vast wage differential between the North and South which is based primarily on the concept of white supremacy to justify taking billions of dollars from many workers. For example, one of the executives of Macy's speaking before the Retail Association, says that if the Negro workers in America were employed at their full current skills, it would add five billion dollars to America's purchasing power. The Steel Corporations in recent steel wage hearings testified it would cost five billion dollars to wipe out the Southern differential. This differential came about because of the historical exploitation of Negro workers that made unions and high wage levels ineffective and left the South a colony of Wall Street and the Southern plantation owners.

These interests want to maintain their greedy exploitation of the Negro workers and other minority workers at the expense of the life, health and well being of the people. They and their political spokesmen in Congress and in the State Legislatures have fought against fair practices and other civil rights legislation. They have used the South with its terrible history of treatment of Negro workers as the main base of the operation and the main source of their political power.

In every FEPC hearing, in which this Union has participated, and that has been most that have been held throughout the country, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers have repeatedly opposed FEPC legislation, while the organizations of the people, church groups, civil groups, fraternal organizations and labor unions have repeatedly urged and fought for the passage of FEPC. We're happy to say that in some states we were able to force enactment of FEPC laws which helped improve the situation sufficiently to show what could be accomplished with a strong Federal law with the full support of the government.

Let's have no further illusions that it is just the Dixiecrats who oppose fair practice legislation. The big corporations of America do not want fair practice legislation and the politicians they control have so far made it impossible.

There is an unholy alliance between the whole Southern block of Senators and Congressmen and Northern Republicans and Democratic spokesmen for big business, and you can spell it out in terms of dollars for the corporations and human suffering among the people, black, brown and white.

If we are to get fair practice legislation ever in our country the truth must be told. In the South is a colony of Wall Street and vast financial interests.

Today the Morgan interests, through the U. S. Steel Corporation, own the huge steel plants in the South, and the captive iron ore mines and captive coal veins in Alabama and Tennessee. Morgan interests also control the leading southern utility companies, and the Southern Railway Company.

E. I. DuPont deNemours has rayon, nylon, plastic, explosives and chemical plants throughout the South.

Through the Standard Oil Company and the Socony Vacuum Company the Rockefeller interests operate one of the South's greatest natural resources -- petroleum.

The huge tobacco industry is a giant monopoly dominated by the six leading tobacco companies whose giant southern plants supply the nation with cigarettes; the compressing and warehousing of cotton is dominated by the world's largest merchandiser of cotton -- Anderson, Clayton & Company, whose stock is handled through the Morgan banks. Second largest cotton factor in the South is the family of South Carolina's Senator Maybank.

The rubber industry, the meatpacking and cottonseed oil crushing industries, the pulp and paper mills, are all dominated by northern industrialists. And much of the textile industry which has been steadily migrating to the South is now controlled by northern firms.

What has been the reason for this concentration of the nation's wealth in the South? The answer can be found in any government census figure. In 1950, for

example, Negroe wage earners averaged $1,295 while whites averaged $2,481. Multiply this differential by the 3½ million Negroes in industry and agriculture and the staggering total of almost $4½ billion in EXTRA profit is the answer.

Jim-crow statutes of the South were enacted in the late 1890's , when the expansion pressures of the new banking and industrial monopolies found their first great outlet in the South. State constitutuons disfranchising the Negro were formed, Negroes were driven out of local government bodies and the Congress of the United States.

This was all accomplished through widespread terror and hate propaganda. Negro workers, who up until that time constituted most of the skilled labor force of the South after the Civil War, were systematically driven out of higher paying jobs and kept out of entire industries.

At the same time, northern bankers took over the southern railroads, the cotton mills, and the coal, iron, steel and tobacco industries. By 1900 northern investment in the South amounted to a billion dollars and in later years these holdings were extended to new industries -- oil, electric power, rayon and chemicals.

Yes, the South has been a virtual colony of Wall Street financiers, with the Negro workers providing most of the colonial labor, but not all, because the white workers of the South have been caught in the nutcracker, too. This has resulted in lower rates of pay, poorer health, poorer housing and lack of political franchise for whites as well as Negroes.

In order to maintain this exploitation and the billions of dollars of profits for the vast corporations involved in the exploitation of the South, the Negro people are still effectively disfranchised and robbed of a political right to decide these questions. Senator Russell, Democrat of Georgia, let the cat out of the bag in the Senate Filibuster of March 17, 1949, when he said:

> "The recommendation made by the Commission appointed by the President is upon us now. But even if it dealt with something 60 or 80 years in the future, so far as I am concerned, I would still oppose breaking down the segregation of the races in the South where we have more than 200 counties which contain more Negroes than white People, where our States have more than two-thirds of all the Negro population in the United States. We have a problem. Gentlemen from other sections have a theory." (Congressional Record, p.2672).

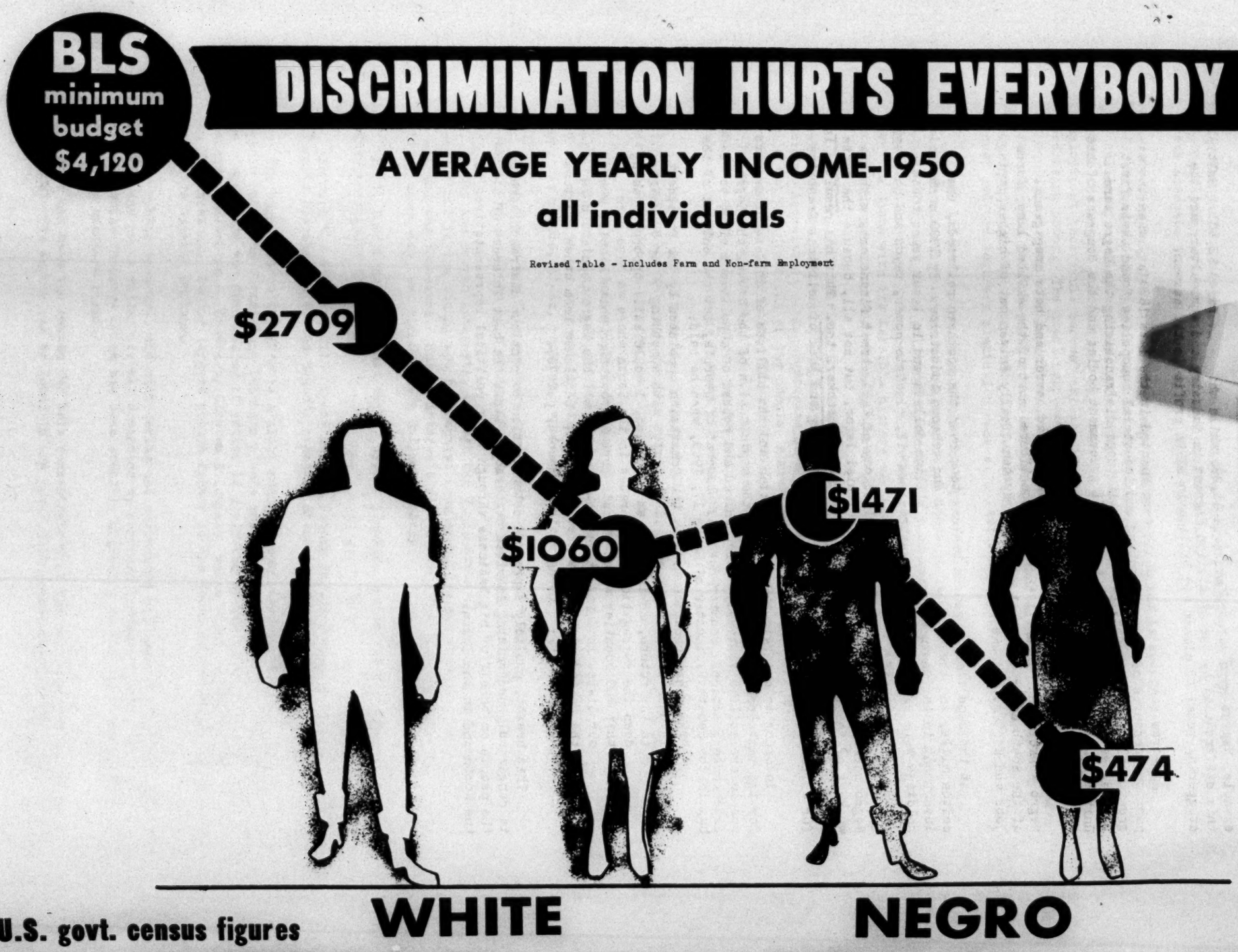
This brazen, publicly expressed determination to continue disfranchisement is dangerously undermining American democracy against the best interest of all the people on behalf of big business through their political representatives in the North and in the South.

DISCRIMINATION HURTS EVERYBODY

AVERAGE YEARLY INCOME-1950

all individuals

Revised Table - Includes Farm and Non-farm Employment



U.S. govt. census figures

The Record of Talk and No Action On FEPC

While millions of Negro workers and minority groups are suffering daily from jim-crow policies and the wage standards of the entire country are being pulled down, the Administration and Congress have built up an imposing record of inaction clothed in brave words and pious protestations of the need for FEPC legislation.

As these hearings are held in the last weeks of the 82nd Congress, every indication points to a repetition of the record of more than five years of talk and no action.

It is high time that once and for all there be exposed the parliamentary trickery, the conniving, the lack of sincerity, that underlikes the programmatic promises of both the Republican and Democratic parties to legislate FEPC action.

The American people have not forgotten that a President representing the people was able to break through the reaction carried down from the Reconstruction Period and in 1941 by Executive Order set up a Fair Employment Practices Committee against discriminatory employment under defense and government contract. The FEPC of World War II, lacking statutory powers and limited in its enforcement capacity began to make progress against job discrimination. To further implement the first order, a more effective Executive Order was issued by President Roosevelt making it obligatory for private industries working on war work not to discriminate on account of race or color in the employment of labor.

As the end of World War II drew nearer, there was a sharp clash between the white supremacists who profit from job discrimination who sought to eliminate FEPC, and the real advocates of the American people who fought for the enactment by Congress of legislation for permanent and effective Fair Employment Practices.

1944 Republican-Democratic Promises for FEPC

Both the Republican and the Democratic Parties in the 1944 campaign advocated a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee. The 1944 Republican Party platform proclaimed, "We pledge the establishment by Federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee." The candidate of the Republican Party, Gov. Dewey, in his speech at Buffalo on October 31, 1944 announced: "We shall establish the Fair Employment Practice Committee as a permanent agency with full legal authority."

The late President Roosevelt in his speech at Chicago on October 29, 1944 stated: "Three years ago, back in 1941, I appointed a Fair Employment Practice Committee to prevent discrimination in war industry and government employment. The work of that Committee and the results obtained more than justify its creation.

"I believe the Congress of the United States should by law make the Committee permanent."

Killing off Wartime FEPC

The first post-war blow at FEPC killed the wartime and anti-discrimination agency by eliminating its funds in 1946. In the House of Representatives organized by the Democrats, the Rules and Appropriations Committee combined in double talk and double dealing to wipe out funds for FEPC. In the Senate with majority leader Barkley assisting the opponents of FEPC, a filibuster stalled appropriations for FEPC continuation. When the filibuster ended by a compromise appropriation, 28 Democrats and 18 Republicans voted yes, and 19 Democrats and 7 Republicans voting against the compromise appropriations. Then in the secret joint conferences, the appropriations - the necessary lifeblood - for wartime FEPC was killed.

1946 - Killing the Chavez-Norton FEPC Bill

Although Senator Chavez, (D. New Mexico) first introduced his permanent FEPC bill on January 6, 1945, it was January 17, 1946 before the measure could be forced onto the Senate floor. There followed an 18 day filibuster which killed the Chavez FEPC measure. The crucial vote came on the effort to stop the filibuster, which failed to receive the required two-thirds majority with 48 voting for FEPC, against the filibuster, and 36 voting "No" against FEPC. Twenty-two Democrats, 25 Republicans and 1 Progressive joined in a pro-FEPC vote, while 8 Republicans and 28 Democrats were joined against FEPC to continue the filibuster. Northern Democratic Senators, Hayden, (D. Ariz., Chairman Senate Rule Comm.),Macfarland, (D. Ariz., now Senate majority leader), Wheeler, (D. Montana), Carville, (D. Nev.), McCarran (D.Nev.), Hatch, (D. New Mexico), Gerry, (D. R.I.), and O'Mahoney, (Wyoming) supported the pro-jim-crow filibusters. The 8 Republicans who supported the filibuster

to kill FEPC included Senators Millikan (Colorado), White (Maine, Senate majority leader 1947-48), Bridges (New Hampshire), Hawkes (New Jersey), Moore (Oklahoma), Bushfield (South Dakota), Gurney (South Dakota), and Robertson (Wyoming).

It is significant, particularly in view of the 24-hour sessions imposed on Taft-Hartley Bill opponents a year later, that Senator Morse (R. Oregon) unsuccessfully tried to limit this filibuster by requiring 24-hour sessions. In so doing Senator Morse stated, "I feel that the Senate should make up its mind to do everything that can be done to break the filibuster. We cannot break it by keeping the session just during banking hours."

In spite of this, banking hours were kept, the filibuster succeeded, FEPC died and the deadly force of job discrimination continued unabated.

In the House of Representatives, the Norton Bill to make FEPC permanent failed to gain the House floor as it was bottled up in the Rules Committee by a Republican-Democratic combination.

1947 - The Republican Congress Ignores FEPC

The 1947 Congress was the first Congress controlled by the Republicans since 1932. A Democratic controlled Congress had killed war-time FEPC. What was the record of the Republicans? No FEPC legislation was passed at this session of Congress. The Senate Sub-Committee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare, controlled by Republicans, did not hold hearings until June and July. This Senate Sub-Committee reported the bill to the full committee without recommendation. Chairman Donnell (R. Missouri), and Ellender (D. Louisiana) voted against the bill. Ives (R. New York), and Murray (D. Montana) voted for it. Smith (R. New Jersey) felt that revision was necessary to give the Southern states an opportunity to handle FEPC through state FEPC legislation.

None of 16 FEPC bills introduced into the House were reported out by the House Committee on Education and Labor.

In 1947, however, this Republican Congress was able to enact the infamous Taft-Hartley legislation, limiting debate at the very outset in the Senate by holding day and night sessions. We shall see later on, how filibusters against FEPC were treated in routine fashion by both Democrats and Republicans, in such a way as to allow the filibusters to prevail.

1948 - Second Year of Republican Inaction on FEPC

The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, by 7 to 5 vote, reported an FEPC bill February 5. In contrast with the effective way in which Republicans had cut off debate on the Taft-Hartley the previous year, the Republican leaders decided not even to bring the FEPC bill to floor for action because they feared a filibuster by Southern Senators opposed to the measure.

In the House, 16 bills on FEPC were introduced and referred to the House Education and Labor Committee. There was no action on any of the bills. It is important to note that the Republican leader pro-tem, Arthur Vandenberg, at this session of Congress, sustained a point of order introduced by Southern Senator Russell (D. Georgia) during a filibuster on a poll-tax measure. This ruling by Vandenberg exempted cloture from motions making it almost impossible to break filibuster.

1949 - Republicans and Democrats Again Pledge Action on FEPC

The 1949 Congress had a clear mandate from the Republican and Democratic national conventions to enact FEPC.

The Republican platform stated: "This right of equal opportunity to work and to advance in life should never be limited in any individual because of race, religion, color or country of origin. We favor the enactment and just enforcement of such federal legislation as may be necessary to maintain this right at all times in every part of this Republic."

The Democratic platform stated: "We endorse the right to equal opportunity of employment..."

1949 - Betrayal Repeated - FEPC Blocked

In 1949 a Republican-Democratic combination wiped out prospects for FEPC by making the rule of filibuster supreme.

Early in 1949 the Senate Committee on Rules held hearings on cloture, - the question of how to stop filibusters - in reality the question of how to pass FEPC. The issue was: Could a filibuster be stopped by a majority vote, by 2/3 vote of the Senators present or by the vote of 64 Senators, 2/3 of the total Senate membership. In the Rules Committee hearings not a single Northern Democrat appeared on behalf of stopping the filibusterers so as to pass FEPC. The whip of the Democratic majority, Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, ran out on his own resolution for a majority vote to stop filibuster and failed to appear on behalf of his own resolution. Lead by Democratic Senator Hayden of Arizona, the Rules Committee, Democrats and Republicans alike, voted 11 to 2 against the majority vote to end the filibuster, and reported the Hayden-Wherry Resolution requiring a 2/3 vote to stop cloture. Wyoming Senator Hunt joined Southern Senators Stennis of Mississippi and Long of Louisiana in pushing for an even more pro-filibuster rule.

When the cloture issue reached the Senate floor, 29 Democrats and 34 Republicans joined together to strengthen the jim-crow filibuster and voted in favor of the Wherry compromise, which required 64 Senators to stop a filibuster. Only 14 Democrats and 9 Republicans voted against this flagrant action against majority rule and FEPC.

Among northern Republican Senators voting against majority rule and FEPC were Taft(R.Ohio),Vandenberg (R.Michigan), Wherry (R.Nebraska), Saltonstall (R. Massachusetts). Northern Democratic Senators voting with Republicans were McCarran (D. Nevada), Kerr (D. Oklahoma), Hunt (D. Wyoming), Frear (D. Delaware), and Miller (D. Idaho).

In 1949 Northern Democrats and Northern Republicans - key leaders in their parties - joined the Southern bloc to create the weapon of minority dictatorship required to maintain jim-crow job discrimination.

In this year, while FEPC was being blocked by the establishment of minority filibuster rule, actual FEPC bills in both the House and the Senate failed to reach the floor for debate and vote.

In the House of Representatives, proposal of Congressman Marcantonio to eliminate job discrimination in the legislation setting up 70-group Air Force, laid bare the bi-partisan sabotage of even this limited Fair Employment Practices proposal. Republicans and Democrats alike acted to hide their pro-jim-crow position by defeating the effort of Congressman Powell of New York to gain support of 20 percent of the House members for a record vote on the Marcantonio proposal. Although 390 members of the House had just answered to a roll call, only 27 supported the Powell request for record vote on this anti-jim-crow issue. Only 2 of the 158 Republicans who had just answered the roll call failed to duck out on this challenge to stand up and be counted against jim-crow. Only 24 of the 231 Democrats present failed to run out on this issue.

With secrecy thus guaranteed only 4 Republicans and 29 Democrats - together with Congressman Marcantonio - supported this limited anti-job discrimination measure, while 253 Congressmen voted to maintain jim-crow in setting up the seventy-group Air Force.

1950 - The Bi-Partisan Sell-Out of FEPC

1950 was the year of all-out attack and all-out temporary victory of the bi-partisan opponents of FEPC.

The House of Representatives' 1950 Session opened with an effort to by-pass the Rules Committee and bring FEPC upon the floor for a vote. The Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn (D. Texas), and house majority leader McCormick (D. Mass.), as the two main administration powers in the Congress performed a double play to kill FEPC.

The questions posed by Arthur Krock in the New York Times of January 26, 1950, underline this civil rights betrayal by President Truman's chief representatives:

"Why the FEPC bill was 'never mentioned' at the White House conference Monday between the President and the Democratic leaders of Congress, though all were aware that a couple of hours afterward Speaker Rayburn, who was present, had sole power to put the FEPC on passage or keep it off the floor?

"Why, despite the fact that Mr. Truman has called vigorously for passage of this bill by the House at the first favorable opportunity, and his Senate deputies intend to end the Southern filibuster against it by cloture if they can, the President does not seem at all annoyed with the Speaker for preventing consideration of the FEPC bill at this same first favorable opportunity, and again at the next?

"Why, if certain Republicans and Democrats on the Rules Committee really favor the legislation, they have not yet availed themselves of their power to make a majority in that committee and bring it before the House for action which they could do any time 3 of 4 Republican members - Representatives Allen, Brown, Wadsworth and Herter -- and 4 of the 8 Northern Democratic members Sabath, Madden, McSweeney and Delaney - vote in favor of such a resolution?"

Krock concluded that Congressman Marcantonio was right when he told the House after the events of January 23: "Everybody wants Civil Rights as an issue but not as a law and that goes for Harry Truman, the Democratic Party and the Republican Party."

When finally the House FEPC bill came to a vote the effective legislation proposed was scuttled by a vote of 221 to 178 in favor of the ineffective and toothless substitute proposed by Republican Congressman McConnell. 117 Democrats and 104 Republicans joined together against 128 Democrats, 49 Republicans and one American Labor in favor of the meaningless McConnell legislation.

In the Senate the minority rule weapon forged against FEPC in 1949 was used by Republicans and Democrats alike to stop progress on FEPC legislation. On May 19, 1950, 26 Democrats and 6 Republicans imposed their minority dictatorship by voting to continue the filibuster against the efforts to take up FEPC legislation. In fact, 9 Democrats and 3 Republicans recorded as absent on this vote, in effect, under the Wherry rules, were counted in favor of the filibuster.

The flagrant bi-partisan betrayal had now reached such obvious proportions that even Walter White, the mild executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in an address to the NAACP convention in Boston, was brought to attack "the more subtle politicians who clothed themselves in robes of respectability, smile unctuously at those they are about to doublecross, and then piously campaign for reelection on the ground they were prevented from keeping their promises by those pesky Dixiecrats." Mr. White continued, "I have in mind such men as Mr. Taft of Ohio, who wrote the 1948 Republican Party platform, promising unequivocal support of a federal FEPC. But a year later he proposed a toothless measure without enforcement powers. I have in mind Majority Leader of the Senate, Mr. Lucas of Illinois, who approached the Senate fight for FEPC with quaking knee and quavering voice, much as one would march to the electric chair."

A short time later the minority dictatorship set up to maintain jim-crow job discrimination, again asserted its power, as 27 Democrats and 6 Republicans together with 5 absentee Democrats and 3 absentee Republicans killed the latest effort to date to bring FEPC to the Senate floor where an overwhelming majority vote supported its passage.

1951 - Despite Promises, A Complete Blank for FEPC

Although bills providing for federal FEPC were early introduced in both the Senate and the House of the 82nd Congress, no hearings whatsoever were even scheduled. Although FEPC legislation (S-551) was referred to the Sub-Committee on Labor and Labor Management Relations, chaired by Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) on January 15, 1951, the year passed with absolutely no committee action. The record of the House was the same.

1952 - Again the Gestures, the Words and No Action?

No action in the House of Representatives is scheduled or in prospect on FEPC. In the Senate, barring extraordinary efforts, the hearings now under way on FEPC give promise only of a committee report on FEPC, useful for 1952 campaign purposes

in certain areas and before certain groups. Barring a reversal of the practice of playing politics with the issue of economic oppression for more than 21,000,000 Americans, the 82nd Congress will close its sessions in the next few weeks without disruption of the record of talk and no action on FEPC.

Republicans and Democrats Share Responsibility for FEPC Betrayal

During all the years of failure to get results for FEPC, Southern Congressmen and Senators made up only twenty-five percent of the Congress. During all these years 75 percent in the Republican and Democratic Parties were pledged to a federal FEPC. Yet, in spite of these Party vows, neither House of the Congress, whether organized by the Democratic Party or by the Republican Party, passed an effective FEPC measure. This could only come about because in the non-southern 75 percent of the House and Senate membership, organized in the Republican and Democratic caucuses of the Congress, there was betrayal and sell-out on FEPC.

During all these years as the year-by-year record demonstrates, neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party engaged in any real fight to live up to its FEPC promises. The regularly used methods of assuring party regularity on tests of party policy were never applied. The southern-white-supremacy-anti-FEPC forces have retained their full patronage influence as have all of the nothern Republicans, regardless of their violation of their publicly announced party policy on civil rights.

Close examination of the crucial test debates and votes on FEPC and on the filibuster issue in the Senate show that at every stage key responsible Republicans voted with the southern bloc in sufficient numbers to assure failure of FEPC. A name by name analysis of those who spoke and voted against FEPC on the cloture measure required for its passage reveals the tie-up of key Republicans against FEPC. It is notable, for example, that Senator Robert Taft, Chairman of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, now campaigns for office on a platform of opposition to an effective FEPC. The Senate resolution assuring that a minority filibuster would be free to block FEPC was introduced by the late Republican leader, Senator Wherry. When the Republicans had a majority in both the Senate and the House in 1947 and 1948 no vote on FEPC in either House was even sought. In 1950 the entire leadership and the bulk of the Republican membership of the House joined together to stop an effective FEPC through the thin disguise of a toothless, ineffective substitute proposed by the Republican Party's leader on the House Labor Committee, Congressman McConnell, strongly supported by the Minority leader Congressman Joe Martin.

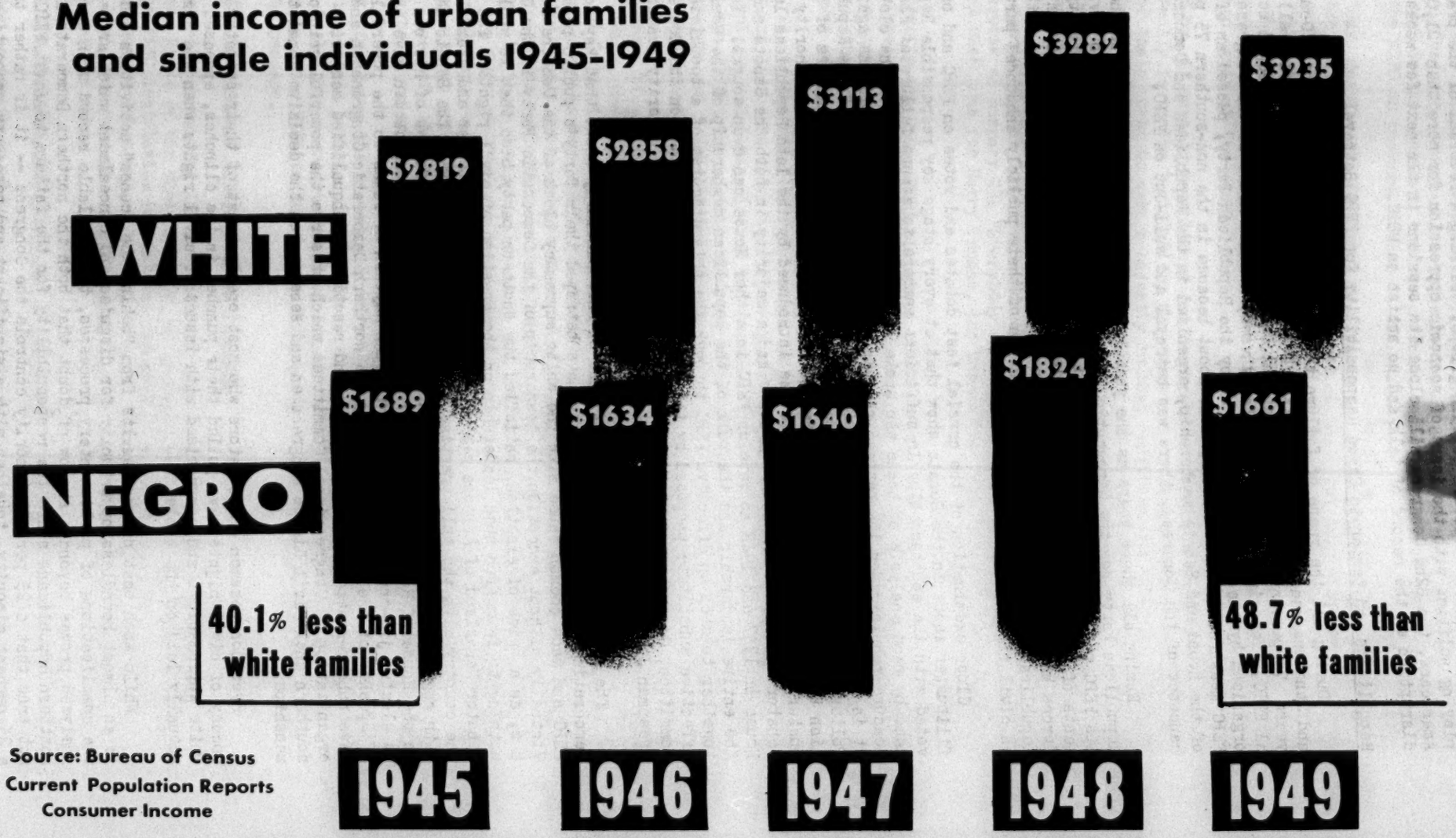
The record of the years of failure on FEPC similarly shows that key northern Democratic Senators and Congressmen have betrayed their Party's public promises on FEPC and made common cause with the white supremacy block of the Democratic Party. Virtually without exception, the leadership of the Democratic Party in the Congress has, as a price of election, satisfied the southern party bloc that it would have nothing to fear from such leadership on the question of civil rights. The Northern Senator McFarland of Arizona was elected Senate Majority Leader and stands before the country with the full prestige of the Democratic Party in the Senate because with regularity he has voted and supported the anti-FEPC forces of his own party. In the House of Representatives the southern Democratic Congressmen have unanimously elected jim-crow, anti-FEPC Congressman Rayburn of Texas to the powerful position of Speaker of the House. Regularly the northern Democratic Congressmen and Senators have rubber-stamped the undemocratic and reactionary unqualified seniority rules of organization of Congressional Committees which preserve the powerful grip of the southern anti-Civil Rights congressmen and senators on the decisive committee chairmanships.

Even Congressmen and Senators who most openly boast of their sympathy and advocacy of civil rights have pulled their punches in the clinches, appeased the white supremacists and compromised with issues of civil rights when the cards were actually laid on the table.

While much that occurs results from "behind the scenes" activities and there is an almost boundless opportunity for disguise and concealment which arises through the complications of parliamentary processes, the available record when carefully analyzed proves beyond a shadow of doubt that both the northern Democrats and the northern Republicans share the responsibility for the failure to enact FEPC. It is not true that a 25 percent minority controls the Congress — it is rather true that a 25 percent minority, together with a significant and necessary proportion of the remainder of the Congress, combine to defeat the will of the majority of the people for FEPC.

HOW the ECONOMIC CONDITION of NEGROES HAS DETERIORATED

Median income of urban families and single individuals 1945-1949



Source: Bureau of Census
Current Population Reports
Consumer Income

The Record of the Washington Administration on FEPC

The President has posed as a friend of FEPC, but the actions of the executive branch of the government have been in harmony with the discriminatory policies of the large corporations. The responsibility of the Administration for the failure of Congress to pass a permanent FEPC is bad enough. What's even worse is that the Federal Government establishes a discriminatory pattern for the country as a whole.

The Federal Government, as the largest employer in the country, could exert a powerful influence on behalf of fair employment practices. But as Mr.A.Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told this committee on April 22nd, the U.S.Government "is one of the best examples of racial discrimination in employment." He charged that "few, if any, Negroes can be found employed as research workers, economists, lawyers, department and bureau heads, or career foreign service workers."

Reference has already been made to the National Urban League Report showing gross discrimination against Negroes in war plants, despite the government's control over these plants through its granting of contracts and tax exemptions. The situation is even worse in plants operated under direct government jurisdiction,such as Naval Ordnance Plants, and Atomic Energy Commission plants. In Aiken, S.C., the locale of the new hydrogen bomb plant, Negro workers are to be found, "with minor exceptions, in the lowest labor grades" according to the New York Post. At the Oak Ridge atomic energy plant very few Negro workers are employed in skilled jobs. At one of the three towns where workers at the Hanford, Washington Atomic Bomb plant live, Negroes are barred after sundown; another refuses to permit them to buy in stores and a third bars them entirely.

When a war service agency was liquidated in 1946, ten important government departments refused to accept permanent civil service employees from that agency who happened to be Negroes. The protests of the United Public Workers to the White House were ignored. The shameful discrimination against Negro workers in the Bureau of Engraving was brought to public attention by the long struggle of the Negro workers there and the United Public Workers against it. Negro workers were more than half the total number of employees at the Bureau, but received less than one-fourth of the wages. The government officials used the most elaborate trickery to evade civil service regulations and keep Negroes from skilled jobs to which they were entitled. Only after the UPW brought the conditions of the Negroes to the public's attention by leaflets and demonstrations were 17 Negro veterans finally accepted by the Bureau as apprentices to Plate Printers at skilled jobs currently paying $25 a day. Other instances of discrimination are even now being fought by the UPW.

Overseas, the Army representing the U.S.Government acts as the most discriminatory employer. In the Panama Canal Zone Negro workers get one-fifth the wages of whites, and are segregated. From 1946 to 1950 the union raised minimum wages of Negro workers from 12 cents per hour to 30 cents, and gained other improvements. For this the union organizer was jailed by the Government, and the union smashed by the Government by the denial of passports to mainland union officials and the denial of visas to local union officers, among other actions.

The Army openly refused to recruit Jewish workers for construction work in North Africa. The New York branch of the United States Employment Service told the contractors that it must operate in conformity with state laws forbidding discrimination in employment and could not, therefore, screen out Jewish applicants for the jobs. Consequently, the Army general would hire no construction workers from New York, although there were 20,000 unemployed construction workers in that state, and the Army claimed to be in a hurry to get men. (New York Times, Feb. 2, 1952)

The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights exposed some of the conditions of discrimination, and urged, "enactment of a federal Fair Employment Practices Act prohibiting all forms of discrimination in private employment, based on race, color, creed, or national origin." It called for educational machinery and legal sanctions for enforcement purposes, including fines.

But again the situation was one of high-sounding words and no action. Charles E.Wilson, the chairman of the President's Committee, was president of General Electric which has resisted the adoption of Fair Employment Practices. Charles E.Wilson, as Truman's appointee as Mobilization Director, did not combat discrimination rampant on the part of war contractors.

Summary

The alarming fact is that the economic condition of non-whites has steadily worsened since 1944. When Congress killed the existing FEPC set up, it was a come-on to big corporations to engage without restraint in their policy of discrimination, exploitation, divide and conquer.

The cold war and the war economy has curtailed civilian production and has greatly increased unemployment among the non-whites. The defense plants refuse to employ or train this large group of people for the most part. Our country is, therefore confronted with grave economic problems and a severe test of the democratic right to work. Therefore, the Congress of the United States can no longer successfully evade the issue. It must take a position for or against the right to work. The vast wealth of our country is in the hands of the mammoth corporations who deny this right to non-whites and the people must look to the government for help.

We believe we are now where Malcolm Ross, former Chairman of President Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Committee, said in 1945 we would be if we did not strive to maintain fair employment practices.

> "The future of race relations in America depends on a number of great decisions made piecemeal yet adding up to a major choice. Either we must grant equal work opportunities to Negroes and Mexican Americans or we must suppress by force their inevitably increasing demands for equal opportunity."

Senator Russell, a Democrat of Georgia, certainly has declared as his position the maintenance of Negroes and other non-whites as a source of cheap labor. Others in Congress and the government are confronted with the choice of providing the democratic answer or joining hands with Russell and those others who refuse to let Congress and the government act.

In presenting the experiences we have had with some of the vast corporations in this country, we have tried to show who is responsible for discrimination and how they maintain it. Our Union has fought and is fighting diligently to overcome all problems of job discrimination, as we well realize it means extra profits to the corporations while undermining our wage structures and our standard of living.

We have brought to your attention the fact that the Congress of the United States is giving huge sums of money to the big corporations to build plants in the South and Southwest where they hope to find a cheap source of labor while throwing thousands of northern workers into the pool of the unemployed.

Since Congress has seen fit to gratuitously give billions to these big corporations to run-away to the South, certainly it can do no less than, here and now, establish fair employment practices to end wage discrimination and exploitation.

The textile workers are glaring victims of this cheap source of labor business which has as its base the discrimination against Negro people in the South.

The textile companies have laid-off thousands of textile workers in the North and are driving to speedup production, cut wages and destroy working conditions of those who are still working. Their excuse is the need to meet so-called "competition" in the South.

But these same textile companies have been able to keep their Southern textile mills unorganized, or where organized weak and unable to fight back. They split the labor unity of workers by giving whites only jobs in the textile mills, and keeping Negroes, who are a majority in many communities, out of the mills. The employers split the political unity of workers by keeping Negroes disfranchised, and are thus able to control the police power in the communities to prevent organization. Everyone suffers, - the worker in the North, the white and Negro workers in the South, - while the textile companies wax fat.

We predict that in the days ahead, fair employment practices will be one of the great democratic issues of our time. The lines have already been drawn. On the one side stand the people and their economic well-being; on the other, the vast corporations and their spokesmen in government who alone profit from job discrimination.

We have carefully reviewed the record of Congress and the government. The government as an employer, is among the worst offenders. It is our government and we demand a change because all the people, except the greedy, suffer. The political parties, through their representatives in Congress both Democrat and Republican, have

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

not kept faith with the people, or the bills now before this Committee could not have been lying in the hopper for 15 months or more with no serious effort to bring them out.

The UE calls upon this Committee to act at once to bring these bills on the floor of the Senate and to do everything in its power to see that similar action is taken in the House where, shameful though it be, nothing is happening on FEPC. It is our experience and firm conviction that the vast majority of the working people are for fair employment practices as being in their best interest. Continued failure and refusal to act will be further evidence of the cynical disregard of the welfare of the majority of the people.

UE

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450 Riverside Drive

NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

November 28, 1950

Mr. C. B. Baldwin, Secretary
The Progressive Party
150 West 46th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Dear Beanie:

Since lunching with you yesterday, I have been trying to think through further the question of my relations with the Progressive Party. As you know, I have been greatly troubled by the Party's position concerning the Korean crisis which started last summer. On July 30, while in Europe, I sent you a letter, later released to the press, approving some aspects of the Party's statement, but making clear that I deplored "the resort to violence and military aggression on the part of the North Koreans."

As the Far Eastern situation has developed, I have come more and more to regard the original North Korean aggression as one of the most colossal blunders and acts of international immorality of this century. It has stimulated the forces of reaction throughout the West and has set in motion a train of consequences which has brought mankind to the brink of a third world war. In my opinion, it has constituted the most terrible mistake that the Communist left has ever made.

The Progressive Party has been unwilling to condemn the North Koreans for their reckless actions. It could have done this and at the same time have been very critical, as I have myself been, of the U.S.-U.N. counter-actions. But the Party has seen fit once again to criticize only one side, namely the American side, in international affairs. In my judgment the United States, Soviet Russia, Communist China and North Korea are all to be blamed, although not equally, for the present deplorable situation. I should add, however, that I far from agree with the extreme reactions in regard to these issues of Mr. Henry A. Wallace, former leader of the Progressive Party.

I believe that the Progressive Party has made a fatal mistake in its attitude toward the Far Eastern crisis and that there is no chance of persuading it to change its mind at the meeting of the National Committee this coming week-end. Hence, having seen the Marcantonio campaign through with you, I think the time has come for me to withdraw as an officer of this organization. Accordingly, I hereby regretfully resign as Treasurer of the Progressive Party and as a member of its National Committee.

With very best regards to you personally and with constant admiration for your devoted work on behalf of the progressive cause, I am

Sincerely yours,

/signed/ Corliss Lamont

COPY

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

150 West 56th St

NEW YORK,N.Y.

December 11, 1950

TO: National Committee members

FROM: C. B. Baldwin,Secretary

As you have noted from the minutes of the last meeting of the National Committee, the resignation of Mr. Corliss Lamont as Treasurer of the Progressive Party was accepted with regret.

Enclosed is a copy of his letter of resignation.

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY

150 West 46th St.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

December 12, 1950

TO: National Committee members

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

The following is a letter sent to 6 leading farm and labor leaders by Chairman Elmer A. Benson on the Korean situation. The letter was sent to Alan Kline, American Farm Bureau President; Philip Murray, CIO President; James Patton, National Farmers Union President; William Green, President American Federation of Labor; John L. Lewis, President United Mine Workers; and M. W. Thatcher, Manager of Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association.

"Regardless of differences on various issues in the past, it seems to me that the time has come for our leading farm and labor leaders to speak up against our frightful foreign policy that is leading to World War III and that is destroying the social and economic gains farmers and workers have won during the past twenty years. Consequently, I am writing to you and to other farm and labor leaders urging immediate expressions for the cause of peace.

"Specifically, I am suggesting a four point program around which agreement should be possible at this time.

"(1) Demand the recall of General MacArthur as a man with a 19th century imperialist mentality who has no business in the 20th century far east that desires independence and reforms. Let us recall that MacArthus is the man who helped 'solve' the demands of hungry World War I veterans by shooting them down. Furthermore, he can hardly be regarded as an objective observer of Far Eastern social problems because of his relation by marriage to the J. P. Morgan interests and because of his own great holdings in minerals, industries and land in the Philippines. MacArthur was one of the militarists who was considered to play the role of an American Hitler in 1933 by a small American Legion and Wall Street clique opposed to Roosevelt's New Deal until their plot for a putsch was exposed by Marine General Smedley Butler. His recent reckless and provocative actions in Korea prove that his aim is to promote war, not peace. It is indeed a travesty that MacArthur should be heading the soOcalled 'democratic forces' when all his life he has had a record of opposing democracy. Let us retire MacArthur!

"(2) Cease fire and negotiate a peaceful settlement in Korea. Regardless of how the blame might later be assessed as to the cause of the war in Korea, it should be obvious to all that there is nothing to be gained by its continuation except death and destruction and a greater danger of destroying all humanity with atom bombs.

"(3) Demand that Acheson abandon the Ku Klux Klan foreign policy begun by Dixiecrat James Byrnes of arming corrupt, fascist-type governments all over the world. While all decent Americans reject what James Byrnes stands for here at home (reactionary, racial bigotry that holds power in the south through force and violence), let us also reject his 'get tough' policies that have been laid down in foreign affairs. Allied with the Dixiecrats as the chief supporters of the 'get tough' foreign policy are the old pre-war isolationists and appeasers of Hitler and Franco. This alliance of Dixiecrats and Munichmen should be proof in itself of the wicked, reactionary character of the foreign policy we have been following. It is a foreign policy that has not and will not bring peace and democracy to the world, but instead it will bring war and fascist dictatorships wherever it operates.

"Behind the Dixiecrats and Munichmen who have fashioned our evil foreign policy are the big money men who manipulate our economy for their personal gain and power. Just as these Robber Barons despoiled the natural resources of the American continent during the last century, today they have ambitions to keep or gain an economic stranglehold over all the world, threatening a human barbecue with atom bombs if their wishes are not met. But is it in the interest of the common people of America to support the ambitions of the munitions makers and financial moguls, who profit from armament making and who gain power from a reactionary foreign policy? It is not. Are the Wall Street investments of the Far East worth the life of a single American youth? Neither taxes for guns and tanks nor death for our sons to satisfy the materialistic greed of our bankers is the path to human progress.

MORE - - -

"(4) Demand a new foreign policy based on the rights of the people of each nation to determine their own form of government without outside influence and on a policy of world disarmament among all nations. Just as we realize the groundlessness of the smear charges that the New Deal programs are socialistic or communistic, we must also come to understand and cease to fear the reforms instituted by the real socialistic and communist governments abroad, whether we agree with these reforms or not. With better understanding of other governments and societies and with immediate steps toward world disarmament among all nations, it will be possible for the nations to live peaceably together and to achieve new heights of social and moral progress for the human race.

"Time is running short. Let us mobilize our friends and followers to actively speak for a peaceful solution to the present crisis and against the 'get tough' foreign policy of our government involving use of the atom bomb. Let us remember that 'silence is consent' and that therefore blood will be on our hands if the worst comes to pass due to our own silence. Let us realize that the war crowd is the same crowd that is seeking to destroy labor unions, co-ops, our farm programs and civil rights here at home and that they will succeed with their evil domestic program to the extent that they succeed with their evil foreign policy. So along with peace in the world, democracy at home is also at stake. Can any of us be silent?"

The letters were sent out on December 7 and released to the press on the same day from Appleton, Minnesota.

##################

Progressive Party of Philadelphia

1215 WALNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA 7, PENNSYLVANIA

ALICE F. LIVERIGHT, Chairman
HENRY A. BEITSCHER, Director
THELMA DALE, Assoc. Director

KIngsley 5-3713

February 26, 1952

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

I am writing you as co-chairman of Progressive Party and as a member of the National Committee on Nominations with regard to the nominations for Vice-President on our ticket. I have discussed with a number of persons here in Philadelphia the proposal of Shirley Graham DuBois as Vice-Presidential nominee on our ticket. I thoroughly agree that Earl Dickerson would be a splendid candidate, but I do not feel that the field should be limited to him alone. This is our opinion and I speak for a number of active members within our party as well as for a number of persons outside the ranks of PP. (I am not circularizing this letter to them as I had planned, for their signatures, because of the shortness of time.)

I feel that, first, the growing concern of women's organizations, such as the United Council of Church Women and other national and local women's groups, about the participation of women in politics has had a great effect upon the thinking both of women as well as the population generally. It has been reflected in our state by the election on the Democratic ticket of the first woman to ever sit in the City Council of Philadelphia and by the recent slating by the Democratic Party of a woman for a state-wide office. This, it seems to us, is a direct result of the emphasis being placed upon citizenship responsibility on the part of women as well as the earnest desire of the American people for peace which almost traditionally has been in the forefront of women's organizations. With this kind of national development taking place already, it seems to us that it refutes the arguments against a woman candidate for Vice-President.

Now to the question of Shirley. We feel that especially in view of the spendid national tours which she and Dr. DuBois took together last year in the interest of the Doctor's case, she is a splendid peace advocate. Her name in her own right is known throughout America. Surely, the winning of the case is a great tribute to her efforts as well as to the greatness of her husband.

I think a great deal more, of course, could be said about the total situation, but I wanted to have you know the opinions of a great many people here who have discussed this matter. I passed this along via a letter to Louie a few weeks ago, but understand that it never reached either you or George who participated in the recent meetings of the National Nominating Committee. I know you will weigh this matter most carefully....Very best personal regards to you.

Sincerely,

Thelma

Thelma Dale, Assoc. Director

TD:sm
cc/ Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois
Mr. C. B. Baldwin

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C. B. Baldwin

March 25, 1954

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Exclusive Power of Congress to Declare War. (S. Con. Res. 71)

On Monday, March 22, Senator Langer introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 71 which was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Langer's statement on introducing this resolution and the text of the resolution follow:

> "MR. LANGER: Mr. President, last week the Secretary of State, in the course of a speech he made, gave the impression that war could be declared without the consent of Congress. I now submit a concurrent resolution, for which I request appropriate reference, reading as follows:
>
> > 'Resolved by the Senate (The House of Representatives concurring), That the Congress hereby reaffirms its exclusive power to declare war and that pursuant to the Constitution, vesting that power in the Congress, the Armed Forces of the United States shall not be ordered into action against the territory or armed forces of any foreign nation without a prior declaration of war, except to the extent necessary to repel an armed attack against the United States or any of its territories or possessions.'"

You will remember that this is the type of resolution referred to in our 1954 Legislative Program and in our Legislative Bulletin No. 5.

It is of the greatest importance that letters be sent to Senator Langer congratulating him on the introduction of this resolution, and letters to Senator Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and to the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives from your state urging that public hearings be held and favorable action taken by both Houses of Congress. In writing the members of the House of Representatives, they should be urged to introduce this resolution in the House.

MORE - - - - - - - -

Since our National Committee meeting on January 16-17, the policy of "instant retaliation" has become a matter of major concern both in and out of Congress. Many of the most conservative newspapers in the country, including the NEW YORK TIMES, have raised questions concerning the power of the President to embark on military action which might lead to a Third World War. In the March 26 issue, the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT carries the full transcript of Dulles' press conference held on March 16, and Eisenhower's press conference on March 17 dealing with this question. President Eisenhower at an earlier press conference made the following statement in answer to an inquiry from a reporter:

> "I will say this: There is going to be no involvement of America in war unless it is a result of the constitutional process that is placed upon Congress to declare it. Now, let us have that clear, and that is the answer."

Apparently, this statement by President Eisenhower was made without consultation with Secretary Dulles. As a result, Dulles attempted to clarify the position of the Administration and in so doing, contradicted the position the President had taken in the following statement:

> "It is my opinion that the provisions of the treaty, (The North Atlantic Treaty) which state that an attack upon one of the allies is the same as an attack upon all -- or in other words that an attack upon one of our allies is the same as an attack upon the United States -- and that is also, I may say, in the Rio Pact -- that gives the President of the United States the same authority to react as he would have if the United States were attacked."

Mr. Dulles then went on to say, "Whether he would use that authority in every case is a matter for his discretion. In my opinion he has it." Mr. Dulles' position in this matter is contrary to the report made to the Senate at the time the North Atlantic Treaty was approved by that body. The question was raised in this report as to whether the United States would be obligated to react to an attack on Paris or Copenhagen in the same way it would to an attack on New York City. "In such an event," the Senator said, "does the treaty give the President the power to take any action, without Special Congressional authorization, which he could not take in the absence of a treaty? The answer to both questions is, 'No.'"

President Eisenhower, in a press conference on March 17, supported the position which Secretary Dulles had taken the previous day. In other words, the President has repudiated his statement that we would not be involved in a war except by action of congress.

The Langer resolution takes on much greater significance as a result of the statements by Dulles and Eisenhower, and by the developments in the IndoChina war in the past two weeks. It has become increasingly clear that the Eisenhower Administration in stating its policy of "instant retaliation" at times and places of our own choosing feels that it has the power and authority to start military action, including the use of atomic weapons, without the approval of the congress.

MORE - - - - - - - -

In the last few days, the papers have been filled with stories of growing concern by the White House and the State and Defense Departments on the situation in IndoChina. The latest figures released by the Administration indicate that we are now spending over one and a quarter billion dollars on military assistance to the French to prosecute the war in IndoChina. On March 23, both Secretary of State Dulles and Secretary of Defense Wilson indicated that the lid was off and that whatever additional equipment was needed for a victory over the Vietminh would be furnished by this country.

Secretary Wilson said the United States would "like to have more IndoChinese trained on a more intensive basis" and added that the possibility of sending United States military personnel to help actively in training Vietnam troops was under discussion. This, of course, would be in addition to the air force technicians and civilian transport pilots who are now transporting supplies and helping the French maintain operation of the United States planes against the Vietminh forces.

The French at this time are fearful of the reaction of the people of IndoChina and all Asia. They have up to now refused to allow American military personnel to enter the country to train IndoChinese troops.

There is no doubt that if it were not for pressure from the United States that the French would negotiate an immediate cease-fire in IndoChina. On March 23, Prime Minister Nehru of India again pleaded for cease-fire in IndoChina before the Geneva Conference next month. Mr. Nehru said he recognized the difficulty in arranging a cease-fire where no firm line of battle exists but he added that these factors must be considered either now or at Geneva, so why not now? Mr. Nehru went on to say that the IndoChinese war started "before the culmination of the Chinese revolution" and had "nothing to do with China." (N.Y. TIMES, March 24.)

We are faced with the possibility of another Korea in IndoChina. Were it not for the public revulsion to our involvement in Korea, it is not unlikely that we would have had our own ground troops in IndoChina by now. The danger, however, remains as long as fighting goes on in IndoChina. It is urgent that we arouse the public to this danger.

There are two types of action required:

(1) Support for the Langer resolution, Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 71, which means at this stage requests for public hearings, and letters to Senator Langer and to members of both Houses of Congress, urging public hearings on this resolution and its introduction in the House of Representatives.

(2) A demand for immediate cease-fire in IndoChina.

Will you let us know just what is being done to carry out these suggestions?

# # # # # # #

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• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

March 30, 1954

Dear Paul:

I think I told you about the Dinner we are giving to honor John Abt on his 50th Birthday. We can now confirm the date -- Wednesday, April 28, at the Commodore Hotel.

I know that you will want to be present and we of course will want you to speak in tribute to the magnificent job that John has done in the past 20 years in the progressive movement.

I am just dropping you this note in order that you will be sure to keep the date open.

Sincerely,

Jeanne

C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

Peace • Freedom • Security

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SAMUEL SILLEN
PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
GALE SONDERGAARD
CHARLES I. STEWART
PAUL M. SWEEZY
DR. F. W. WEYMOUTH
CHARLES WHITE
HENRY WRIGHT

April 9, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
139 West 125th Street
New York City

Dear Paul:

The New York Council, ASP is planning a peace meeting on Indo China, the H bomb, East-West trade, etc., for early May, in all probability at Carnegie Hall if we are able to obtain outstanding speakers in so short a time. But since the issue is so urgent, we are optimistic attracting a number of these cultural leaders.

Our Executive Board is extremely anxious to have you participate in such a meeting because of your great contributions in fighting for the basic decencies for humanity all over the world.

Other speakers who are being invited include Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Prof. E. Franklin Frazier, Prof. Kirtley Mather, Prof. Harold C. Urey, Arthur Miller, Dr. Melber Phillips, Carey McWilliams, Father Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Dr. J. Raymond Walsh and Waldo Frank.

I learned a few moments ago that Carnegie Hall is available on May 4th and 5th. Of course, if these days are not suitable for our speakers, we will try to find other halls with open dates on days that are - of course, far enough away from the APC meeting not to hurt it in any way.

Will you please have John call me immediately to let me know if you are able to participate in this meeting and whether May 4th or 5th is convenient for you. If they are not, will you please indicate which days are.

Warmly,

Marvel

Marvel Cooke, Director
New York Council, ASP

P.S. I heard from Fredi the other day. She asked me to tell you to drop in to see her anytime you are in Connecticut.

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P.S. We just M this moment received an OK from Father Forbes for May 4 or 5. M.

National Committee

To Win **Amnesty** *For The*

SMITH ACT VICTIMS

667 Madison Avenue • Room 611 • New York 21, N. Y. • TE 2-8620

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Leon Straus

April 28,1954.

Mr. John Gray
139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

We had some difficulty in getting a hall for our June 10th meeting. We were not able to get Palm Garden although it had been promised. We now have Chateau Gardens on East Houston and Second Avenue. It is a good hall, can seat 1400, and is easily accessible.

The manager told us that Mr. Robeson had already appeared in that hall, and had found the piano satisfactory. However, I wanted to check with you to make sure.

We have not yet made up the schedule for the meeting, but I will make sure to send you and Mr. Robeson detailed plans well in advance of June 10th.

I will try to get to the planning meeting for Mr. Robeson's reception if I can manage to beg off from another committee meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Celia L. Zitron

Celia L. Zitron
Executive Secretary

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

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Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Chairman
Elmer A. Benson

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Hugh Bryson
Paul Robeson

Vice-Chairmen
Hugh DeLacy
Rev. Charles A. Hill
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Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 3, 1954

Dear Paul:

Words can scarcely express our deep and sincere appreciation for your magnificent contribution at the John Abt dinner last week. I am sure you have heard from many who were there the same tremendous response which it is difficult even now to put down on paper. The progressive movement of America and our party are indeed fortunate to have your dynamic and splendid leadership at this crucial hour in our history. We are confident the time is not far off when millions will be united to demand and achieve peace, prosperity and full democracy.

Many, many thanks for your continued leadership in our common cause.

All the very best to you,

Barney
C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

Thelma
Thelma Dale
Director of Organization

May 30, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
139 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

The Progressive Party is anxious to make a substantial financial contribution to the campaign for Negro representation in Newark.

You may have heard that in the municipal elections on May 11th, Mr. Irvine Turner ran two to one ahead of the other candidates for the City Council from the Central Ward, where the majority of the Negro people in Newark live. He is involved in a run-off on June 15th, with the second highest candidate, and has an excellent chance of breaking the 70-year old jimcrow in Newark government.

In addition to Mr. Turner, Mr. Harry Hazelwood, a Negro attorney, is involved in the run-offs for City Councilman-at-Large, to be voted upon by the entire city of Newark on the same date. There are likewise possibilities for a very strong vote developing for Mr. Hazelwood. We are trying to do whatever we can to furnish canvassing assistance to both of these campaigns, but we must also help out with money.

Therefore, we are asking if it is possible for you to give a private concert, arranged by the Progressive Party, in a home which we will obtain for it.

We do hope that you will be able to find room in your schedule for such a concert on some Saturday evening toward the latter part of June. June 26th would be a very convenient date for us if you could possibly arrange it. If not, please suggest some other date and we will get to work on it rapidly.

If there is any question about the date, arrangements, or other details of the concert, it would be best to contact Mrs. Anita Vigoda, 44 Van Ness Court, Maplewood, since she is chairman of arrangements. Please advise her of the date, if you can set one. She may be reached afternoons or evenings at SOuth Orange 3 - 0258.

With best regards, I am

Fraternally yours,

Katharine

Katharine A. Van Orden

June 20, 1954

Mr. John Gray
139 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I must apologize for the delay in sending this letter, but we have been very busy with the arrangements for the concert.

The arrangements for Mr. Robeon's concert of next Saturday evening, June 26th, are all completed. The concert will be held at the home of Dr. & Mrs. L. Tushnet, 572 Prospect Street, Maplewood, N.J. A buffet dinner is being served in the basement of their home at 7:30 p.m. and we figure the concert to start at 9 p.m. upstairs in the living room. Should Mr. Robeson wish to rest for a while prior to the concert, there will be a room into which he can retire. We will have someone come into New York that evening to pick up Mr. Robeson and Mr. Booth, and of course to take them back at the end of the evening. I will call you later in the week and we can arrange the time and place.

Unless I hear to the contrary, I am assuming that Mr. Robeson and the others with him will want to eat after the concert. We are arranging this. I also hope, as per our phone conversation, that they will stay around for a while so that they and the other guests may spend some time together just talking and relaxing.

As to the arrangements that I made with you on the phone, I want to advise you again that the piano is a grand and will be tuned on Saturday. It will be necessary for you to send someone with the sound equipment. Should he want to come out earlier in the week to check the placement of the equipment, it would be best to call the Tushnets first to guarantee that someone will be at home. Their telephone number is SOuth Orange 3 - 4313.

The response to the concert is very good. As per our agreement, there will be a minimum of $300.00 as Mr. Robeson's share of the proceeds.

I enclose a copy of the invitation which went out for the affair. It was handwritten on formal notepaper, so that a real feeling of a privately invited affair was given.

If there is any further question about the arrangements, you may reach me at SOuth Orange 3 - 0258, preferably between 5-7 p.m.

Fraternally yours,

Anita R. Vigoda

44 Van Ness Court
Maplewood, N.J.

Dear Friend:

You are invited to a private dinner and concert by Paul Robeson on Saturday, June 26th at 7:30 p.m. at the home of Dr. & Mrs. Leonard Tushnet, 572 Prospect Street, Maplewood, N.J.

The proceeds will go to the Progressive Party and the campaign for Negro representation.

Since we have limited space, will you please notify us immediately if you can come. Phone SO 3 - 0258, or write A. Vigoda, 44 Van Ness Court, Maplewood, N.J.

Sincerely,

Katharine A. Van Orden

$25.00 per couple
No collection

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

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Senora B. Lawson
Alice F. Liveright

Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

October 1, 1954

Dear Paul:

On Saturday, October 9, the Progressive Party of Minnesota is giving a dinner to honor Elmer Benson in Minneapolis. Elmer, as you know, has not been well for several years; in fact, his condition has been such that his doctor has severely limited his activities. This has made it doubly hard for him since we all know that in a period like this, with everything he has stood for threatened, he would be giving every minute of his time to leading the battle against the reactionaries of both the old parties. In spite of his physical condition, he is doing much more than he realizes from his home in Appleton.

Elmer's friends in Minnesota feel that this meeting will demonstrate to him the great love and respect people throughout the country hold for him, and likewise will make a real contribution in the fight for peace and equal opportunity to which Elmer has devoted his life. We know that a message from you to be read at the dinner would contribute to its success and would be greatly appreciated by Elmer.

Since the time is short, I hope you will be able to send such a message immediately. It should be addressed to Mr. Jim Robertson, 1315 Keston Street, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Sincerely,

Beanie

C. B. Baldwin
Secretary

Mr. Elmer Benson St Paul, Minn
Go Mr Jim Robertson
1315 Kestrel St.

Dear Elmer -

Tonight, Ann's would love to wish you and, with those who do you honor.

In these days of stress and continued struggle, the memories of many visits to Minnesota - still give courage and strength.

It is a state which you have helped shape as you ~~have~~ stood in guard for all of ~~the~~ America which is our heritage.

Progressives all over this nation must ever remember; as a present source of strength; ~~that~~ we have made a tremendous contribution in this historic period. Without our efforts American Re-action would be much further

down the Road.

Our Task is still a mighty one - the fight for Peace in the world, and for Full Freedom here at Home. Freedom for all of us, whose fore fathers and mothers were brought - or who came to help build - create this land of our dreams.

No American more deserves the tribute given to you To-night. And this land and many others will ever remember, love and honor you.

All my best to you wonderful family and to all those assembled. It [redacted] is [redacted] ~~a~~ Privilege and great reward to be one of you and to be ever standing by your side. Paul Robeson

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

Chelsea 2-9146

May 5, 1955

TO: State Directors
and
National Committee Members

FROM: C. B. Baldwin
National Secretary

SUBJECT: National Committee Meeting
Held on April 30.

At the meeting of the National Committee held here on Saturday, April 30, a decision was reached to vacate the office which we are now renting at 1133 Broadway not later than May 31, and to transfer the national office to the state headquarters of the American Labor Party at 220 West 80th Street, New York City, which will be rent-free. It was also agreed that the National Secretary and Vi Lonski would be released from full-time duty as of May 31 and that after this, the office would function on a volunteer basis.

Regret was expressed by all members present of the necessity for taking this action but it was apparent that there was no satisfactory alternative. It was made clear that there was no intention of liquidating the Progressive Party, and the National Secretary was asked to urge the state organizations to maintain their activities at the highest possible level. A decision was reached to hold another meeting of the National Committee early in June to plan a program for the immediate months ahead.

I doubt that the decision to move the office and to go on a volunteer basis was unexpected. For some months it has been apparent that drastic steps would be necessary to meet the growing financial problems. This, however, did not make it an easy decision. There are still scores of thousands of people whose political home is the Progressive Party and who must be given not only the opportunity to work, but, to the extent possible, the necessary political facts to work with. This challenge must be met and can be met. For this reason, I want to urge the broadest possible representation at the next National Committee meeting, the date for which will be announced shortly.

During the interim period it is very important that work on the significant political issues be emphasized at every level. Congress is likely to adjourn by August 1st or 15th. Up to this time, it has not approved any really progressive legislation. Although the war clouds have cleared remarkably in the past few weeks, the danger is still there. Much more pressure is needed on both the President and the Congress if we are to have an assured peace.

You will be notified when the June meeting of the National Committee will be held. We earnestly hope you will be present.

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MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS PROGRESSIVE PARTY THE WAR IN INDOCHINA 1954 11/3

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 12, 1954

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Howard K. Smith Broadcast

I am enclosing a radio broadcast by Howard K. Smith, Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff, which was made from Geneva on Sunday, May 2.

This broadcast should be very helpful to you in preparing material, leaflets, radio broadcasts, etc. in connection with the Indo-China situation and the efforts being made to secure a cease fire or armistice in Indo-China.

Mr. Smith broadcasts regularly on the CBS network every Sunday at 12:30 PM, EDT. He is one of the best informed and objective commentators now on the air. It is suggested that you make an effort to listen to his broadcasts, particularly during the Geneva Conference.

# # # # #

CBS RADIO DIVISION

HOWARD K. SMITH

SUNDAY, MAY 2, 1954
12:30 - 12:45 PM

ANNOUNCER: CBS Radio News presents Howard K. Smith and another in the series of news analyses by the Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff. By recording we switch to Geneva and Howard K. Smith.

SMITH: Today completes one of the most eventful weeks in the nine years chronicle of postwar diplomacy. Secretary of State Dulles' foreign policy has been put to its first serious test and has collapsed under the strain. The western alliance has fallen, as a consequence, into the most serious dissension it has ever suffered. For the first time since President Truman grasped the leadership of the west, in the case of Greece in 1947, that leadership has been surrendered. Eden, of Britain, appears to have taken over for Mr. Dulles and with the collaboration of M. Bidault, of France, is doing the negotiating with Molotov and Chou En-Lai here. For the first time since the war at one of these big international conferences the western coalition is in disarray and for the first time the whip hand is clearly Molotov's and he has given signs that he intends to apply it. These tremendous consequences all flow from the battle at Dienbienphu, in Indo-China. It became clear toward the end of last week that that beleaguered strongpoint was near to collapse under the blows of the Indo-Chinese Communist rebel armies. It seemed to the Government of France that the consequences of that defeat would be catastrophic. Eleven thousand of France's elite troops would be lost, a whole army of rebel Indo-Chinese would be released to turn their force against the vital Red River delta where French resistance is already weakening. It would also be a bad blow to the not-too-high morale of the pro-French Indo-Chinese Armies, not to mention the not-too-high morale of the people of France itself. Among the lesser consequences would be certainly the fall of the present French Cabinet.

At that point Dulles and Eden arrived in Paris last week on their way to this conference in Geneva. Exactly what transpired between the three men has not yet been told officially, but here is the story as pieced together from several usually well-informed people. Bidault is said to have asked Dulles for American warplanes manned by American fliers to come in to the aid of Dienbienphu. Dulles is said to have answered that that would be an act of belligerency and the reaction of Congress and the American public, when such an idea was hinted at lately, had indicated that he could not get Congress' agreement. However, Dulles is said to have told Eden if Britain would agree to intervene actively he, Dulles, might be able to use that fact as an argument to get Congress to agree to American intervention, too. Eden was doubtful about it.

Britain's often stated policy was to take no belligerent step until it had been tried at the Geneva conference here to reach a settlement in Indo-China by negotiation. However, Eden flew back from Paris to London last weekend to see what he could see. Prime Minister Churchill called two Cabinet meetings with chiefs of Britain's armed forces present and they discussed the matter. The meetings confirmed the decision to try for a peaceful settlement in Geneva first. Admiral Radford, the head of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff, flew over from Paris to London to try to get Churchill to change his mind, but apparently got nowhere. The British Prime Minister was cheered to Parliament's rafters when he announced on Tuesday that he would not agree to armed intervention before the Geneva conference had had a chance to reach some results.

MORE - - - - - -

Mr. Dulles, meanwhile, had come on from Paris to Geneva an obviously dispirited man. His recent bold talk of a new look in foreign policy, his promise that there would be no more piecemeal wars against the Commmunists such as in Korea and that instead there would be a massive retaliation at places of our own choosing, all echoed very hollow across the months. At its first test the policy had collapsed. Indeed, far from the new look of massive retaliation Congress' reaction to Vice President Nixon's speech a fortnight ago indicated it would not even allow him to fight the old-fashioned, old look way of piecemeal intervention, nor could Mr. Dulles negotiate a way out in Indo-China. The Right-wing of his party in Congress, dominated by Senator Knowland on foreign affairs, has successfully identified the making of any concessions with appeasement. Since you can't negotiate without offering some kind of concessions, you can't negotiate at all. Moreover, United States official policy, unlike that of most nations, considers diplomatic recognition of a country to be equal to moral approval of a country's social system, therefore, we can't recognize Red China. Far from negotiating, thus, Mr. Dulles could not even make contact with the opponent. Unable, thus, to fight or to negotiate, completely paralyzed for purposes of diplomacy, the American Secretary of State has spent here at the conference a rather useless and frustrating week. Eden and Bidault, of necessity, have taken over the job of conferring at the conference. Mr. Dulles tomorrow will do just about the only thing left for him to do -- leave the conference and return to Washington.

This unhappy situation has given rise to some ill feeling and mutual recrimination within our alliance, as said earlier. French diplomats express pretty openly irritation at the fact that Dulles' forceful talk of recent weeks gave them every reason to expect they could get help from him when they needed it badly.

When in their extremity they applied to him for it he had no comfort to offer. British diplomats here are rather more irritated at the way the State Department is said to have allowed the crisis to be presented to the American public. The impression was given apparently that the United States was prepared to act, but that Britain dragged her heels and held us back. In fact, the British say Mr. Dulles did not offer to take action. He asked Britain to do so without any assurance that America would follow, which is asking a mouthful. Unlike the Secretary of State, British sources say, Eden has never been equivocal about the possibility of becoming a belligerent in Indo-China. From the start the Foreign Office has made it clear that its policy is not to intervene but to give the Geneva conference every chance of achieving a negotiated settlement.

The French are irritated with both their big Allies for offering a great deal of advice but no soldiers when they were needed. The two English-speaking Allies are irritated with the French for making the crisis hinge on so foolish a suggestion as our sending warplanes to Dienbienphu. That act would be an act of belligerence, by us. That would be a justification for China to move her troops in, and there are millions; before the Western powers could then summon ground troops Indo-China would certainly have been conquered by the Chinese. In other words, Bidault's proposal would almost surely have hastened, rather than prevented, France's defeat. This, unfortunately, does not end the list of frictions with our Allies. Perhaps the chief one that may affect the rest of the conference from now on is the fact that Britain, with French acquiescence, is now striving to negotiate a truce in Indo-China on the basis of a partition

MORE - - - -

of that country between the Reds and non-Reds. The Americans here are tending to distance themselves from the idea and to say rather unpleasant words about it like "appeasement" and "another Munich." Our two Allies consider such remarks to be unkind cuts. If the American Administration won't fight and won't negotiate, France is going to suffer a very bad defeat in Indo-China before long. It, therefore, becomes the part of wisdom...indeed, it becomes a necessity... for somebody to try to save something, which Britain and France are now striving to do. Far from appeasing the Communists, it is argued, partition of Indo-China would give the Allies a line on which to halt the Communist tide. At present the Indo-China war is all over the State of Viet Nam, uncontrollable as wildfire. If the country could be split at its wasp waist the Allies would at last have a place to build and to guarantee a line of defense on. Drawing such a line would present one danger. That's the danger that one side would be guaranteed by white Western powers entirely and the other by the Asiatics. To avoid an Asia-versus-west split, Eden is trying to get the free nations of southern Asia, - India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia, to guarantee the line along with the Western powers. He has kept in constant communication with India from here with that in view. The U.S. delegates, on the other hand, have, due to our anger at Nehru, expressed opposition to having those nations here and have made it clear we will oppose their presence. This, the British feel is not merely bad diplomacy, it's bad propaganda. Molotov in a speech here the other day expressed the wish to have those nations present and in every way seem to be striving to appear to be the champion of free Asia while the U.S. resists and opposes them. The British believe that their plan, opposed by us, would steal some of Molotov's thunder and they can't understand why we oppose it.

President Eisenhower, in his news conference on Thursday, did something to set the record right, it's felt here. He denied reports that the United States was kept from taking action in Indo-China by Britain's refusal to join in. He said that the U.S. decision not to become a belligerent in Indo-China was taken on other grounds and was in no way influenced by Britain. The President also said that he favored the creation here of some kind of modus vivendi in Indo-China between the Communists and non-Communists, which is pretty close to the British line of policy.

These presidential statements have eased the irritation of our Allies, as said, but they have added to the confusion about what American policy is for they conflict with the impressions that high American diplomats had been giving, the main impression, that is, that Mr. Dulles is opposed to negotiation of a modus vivendi. Reporters' repeated requests to American officials here for clarification of these issues have simply been answered "no comment" and the impression has been created that there are unresolved differences even within the United States Administration as to what our policy should be at this important juncture. It's an unhappy generalization to make, but after being present at almost all the big diplomatic conferences since World War II ended I'm forced to say that never in that nine years period has United States policy defaulted so badly as it has here or indicated such chaos and confusion among the makers of that policy. The situation permits Mr. Molotov to realize Russia's dearest postwar dream. He finds the Western alliance thrown into confusion and serious dissension for the first time.

MORE - - - - -

If blame for this weak situation has to be allotted, the original sin, no doubt, has to be imputed to France. At the end of World War II it was clear to all with eyes to see that colonialism in Asia was dead. Britain, and, a good deal later, Holland granted independence to a host of possessions in southern Asia and thereby prevent national uprisings and wars that the Reds might have been able to exploit. Had France done that in Indo-China there would have been no war there. If at any time in the first six years of that war France had granted Indo-China that degree of independence she is willing to give under duress today the war might have been halted. For that, the leaders of France cannot shed their blame. But the way U.S. Policy collapsed in the face of the emergency this week remains our own responsibility. It's time to face the fact that the American public's thinking on Asia since the war has been nourished on a series of myths. There's the myth that a half-a-dozen men in the State Department caused the Chinese Communist revolution. Diplomats are, therefore, not men to be trusted. There's the myth that areas of Europe were given to the Communists at the Yalta conference, therefore, negotiation at a conference equals appeasement and should not be indulged in.

There's the myth that empty figures like Chiang Kai-shek are great popular leaders in Asia and should be allied with us while we must shun genuinely popular Asian leaders like Nehru because he won't do what we tell him to. These myths are made the stuff of U.S. policy while intimidating, purging, and dishonoring State Department Officials who might have uttered an independent or questioning thought. One of our political parties created these myths to discredit the other. It now finds itself in power and the victim of its own unrealities, thus, Mr. Dulles, who is really as brilliant and able a man as ever directed the State Department, is not permitted to come here to conference and negotiate nor is he trusted to create any other realistic policy so he has to make up for it by creating one of words and bluff. When any theory created out of the stuff that dreams are made of clashes with reality it collapses. That is what happened to Mr. Dulles' policy here this week.

The Secretary of State among his other qualities is a great maker of phrases. One of his phrases in particular rings apt at this juncture -- the time is certainly ripe for an agonizing reappraisal of the foundations of our foreign policy.

I return you now to CBS Radio in New York.

ANNOUNCER: You have been listening to the Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff in a recorded broadcast from Geneva. Howard K. Smith is heard each week at this time.

This is the CBS RADIO NETWORK.

Ed. Trans. - A.A. Cardiff

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To be issued as Press release

As I write these lines, the eyes of the world are on a country inhabited by 23 million brown-skinned people--a population one and a half times the number of Negroes in the U.S. In size that country is equal to the combined areas of Mississippi, South Carolina and Alabama. It's a fertile land, rich in minerals; but all the wealth is taken away by the foreign rulers, and the people are poor.

I'm talking about Vietnam, and it seems to me that we Negroes ought to understand better than any other Americans what's going on over there. Only recently, during Negro History Week, we recalled the heroic exploits of Toussaint L'Ouverture who led the people of Haiti in a victorious rebellion against the French Empire.

Well, at the same time that the French were fighting to keep their hold on the black slaves of Haiti, they were sending an army around to the other side of the world to impose colonial slavery on the people of Indochina. And ever since then the Indochinese have been struggling to be free from French domination.

"My children, France comes to make us slaves. God gave us liberty; France has no right to take it away. Burn the cities, destroy the harvests, tear up the roads with cannon, poison the wells, show the white man the hell he comes to make!"

Those fiery words, addressed to his people by Toussaint L'Ouverture when Napoleon sent General Le Clerc with an army of 30,000 men to re-enslave Haiti, are echoed today by Ho Chi Minh who is the Toussaint of Vietnam. Yes, a French general named Le Clerc was also sent against Ho Chi Minh, but like the blacks

of Haiti, the plantation workers of Indochina have proved unconquerable.

In 1946 France was forced to recognize the Republic of Vietnam, headed by Ho Chi Minh; but like the double-crossing Napoleon in the time of Toussaint, the French colonial masters returned with greater force to re-enslave the people who had liberated themselves. The common people of France have come to hate this hopeless struggle; they call it "the dirty war"; and their rulers have not dared to draft Frenchmen for military service there.

"Who are the Vietminh?" said a French officer to a reporter from the Associated Press. "Where are they? Who knows? They are everywhere." And the reporter wrote:

"Ho Chi Minh's barefoot hordes infiltrate French-held territory at will in the guise of peasants, arms concealed under brown tunics. They have allies who hide them and feed them--allies who are not Communists but just people who hate the French, hate the foreigner and want him to go."

Now, when France wants to call it quits, Eisenhower, Nixon and Dulles are insisting that Vietnam must be re-conquered and held in colonial chains. "The Vietnamese lack the ability to govern themselves," says Vice-president Nixon.

Vast quantities of U.S. bombers, tanks and guns have been sent against Ho Chi Minh and his freedom-fighters; and now we are told that soon it may be "advisable" to send American GI's into Indochina in order that the tin, rubber and tungsten of southeast Asia be kept by the "free world"--meaning White Imperialism.

The whole world cries out for peace; but Dulles insists that the war must go on and threatens Asians again with atomic and hydrogen bombs.

That's the picture, and I ask: Shall Negro sharecroppers from Mississippi be sent to shoot down brown-skinned peasants in Vietnam to serve the interests of those who oppose Negro liberation at home and colonial freedom abroad?

What are our Negro leaders saying about this? They are shamefully silent.

Walter White knows the true issues involved, for only recently The Crisis, official organ of the NAACP, published an article filled with factual proof that the Vietnamese are fighting against colonial oppression. Mr. White knows that the charge of "Red agression" in Indochina is a phoney, and that the sympathies of our people belong with the side resisting imperialism--but why doesn't he say so?

Three years ago Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University, said that "For over 100 years the French have been in Indochina, dominating them politically, strangling them economically, and humiliating them in the land of their fathers...And now it looks as though they can win, and as they are about to win their liberty, we rush up and say...'What on earth are you all getting ready to do?...We are the free people of the world, we are your friends, we will send you leaders...

"And they look at us in amazement and they say, 'Brother, where have you been? Why if we'd known you was a-comin' we'd have baked a cake.'"

Today more than ever is the time for plain speaking.

Peace can be won if we demand it. The imperialists can be halted in their tracks. And as we think about the modern-day

Toussaint L'Ouverture leading his people to freedom, let us remember well the warning words of the Negro spokesman, Charles Baylor, who wrote in the Richmond Planet a half-century ago:

"The American Negro cannot become the ally of Imperialism without enslaving his own race."

Let Kids Grow Up!

WRITE PRES. EISENHOWER TODAY
FOR WORLD BAN OF H-BOMBS!

TALKING IS BETTER THAN DYING!

Write Pres. Eisenhower
—Keep Peace Talks Going!

BAN THE H-BOMB!

WRITE PRES. EISENHOWER TODAY!

TRUCE NOT TROOPS To INDO-CHINA!

WRITE YOUR
CONGRESSMAN
TODAY!

LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN
NO. 6

Progressive Party
1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

May 28, 1954

****

THE INDO-CHINA CRISIS

THE SITUATION AT HOME

This is an urgent appeal to all Progressive Party forces to step up the campaign for a peaceful settlement of the Indo-China war at Geneva. The danger of complete involvement in the Indo-China war is still very great -- in spite of the overwhelming opposition of the American people. Some of the state organizations have done a very good job in getting letters to the President, to members of Congress, and newspaper editors, but full energies are still not being put into this most important fight. The Progressive Party can be very effective, as attested to by letters received by Henry Beitscher, Director of the Progressive Party in Philadelphia, from Pennsylvania Members of Congress. Mr. Beitscher, on behalf of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania, wrote to the Pennsylvania Congressmen urging a peaceful settlement on Indo-China and opposing further intervention. The following letter was received from Congressman Hugh Scott, former Chairman of the Republican National Committee, which indicates the great importance of full participation by the Progressive Party in ending this threat of war:

> "Dear Mr. Beitscher:
>
> "I would appreciate it if you would advise your membership, including the 80 members whose cards you sent me, that I do not favor the use of American troops in Indo China. I am of the opinion that, in any event and under any circumstances, any proposal for collective security in that area would have to begin with a request from the representative government or governments of Indo China rather than from the government of France.
>
> Sincerely,
>
> Hugh Scott"

After receiving the letter from Congressman Scott, Mr. Beitscher sent copies of it to all other Philadelphia congressmen. He has just received a reply from Congressman James A. Byrne (Dem.) which is quoted below:

MORE - - - - - - -

"Dear Mr. Beitscher:

"With reference to your letter of recent date, I am pleased to send you my views on the situation in Indo-China.

"It is my sincere belief that we should not send our boys to Indo-China because among other reasons I do not wish to see the policy of colonialism furthered in any part of the world. You may be assured of my fullest cooperation in this matter.

"With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

James A. Byrne"

Visits to many members of congress in the course of the last three months indicate there are very few congressmen who support United States intervention in Indo-China. However, with few exceptions, they are not speaking out, and neither is the Republican nor the Democratic leadership. We have a situation where admittedly the vast majority of the American people are opposed to our further involvement in Indo-China, along with very important segments of the press, but at the same time, the Eisenhower Administration under Secretary of State Dulles' leadership is continuing its efforts to involve this country in war. This is a fight that can and must be won. It will be won if the intense opposition now existing to the Dulles policy in the Far East is made articulate. There are other issues which must not be neglected but this issue must receive the greatest emphasis at this time.

On May 16, a Gallup Poll was released in which the following question was asked:

"The United States is now sending war materials to help the French fight the Communists in Indo-China. Would you approve or disapprove of sending U.S. soldiers to take part in the fighting there?

	TODAY	SEPT. 1953
Approve	22%	8%
Disapprove	68	85
No opinion	10	7 "

On May 19, the results of another poll were released, the question being:

"What do you think America would gain by getting into a fighting war in Indo-China?

Nothing	48%
No gain, only lead to WW III	7
No gain, only lead to bigger debt, ill will	3
Stop Communism from taking over, spreading	18
Must keep our allies, future security of U.S.	6
Bring about peace in Asia	3
Maintain U.S. prestige, respect of other nations	3
Other answers	6
Don't know	12 "

MORE - - - - - -

In David Lawrence's column in the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE of May 27, the following statements appear:

> "Geneva, May 26. What is the true significance of this conference? There is something here that vitally concerns every man, woman and child in America and in every other country as well.
>
> "For top men of the East and the West have sat down together here to talk intimately about the biggest issue in the world today -- whether there is to be another world war and what might bring it about.
>
> * * *
>
> "It is to prevent such a 'miscalculation or mistake' (note: reference to a speech by Field Marshall Montgomery of Great Britain, who said that a third world war could start by miscalculation or mistake) that the principals in the Geneva conference are talking to each other privately, earnestly, and with a cordiality and frankness which thus far afford the only basis for a hope that a third world war can be prevented."

These are very significant statements coming from Mr. Lawrence, who in Geneva has been beating the war drums hard and loud. It is of great significance that Secretary Dulles remains on this side of the Atlantic personally boycotting this conference while Foreign Ministers Eden, Bidault, Molotov, Chou En-Lai, and the representatives of the Vietminh and Vietman seek a peaceful settlement of the war in Indo-China. The reason, however, for Mr. Dulles' absence from Geneva is obvious. He is here seeking to unite the divided councils of the Republican Party and to use all of the great powers of the Eisenhower Administration to change American public sentiment. In other words, while the conference in Geneva seeks peace, Mr. Dulles seeks from across the waters to disrupt the Geneva Conference and prevent any peaceful settlement.

James Reston in the NEW YORK TIMES of May 26 says the following:

> "Washington, May 25 - The Indochina military situation is slipping faster than was expected and is now confronting the United States Government with the choice of an armistice or military intervention.
>
> "Secretary of State Dulles said at a news conference the prospect of moral sanction by the United Nations for military intervention by the United States and others in Indochina had improved.
>
> * * *
>
> "The United States Government is clearly split on the advisability of military intervention, but there is general agreement that the split in Washington, like the split in the coalition, will end if the only alternative to a compromise armistice is something that amounts to unconditional surrender.
>
> "It is generally agreed here that Congress, which is now opposed to intervention, even limited intervention with air and naval power, would back the President on a fight or surrender proposition."

MORE - - - - - -

Mr. Dulles' efforts are at least meeting with some success in the Big Business community. In the McGraw-Hill publication, BUSINESS WEEK, of May 22, the following appears:

> "Would Congress O.K. U.S. intervention? Odds are that it would approve. The form, however, would have a great deal to do with the vote. Today there would be extreme reluctance to vote a declaration of war. But there's little or no thought of that, for it would mean the U.S. going it alone. The more likely strategy: Southeast Asia pact, which Congress would O.K. The terms of the pact would leave the President free to do whatever he finds necessary to support this agreement. That way, Congress would not be called on to vote directly on a war issue."

The above statement clearly indicates, as have other statements in the press, that Secretary Dulles has not given up on the proposal under discussion with congressional leaders to get a carte blanche authorization from the Congress for any action the Eisenhower Administration may decide to take in Indo-China. It is a Macchiavelian scheme to make it possible for President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles to ease us into war without, as BUSINESS WEEK puts it, Congress voicing a direct vote on a war issue. This might come in the form of Dulles Southeastern Pact or it may even be attempted without the existence of such a pact. At the present time, it is highly doubtful that Congress would approve any such action. The pressure from the Big Business-Eisenhower coalition may make it possible. We should not forget that just prior to the fall of Dien Bien Phu, Secretary Dulles, with President Eisenhower's support, was ready to use our navy and air force in Indo-China without the consent of Congress. The plan was only dropped because of the emphatic opposition of the British.

In U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORTS of May 22, the following appears:

> "Arms build-up, quite probably, will now be forced. Arms cuts at least will be slowed or ended. Another course can be dangerous for the nation.
>
> "Cutback in arms is the main cause of the present recession. If the arms cutback is slowed or reversed, business will be affected.
>
> * * *
>
> "Active inflation -- rising prices, a running for goods -- is not to come back short of big new war. There's too much slack in the economy. Steel is 30 percent below capacity output now. Autos can take on huge new orders without getting too busy. Raw materials are superabundant. Labor remains very plentiful. There is plenty of room for more arms output. U.S., pushed back more on its own, will go in both for more butter and for more guns as well. There'll be the dual goal of higher living standards along with adequate defenses in what, for U.S., is a more dangerous world."

MORE - - - - -

"Tax cutting, however, now talked of for 1955, may not be so easy to carry out. New cuts in taxes, in plans, are to be related to new cuts in the level of armament. If arms cutting is checked, tax cutting may be too."

This is a clear indication that appeals are being made to Big Business to increase our expenditures for armaments in order to provide still greater profits. It is now and has always been a powerful incentive to war.

THE SITUATION IN GENEVA

In a broadcast made on May 2 from Geneva, Howard K. Smith, Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff, opens with the following statement:

"Today completes one of the most eventful weeks in the nine years chronicle of postwar diplomacy. Secretary of State Dulles' foreign policy has been put to its first serious test and has collapsed under the strain."

He concludes with this:

"The Secretary of State among his other qualities is a great maker of phrases."

On May 23, David Schonbrunn, reporting for Howard K. Smith, who was on vacation, said the following:

PARAPHRASED:

"The West is losing the struggle for IndoChina...This struggle is being lost in four places at once, in the stealing rice fields of IndoChina, on the banks of the Thames in London, on the banks of the Seine in Paris, and on the banks of the Potomac in Washington. It can be said of this struggle: rarely have so many blunders been made in so many places at the same time. For weeks the people of Viet Nam have watched their armies being beaten, their allies the Americans wavering, the members of their government with their families leaving the country, their emperor sunning himself on the Riviera. The British have seen their closest allies, France and the United States, making important plans without consulting Britain. The time has come for the blunt truth.

"There hasn't been such a black picture in the west since the collapse of the British in Greece. The Atlantic Alliance itself, the global defense of the free world, hangs in the balance.

"In Geneva, after 4 weeks of conference, the results are discouraging. The conference began with a sense of defeatism in the west. At the Conference, Molotov only puts on his ear phones when Chou En-Lai speaks. It is believed that Russia is by no means the Master of China, that Molotov is not calling all the signals. That Molotov fears Chou may overreach himself. China must be accepted as a dominant factor, the dominant factor in Asia. Yet the Americans cannot

MORE - - - - -

for internal reasons, face this fact. Dulles boasted to reporters that he spent a whole week in the same room with Chou En-Lai and did not once recognize him and added that the only way they would meet was if their automobiles collided. * * * *

"And in Viet Nam, young men flee to the jungle rather than join an army under their commanders who have no control over that army. How can young men be expected to rush into an army to fight for independence, when the army itself is not independent? And when the French do not even promise independence? How can a people be expected to mobilize for freedom, democracy, and independence, when none of these things exists nor are promised?

"It is difficult to grant independence to Viet Nam. Independence for whom? Independence to an Emperor on the Riviera, and to a group of selfish men more interested in lining their pockets, than in the people? Or independence for the people?

"How can an absentee Government and a playboy Emperor meet the challenge of Ho Chih Minh?

The NEW YORK TIMES on May 26 carried a story by Tillman Durdin from Geneva in which the following was said:

"Geneva, May 25 - A simultaneous cease-fire everywhere in Indochina and withdrawal of the opposing forces into large zones was proposed here today by the chief Vietminh delegate. In a speech at today's closed session of the Far Eastern conference, Pham Van Dong, Vietminh Vice Premier and Foreign Minister, called for a cessation of hostilities 'at the earliest possible date' over the whole territory of Indochina. * * * *

"The Vietminh delegate also agreed in principle to a plan put forward during this afternoon's session by Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, calling for officers of the two Indochina high commands to come to Geneva to assist in arranging a cease-fire and regrouping of forces."

Other statements coming from Geneva have indicated significant agreement in principle between the Vietman and Vietminh and the other conferees for a cease-fire. All of the developments in Geneva indicate that an agreement could be arrived at which would bring peace to Indo-China were it not for the opposition and disruptive tactics of the Eisenhower-Dulles Administration.

It is stated above that neither the Republican nor Democratic leadership is speaking up boldly for peace. However, a number of Senators and Members of the House have spoken out. The most significant speech made at this session of Congress was that by Senator Ed. C. Johnson, a conservative Democrat of Colorado, on April 26. Below are excerpts from this speech. Additional ones may be secured by writing to Senator Johnson in Washington.

"This present crusade to send troops to Indo-China, with its uncalculated cost for an uncalculated result, is the most foolhardy venture in all American history. It is my guess that it would mean at the very minimum 500,000 American casualties and a very minimum of 100 billion dollars of borrowed money.

MORE - - - -

"Five hundred thousand American casualties is a staggering contribution to ask American mothers to make for an uncalculated risk. That fact alone should sober our responsible leaders. But one hundred billion dollars of additional borrowed money means for America a 25¢ dollar instead of our present 50¢ dollar, and an economy so weak that it can no longer give leadership to a distraught world or resist communism at home and abroad. * * *

"If the American people realized the nearness of war in Indo-China, they would rise up as one man and stop it. America is practically unanimous against sending soldiers or sailors or bombers to this war in the jungles. * * *

"Edward R. Murrow says Senator McCarthy thinks that every critic is a communist. In world affairs, our diplomats seem also to be making that basic McCarthy error. * * *

"Yet what are we doing about it? Are we finding France a way to get off the hook? Are we helping them to save face and withdraw with honor? Or are we giving them false encouragement in the form of greater and greater and greater military commitments? Last week the Secretary of State sent out an appeal to the nations of the Pacific, then went on a barnstorming tour of France and England, in a grandiose scheme to rally forces to a course of collective action in Indo-China. What was the result? You know it too well. Not only did the Philippines, and India and Japan all vote it down unreservedly, but England and France herself sent the Secretary of State home in such terms as to leave no doubt that they wanted no part in his plan.

"Why would they not rally with us in a war to stop Communist aggression? Simply, because they know that Indo-China is not a war of communist aggression. They know that the forces opposing France's colonial rule in Indo-China are just. They know that if these forces are getting help from Communist China, it is because the true friends of freedom in the West have forsaken them. They know, too, that if Communist China is selling equipment to the Viet Minh, the Viet Minh are being made to pay and pay dearly in rice and coal and minerals for every bit of aid they are getting. And they know, also, because we have never attempted to hide it, that the United States has committed more than a billion dollars in equipment, and now seems ready to commit even more, to help France -- all of which from their point of view might well justify China helping her southern Asiatic neighbor with traffic in arms and munitions.

"Suppose, for example, Mexico were conquered and held by an Asiatic power. Suppose the people of Mexico rose up and struck down their oppressor. Then suppose an even stronger Asiatic power intervened to support the status quo. What would our position be? What would we do? Would we not feel obligated in the name of freedom to give our Mexican neighbor revolutionists all aid and comfort? And if that other Asiatic power embarked troops in Mexico would we not also feel justified in sending our forces to drive them out?

"Whether every one of the 24,000,000 people of Viet Nam be a communist or whether none of them are, is not the question. And if all of them are, what is to be accomplished by sending ten American divisions there to make them live as we want them to? The only way to combat an idea is with a better idea. Now, what better idea is being advanced by our sending tanks and bombers to slaughter the people of Indo-China? What is being gained by having thousands of our young men take their places beside the young men of France and Viet Nam in graves along the jungle trail? Have we so completely lost our perspective, have we so completely abandoned the principles of freedom, have we so willingly denied the legitimacy of our own birthright, that we demand this war? What kind of people have we become? * * *

"But if we mean to recover what this stupid course of action has lost, if we mean to restore America to the place it has held for nearly 180 years in the minds and hearts of men, let us demand peace with honor, now, for France in Indo China before it is too late. The negotiations beginning today in Geneva give us one last chance."

MORE - - - -

ACTIONS PROPOSED

The Progressive Party agrees with Senator Johnson when he says: "If the American people realized the nearness of war in Indo-China, they would rise up as one man and stop it. America is practically unanimous against sending soldiers or sailors or bombers to this war in the jungles." Every means must be utilized to see to it that President Eisenhower and all Members of Congress feel the total impact of American public opinion against the war in Indo-China and make the demand so strong that the Eisenhower Administration will reappraise its entire foreign policy, particularly with regard to Southeast Asia, and lend the great weight of our government toward a peaceful settlement.

The following should be done:

(1) Letters should go to every Senator and Member of the House of Representatives from each congressional district from the Progressive Party and all individuals and organizations that can be reached, insisting that Congress take no action in authorizing further intervention in Indo-China and that the President not use any of our military forces in any way in this country. Chain letters can be most effective in reaching an ever-increasing number of people on this issue.

(2) All candidates for Senate and Congress should be asked to make public their views on the Indo-China situation and urged to take a stand for peace and against intervention by the United States.

(3) Governors, members of state legislatures, mayors, city councils, should be asked to express themselves publicly for peace and non-involvement in Indo-China.

(4) Letters should be written to editors of all newspapers, particularly by individuals, in opposition to our present course on Indo-China.

(5) Radio time should be requested by the Progressive Party and other organizations that can be reached on this issue. The PP membership should be alerted to listen particularly to the reactionary warmongering radio commentators and to protest their war propaganda by phone calls and letters to the stations.

(6) Special effort should be made to reach ministers and important lay leaders of all the churches.

* *

We almost always close these Bulletins with a request that the state organizations inform us what steps are being taken to carry out these suggestions. In the past such requests have been largely ignored. Because of the great importance of this campaign to the country and to the Progressive Party, we hope that this time each state organization will write us as soon as plans have been made and tell us how they will be executed. We recognize that in a number of the states the Progressive Party forces are limited, but the nature of this fight makes possible for small groups and individuals to make their voices heard. Please let us hear from you.

* *

# # # # # # # #

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS PROGRESSIVE PARTY PRINTED MATTER 1950-54 11/4

To: VIOLA GIOVANNINI
Room 102, 724 Fourth Ave. S.
Minneapolis 15, Minn.
Ge. 8695 — Ne. 1079

Enclosed is my check for $_____ to cover _____ reservation(s)
at $2.50 per plate.

Signed_____

Address_____

Phone_____

You are cordially invited

to attend

A TESTIMONIAL DINNER

for the

Honorable ELMER A. BENSON

Saturday, October 9, 1954

Andrews Hotel — Brunswick Room

Dinner at 6:30 p.m.

$2.50 per plate

Guest Speaker: FRED STOVER
President, Iowa Farmers' Union

Minnesota Progressive Party

Reservations requested by Thursday, October 7
For reservation card, see back page

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Treasurer
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. . .

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 26, 1954

Dear Executive Committee Member:

There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee at the national office -- 1133 Broadway -- on Thursday, June 10, from 2:00 PM to 5:30 PM.

There are a number of important primaries which will be held during the summer months in which our participation must be increased. Congress will undoubtedly adjourn on or about July 31, and as we have indicated before, the elections this fall will to a large degree be influenced by the record of the present Congress. I will not in this letter list all of the vicious proposals now before the Congress, but the most repressive legislation effecting civil liberties has been introduced with the strong support of the Eisenhower Administration. If a real job is done by Progressives, it is possible to prevent the passage of these bills.

There is also a grave danger that the Eisenhower Administration will seek the approval of Congress for further intervention in Indo-China, which today remains the main threat to world peace.

In addition to having a full discussion of the legislative program, we must direct our attention to the magnificent victory that has just been won in the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in our public school system and the subsequent decisions on public housing and other public facilities. These decisions should set in action an unprecedented campaign to end discrimination and segregation in all its forms.

A change in political atmosphere gives us a great opportunity to build and strengthen our organization in the coming months and to make our contribution in the 1954 elections.

We hope you will return the enclosed card immediately, indicating that you will be able to come.

Sincerely yours,

C.B. Baldwin
Secretary

Peace • Freedom • Security

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PROGRESSIVE PARTY
John J. Abt Birthday Dinner

Commodore Hotel
New York City
April 28, 1954

ADDRESS BY JOHN J. ABT

Thank you, dear friends. Thank you for a lovely birthday party.

Like all of you here, I guess, I count myself something of an expert on dinners. In my time I have dreamed up dinners; helped to organize dinners; spoken at dinners; sat at more dinners than I care to remember; enjoyed many dinners and been bored at some. I think I may have slept through a few. But I'd be less than frank with you tonight, dear friends, if I didn't say that this, to my way of thinking, is far and away the nicest dinner I have ever attended. It was superbly organized. The company is beautiful. I enjoyed every word of the speeches. I even thought the chicken was tasty. And I had hoped that if I didn't speak too long, and I don't think I will, that we might all get out of here at a decent hour. I'm afraid it's already too late for that. Forgive me.

Anybody who has heard Dr. DuBois on the subject knows that a 50th birthday dinner is not a very special occasion. Yet, it is quite a unique experience for me. It is unique in another way too. Nobody has told me what to do here tonight. This is the first dinner I have ever spoken at where I haven't been told what was expected of me. In the last few days, I have sniffed around wistfully at the edges of this dinner trying to find out what I was supposed to do. But Vi and Beanie and Thelma were all so busy about it, and so secretive, that I have never found out. So I don't know, at least I've never been told, exactly what I am to talk about tonight.

In listening to the speeches, it seemed to me that the political front was pretty well covered. There isn't much that I can add.

So I thought maybe I could exercise my prerogative on this occasion by talking a little bit about myself. I do so particularly because all of the speakers on this dais, although they are my oldest and closest and dearest friends and co-workers, don't quite seem to know what it is that makes me tick. They talked about courage and self-sacrifice. Well, surely, there are courageous and self-sacrificing people in this progressive movement of ours. But I just don't happen to be one of them. Those exalted and heroic virtues aren't mine.

Whatever I am, whatever I have done, has been motivated by a much more common virtue. It is the virtue that makes any ordinary Joe tick -- his own self-interest. And although perhaps that isn't a special kind of motive or virtue, it seems to me that it is a pretty solid base to build on. It is really the only base we have to build on. So perhaps you will permit me to spend just a few moments reminiscing, to try to tell you what I mean by my own self-interest.

I came to maturity, like so many of you here tonight, in the early 20's in the days of cynicism and disillusionment that followed World War I. They used to call us the Lost Generation in those days, and we took a kind of melancholy delight in thinking of ourselves as the Lost Generation. Mencken was our hero. We believed with Mencken that politics was a very dirty kind of business that you just didn't mess around with. We believed with him, too, that the human race couldn't be saved, and indeed that it was questionable whether the human race was worth saving. But despite that cynicism and disillusionment, all of us asked ourselves a question: How can we as human beings fulfill ourselves? How can we find a way to function to live? For you can only live by functioning.

I used to say that the only socially useful profession was that of medicine. Because doctors could at least alleviate human pain and suffering, and that that was just about all man could expect in this vale of tears.

But I didn't become a doctor. I became a lawyer. Not because it seemed to me that a lawyer could perform a useful social function, but because I thought that a man ought to learn a skill. Even if it was not a socially useful skill, I thought that he could at least realize himself through the perfection of his craftsmanship.

MORE - - - - - - - -

So I went to law school. After I came out of law school I guess I wasn't too bad a craftsman. But I spent the three years from 1926 to 1929 floating corporate bond issues and the 4 years from 1929 to 1933 foreclosing corporate bond issues. And I couldn't see how I was realizing myself as a human being by doing those jobs.

Although the depression spared me personally, it opened my eyes as it opened so many other eyes. It opened my eyes to the fact that if I couldn't function usefully in this society it was because this society couldn't function usefully for the human beings that compose it. The depression taught me that if I was ever going to realize my true self-interest, find a way to function, it would have to be in a different kind of society. Once a man reaches that conclusion, there is only one course he can take -- to help build that different kind of society, so that he can function.

Well, the New Deal gave me that opportunity. And what I found was that in the course of helping to build a society in which I could function, I found my function. It was in helping to build that kind of a society that I realized my own self-interest by fulfilling my desire to function as a human being.

Indeed, the opportunities for that kind of functioning have been very rich for me. I have been very lucky.

First, the New Deal days and especially the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee where we showed who really uses force and violence in this land of ours. We didn't show that by offering books in evidence or putting ideas on trail. We showed that by putting into evidence the tear gas bombs, and the sickening gas bombs, and the billies, and the lead pipes, and the tommy guns, and the spy reports, and the company provocations with which Big Business implements its rule over the people of America.

Then, from the New Deal to the CIO in its really good days, when there was no loyalty oath for admission. They were days when the only passport for work in the CIO was loyalty to the interest of the workers, and the will, and the desire, and the ability to organize and fight for the workers. Then CIO PAC. And then a tremendous experience -- the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, when the representatives of 60 million workers from all over the world came together in the determination that the alliance that they had forged in the battles against fascism should continue into the peace, so that the working men and women of the world, in a world brotherhood, would guarantee the maintenance of peace.

Then, when the progressive movement was forced onto the defensive, into the Progressive Party with Beanie and all of you to carry on the fight to realize the goals for which we had worked in government and in the CIO. And now also in legal defense work.

Yes, I have had rich, rich opportunities to function. Someone might say, however, looking back over these 20 years of my life, and back over the 20 years of the progressive movement with which my life has been identified, that it has been a record of failure. A record of failure measured by the distance between the LaFollette Committee and the McCarthy Committee. A record of failure measured by the distance between the report of the CIO delegation that visited the Soviet Union in 1945, signed by Jimmy Carey and myself and others, and the war mongering pronouncements of the Reuthers and the Meaneys today.

But to say that that record is a record of failure would be to take a very wrong, a very erroneous, a very shortsighted view of history. The 10 years from 1945 to 1954 haven't wiped out the 12 years from 1933 to 1945. Those years can never be wiped out, not alone from our memories, but from the memories and experience of the whole American people. If today McCarthyism isn't in the saddle in this country, if today there is a growing movement against McCarthyism, it is because the record of a different kind of government has left its imprint on the minds and in the experience of the whole American people -- a government which at least made a beginning of serving their interest, of being <u>their</u> government.

MORE - - - - - - -

And if today the hands of the ato-maniacs have been stayed, for the moment at least, it is surely in part because in the memory and the experience of every American are the days that showed that we and the socialist half of the world not only can but must cooperate together so that both may be saved.

It seems to me that if the Progressive Party has a role to play today, and it has a great role to play today, at least a large part, a foremost part of that role, is to keep alive in the minds of the American people the memory of that 12 year experience, to carry it forward as a torch into the present and to show how that experience can be applied and enlarged today and tomorrow.

Yet, some object that we in the Progressive Party are very few in number. Indeed we are. But I reminded Vivian only last night of a very moving and beautiful speech that Vince makes about what minority groups have done in America -- how the noblest chapters in the history of our land have been the work of minorities.

Yes, true, our numbers are few. But what people! What wonderful people -- the finest, the most beautiful, the truest of all Americans.

I hesitate to name names because I could go around the room tonight and call the name, I guess, of each of you. And with each name I could tell a story. Yet after what occurred here on the platform, I must name names.

First, Vince Hallinan, whose lion's heart is with us here tonight although he isn't, and who, as Vivian said, will soon be back with that great heart, that great voice, that strong arm, to help lead us forward.

And where in America or in the world could we find two giants like a Paul Robeson and a Dr. DuBois?

Eddie Barsky -- I am indebted to him for the lives of two people most precious to me. Eddie, who organizes a political committee or a dinner with all the meticulous care that he gives to the most delicate of operations. Eddie, I think we have got to resolve here and now tonight, to use the words of Mr. Justice Douglas, that you are going to be able to go on saving lives in America while you go on hating Franco in Spain.

Beanie -- Beanie says he can't talk about me because he knows me too well. I can't talk about him, tonight at least, because I love him too well.

And Louie Burnham and George Murphy, who have enriched my life because -- with infinite patience and wisdom -- they have given me some better understanding of the true meaning of brotherhood.

And the others on this dais here tonight -- Hugh DeLacy and Joe Selly and Paul Ross and Cedric Belfrage.

And then -- the wonderful, beautiful women of our movement. Could you feast your eyes on a dais like this at a dinner given by any other group?

Vivian. Yes -- when you talk of Vivian, you can really speak of courage.

And Thelma -- could anybody ever be downhearted in the presence of that girl's spirit?

And Vi -- whose beautifully ordered mind and unsurpassed skill raises a secretary's job to the level of the fine arts.

And Essie and Shirley. And so many others. Ruthie Jett, another one of my teachers. And Gertrude Evans and Katharine Van Orden.

And my favorite client has honored me with her presence here tonight. No lawyer could have a higher privilege than to represent such a client, who in her own beautiful person is the embodiment of everything that is truest and finest in America's past, in America's present, and in America's future -- Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

MORE - - - - - -

And the women of my own family -- Marion and Jessica. And one who isn't with us here tonight, who shares our faith and our hope, even as she shares the burden of our anxieties -- my mother.

How can one talk of courage, how can one speak of self-sacrifice, when he walks in such company? How, could a man ask for any greater reward than that Paul Robeson should dedicate Blake's beautiful words to him? How could one ask for any more fine life than that he should march shoulder to shoulder with Paul as a comrade in arms?

Yes, as Charlie Kramer wrote in that very beautiful piece that Beanie read, which I shall always treasure, these are tough times. They are tough times on individuals. Perhaps I am not entitled to say this, because life has dealt very gently with me. But I think that another one of my clients who is going to celebrate his 50th birthday in just a few months, under very different circumstances from these -- Gene Dennis -- would agree with what I am about to say. And that is that tough as the going may be for individuals, it is a small price to pay for the privilege of living in the most stirring, the most momentous time in all of human history. It is a small price to pay for the privilege of being a member of a generation which, for the first time in man's long history, can see the bright and beautiful future beckoning to us with outstretched arms, so that we only need the strength, and the skill, and the wisdom, and the steadfastness to fight our way forward to meet it.

It seems to me, too, that there is another thing about our time and our generation. It is that, again as at no other time in human history, it has been given to each individual, to each one of us, to make his contribution. I think that never before in recorded history has what each one of us does weighed so heavily in the scale. It is a time of challenge, of enormous opportunity for each of us as individuals to function fully as human beings and thus to realize our own deepest self-interest.

I have said that this is a lovely birthday party. And yet, I must confess to you, my dear friends, that in these last years my happiest moments have come when somehow I've been able to get in there and fight; when somehow I've been able to come to grips with the enemy. The arena in which I fight my battles, our battles, is an artificial, a very constricted arena -- the arena of the law. It has its own very special Marquis of Queensbury rules. Yet, even under those conditions, it is possible some times to strike a blow. To strike a blow against cant and hypocrisy, against injustice and inequality. To strike a blow for freedom and for peace. To strike a blow for the future of my son David -- for the future of all our sons and daughters. When you do that, friends, then you know you are alive, and then life becomes very, very much worth living.

Well, again, it has been a lovely birthday party. I want to thank you all for your friendship, for your confidence, for your affection. And for making this, for me, a very, very happy birthday. I will see you all at work tomorrow.

# # # # # # #

from:

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

NATIONAL OFFICE • *1133 Broadway* • *New York 10, N. Y.*

C. B. BALDWIN, *National Secretary.* **Telephone: CHelsea 2-9146**

For immediate release May 19, 1954

PROGRESSIVE PARTY HAILS SUPREME COURT DECISION BANNING SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION. CALLS FOR ALL-OUT EFFORT TO ELIMINATE SEGREGATION IN EVERY ASPECT OF LIFE.

In a statement issued here today by C. B. Baldwin, the Progressive Party hailed the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court in declaring segregation in public education unconstitutional. While congratulating the Negro people and their allies for achieving the decisive victory, the Progressive Party called upon its members and all labor, liberals and progressives throughout the country to join the fight for enforcement of the decision in the field of education with the fight for FEPC and the elimination of segregation in housing, health, and recreational facilities. Increasing the number of Negroes elected to public office in 1954 was also urged.

The complete text of the statement follows:

The Progressive Party heartily welcomes the unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court in declaring segregation in public education unconstitutional. We congratulate the Negro people and their allies who, under the leadership of the NAACP, won this decisive victory. This historic decision is a signal defeat for the Dixiecrats, McCarthyites and all others who would stymie the Negro people's march toward full citizenship. It is a partial reward for the countless Negroes in the South who courageously offered themselves as "cases" to challenge school segregation, voting restrictions, job discrimination and other Jim Crow practices.

The vile undemocratic attacks upon this decision which have emanated from some Governors and other state officials serve to underscore the fact that enforcement of the decision will require the same steadfastness and unity of all democratic forces, both north and south. We in the Progressive Party know that there are untold numbers of white southerners who will help to carry out this decision and thus assist in bringing full democracy to their land and to themselves.

We call upon all labor, progressives, and liberals throughout the country to work together with the Negro people to guarantee that the full meaning of this decision, namely, segregation is unconstitutional, is applied in every aspect of life.

This means a successful fight for FEPC must be conducted both at the federal and local levels. It also means working to eliminate segregation in housing, health, recreational and other facilities. Finally, an all-out effort must be made to increase the number of Negroes elected to public office, including the Congress of the United States in November, 1954. This momentous decision opens the door for achieving a truly democratic America.

# # # # # # # #

NEWS FROM

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

STATE COMMITTEE

17 MURRAY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y. · WO 4-8153

Chairman: VITO MARCANTONIO
Treasurer: EDWARD KUNTZ
Secretary: REV. EDWARD D. McGOWAN
Executive Secretary: ARTHUR SCHUTZER

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEA SE

END DISCRIMINATION IN PARKCHESTER
THEME OF LIFT EVERY VOICE" GALA PRODUCTION

A city-wide protest rally to end discrimination against the Negro people and other national minorities in the Parkchester Housing Project in the Bronx, owned and operated by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co, was announced to-day by the Bronx County A merican Labor Party.

A galaxy of artists from stage, screen,radio, and television will appear, as well as outstanding political and civic leaders, to demand that Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. eliminate its un-democratic and Un-American rental policy against the Negro and Puerto Rican people in Parkchester, the world's largest housing project. Parkchester, built over 12 years ago, totals over 12,000 apartments with a population of 55,000.

"The people of New York City forced the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. to rent an apartment to a Negro family in their Stuyvesant Town Project in Manhattan and we intend to finish the job in the Bronx," declared Stephen J. White, Chairman of Bronx County American Labor Party.

"The critical housing shortage in our city hits the Negro and Puerto Rican people the hardest, mainly because of discrimination against them. This shameful and undemocratic virus forces them to live ghettoized in slums, and to become victims of rent-gouging perpetrated upon them by greedy landlords. The Negro population in the Bronx has jumped 400% in the last ten years. The fastest growing community in the Bronx is the Puerto Rican with a population of over 100,000, approximately 33% of the entire Puerto Rican population in the city," Mr. White explained.

"What is needed", he continued," is an expanded low-rent housing program in the Bronx to wipe out the slums, to provide adequate housing facilities for these fast growing communities, and for an end to discrimination in all other sections of our borough. That is why the fight to end discrimination in Parkchester is so important; it symbolizes the need so sharply. Why Parkchester? Parkchester is owned and operated by the most powerful and richest real estate corporation in America. Therefore, if discrimination is defeated in Parkchester it will help to breakdown this vicious policy in other areas of the Bronx. We urge all citizens to voice their protest to Mayor Wagner who has already condemned discrimination in housing."

Plans are under way for an extensive Bronx-wide campaign to urge all groups and organizations to lend their support in this effort.

"Lift Every Voice", title of the city-wide rally, will be held at the Manhattan Center on Friday evening, March 28th.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 Broadway
New York 10, N.Y.

Chelsea 2-9146

February 23, 1954

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Senate Bill 2983 increasing income tax exemption and exemption of dependents

The debate that is raging in Congress and in the press on whether the current recession is a "rolling readjustment" or the beginnings of a real depression has become a major political factor. The Administration and the Republican spokesmen in Congress have been forced to give ground in the past two weeks.

Last week the Census Bureau, which has been under heavy fire from organized labor for underestimating unemployment, raised its original estimate of unemployed in January by 800,000. This new estimate is 3.1 million against the original estimate of 2.3 million. These figures do not take into consideration temporarily unemployed workers or those who are employed less than 30 hours per week. Obviously, the new estimate does not reflect the widespread reduction in total earnings which are seriously undermining the living standards of the people.

In response to this crisis, the ultra-conservative Senator George of Georgia last week introduced on behalf of himself, Senator Kerr of Oklahoma, and Senator Frear of Delaware, Senate Bill No. 2983 to increase the income tax personal exemption and the exemption of dependents from $600 to $800 for the year 1954, and $1,000 for succeeding years.

If Senate Bill No. 2983 becomes law, it will mean a saving in taxes to millions of workers and farmers of almost $160 this year, and $320 after this year for a family of four. This is equivalent to an increase in wages of approximately 8¢ per hour for workers this year, and 16¢ in subsequent years where their employment averages 40 hours per week.

The tax bill now being written by the House Ways and Means Committee will give most exemptions to wealthy individuals and Big Business. The George proposal is the first important concession on the part of influential members of Congress to restore purchasing power by giving aid to moderate and low income groups. Later we hope to give you an analysis of the entire tax situation, but now immediate action is required to obtain maximum support for Senate Bill No. 2983. The bill can pass if sufficient pressure is brought on the Congress.

It is urgent that all Progressive Party members, trade union organizations and members, and other groups and individuals write immediately to their Senators and Congressmen urging support for Senate Bill 2983, raising personal exemptions and the exemption for dependents from $600 to $800 this year, and to $1,000 in subsequent years. Also, Senator George should receive letters indicating support and commending him for introducing this bill.

The Progressive Party first proposed such tax relief in our 1948 party platform and repeated it in the 1952 platform. We can make it a reality this year if Congress is flooded with letters immediately.

# # # # # # #

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE ON LATIN-AMERICAN AFFAIRS
HOTEL ALBERT
65 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK CITY

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY AM'S

Text Of Resolution at "Guatemala Crisis" Rally:

Whereas: The United States Delegations's resolution at the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, and previous provocatory statements by other U. S. high officials serves to intervene directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of a sister American republic, Guatemala, and

Whereas: In the past this policy of intervention has stained the history of relations between our country and the other countries of America, and

Whereas: Continued intervention to alter the form of government and the national policies of Guatemala constitutes a dangerous threat to the peace, and

Whereas: This threat to peace is clearly not in the interests of the people of the United States, therefore

Be It Resolved by the 1,000 people gathered here that the people of the United States be informed of the dangers of our present policy to the end that they may declare themselves opposed to any intervention whatsoever in the internal affairs of Guatemala, and

Be it further resolved that this sentiment be transmitted to the United States delegation to the 10th Inter-American Conference at Caracas, and through the press, to our fellow-Americans in the United States and Latin America.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

Honorary Chairmen
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Chairman
Elmer A. Benson

Co-Chairmen
Hugh Bryson
Paul Robeson

Vice-Chairmen
Hugh DeLacy
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Senora B. Lawson
Alice F. Liveright

Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

• • •

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

June 21, 1954

TO: State Directors

FROM: C. B. Baldwin, Secretary

SUBJECT: Emergency Action on Guatemala Situation

The reported armed invasion of Guatemala by exiled Guatemalan rebels in the past few days constitutes a grave threat to the democratically elected Guatemalan Government as well as to world peace. Although, as our letter to the President indicates, not all the facts are "in", newspaper accounts in the NEW YORK TIMES state that the rebels did draw "some hope and optimisim" from recent declarations of United States policy toward Guatemala made by President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. Further, "It is assumed in informed quarters that Washington was fully aware of the probable march of events involving Guatemala once the State Department took its strong stand against last month's arms shipments to Puerto Barrios, Guatemala, from behind the Iron Curtain."

We do not know what commitments may exist in our country in support of the rebels. We do believe, however, that the American people want no part of a war against the Guatemalan people. It, therefore, becomes our responsibility, along with others who want peace, to let the leaders of our government know in no uncertain terms that we support the UN cease-fire resolution and that we demand a "Hands Off Guatemala" policy. We urge you to take every possible step to elicit maximum expression in your community against any armed intervention in Guatemala on the part of our Government. Specifically, we urge:

(1) Letters to President Eisenhower.
(2) Letters to all members of Congress from your state.
(3) Letters to your local newspapers.
(4) Delegations to Congressmen and Senators.

# # # # #

from:

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

NATIONAL OFFICE • 1133 Broadway • New York 10, N. Y.

C. B. BALDWIN, *National Secretary.* Telephone: CHelsea 2-9146

For immediate release June 21, 1954

PROGRESSIVE PARTY CALLS FOR HANDS OFF GUATEMALA; DEMANDS EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION CEASE MORAL OR MATERIAL AID TO REBELS.

C.B. Baldwin, National Secretary of the Progressive Party, today called upon President Eisenhower to adopt and enforce a policy of Hands Off Guatemala. In a strongly worded letter, Mr. Baldwin urged the President and his Administration to "demand that Honduras liquidate the insurgent military base on its territory, cease giving moral or material aid to the aggression, and withdraw all restrictions which are preventing the Guatemalan Government from securing the arms necessary to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity."

In addition, the President was urged to support and help carry out the UN Security Council resolution adopted Sunday, June 20, calling for immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed and requesting all members of the United Nations to abstain, in the spirit of the Charter, from giving assistance to any such action.

At the same time, Mr. Baldwin issued an emergency call to all State and Local organizations of the Progressive Party to write the President and Members of Congress, urging no intervention in Guatemala.

Full text of Mr. Baldwin's letter follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

While many of the details of the events of Guatemala remain obscure, enough is known to establish the following facts:

(1) Guatemala has been invaded by armed forces based in Honduras.

(2) The invasion has as its announced objective the overthrow of the democratically elected Guatemala government.

(3) This unprovoked aggression against a peaceful nation has been organized and launched at least with the blessing and encouragement of officials of your Administration.

Bland State Department denials of efforts of aggression cannot hide these simple and well-documented truths, but serve only to make a

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mockery of its protestations of support for freely elected governments everywhere.

This armed intervention against a sovereign nation is a violation of the United Nations Charter and the democratic rights of the Guatemalan people. The American people want no repetition of the "Big Stick" policy in Latin America, which they repudiated under Franklin D. Roosevelt and replaced with the policy of the Good Neighbor.

The Progressive Party calls on you, through the exercise of your authority as President, to adopt and enforce a policy of Hands off Guatemala, to demand that Honduras liquidate the insurgent military base on its territory, to cease giving moral or material aid to the aggression, and to withdraw all restrictions which are preventing the Guatemalan Government from securing the arms necessary to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

We further urge that you and your Administration support and help carry out the UN Security Council resolution adopted Sunday June 20 which 'Calls for the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed and requests all members of the United Nations to abstain, in the spirit of the Charter, from giving assistance to any such action.'

Respectfully yours,

C. B. Baldwin
National Secretary"

# # # # # #

Hallinan Set for Tour After Release Aug. 17

Vincent Hallinan, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party, is sheduled to address a vast San Francisco Civic Auditorium rally next Aug. 24 in his first public appearance following his release from jail, it was announced yesterday by the Progressive Party headquarters. Hallinan, serving a six-month contempt sentence after acting as defense attorney for Harry Bridges in a government witchhunt trial, will be released on Aug. 17 from McNeil's Island prison in Puget Sound, Washington.

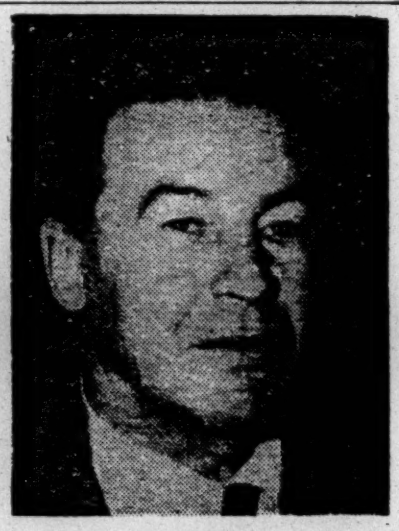
To greet the Progressive candidate, in addition to his wife and seven sons, as he steps on the mainland in Tacoma will be C. B. Baldwin, national executive secretary, and John Abt, counsel, of the Progressive Party, as well as party delegations from the state of Washington, Oregon and California.

He will speak next in Los Angeles at a large outdoor meeting on Aug. 27.

Tentative speaking dates are now being drawn up for the Progressive presidential nominee and they include a Sept. 3 and 4 tour of Montana, and a Sept. 6 election rally in Chicago.

His first eastern appearance, though not definite, is expected at the Pennsylvania state convention of the party on Sept. 13. Hallinan will probably speak in Boston the following day at the Massachusetts PP convention.

New Yorkers will get their opportunity to hail the peace candidate some time in September, probably in its final week.



HALLINAN

Aug 1, 1952

Progressive Party
150 West 46th St.
New York 19, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

January 4, 1951

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Elmer A. Benson, Chairman, and C. B. Baldwin, Secretary, of the Progressive Party, today sent the following telegram to President Truman:

"President Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Never has man's inhumanity to man been so tragically demonstrated as in Korea. We have suffered the greatest moral and military defeat in our history. Each day that our troops remain, thousands will die or be maimed for life and the wanton devastation of life and property in Korea will continue. The reputation of our country is at stake and that is more important to the people of this country than the face of the President, the Secretary of State or of General MacArthur. We are earning the hatred of all people of Asia and our government's prestige has suffered a staggering blow throughout the world.

We implore you, Mr. President, to order the immediate evacuation of all troops and announce that the United States air force and navy will cease all attacks. Force and the threat of atomic bombs have failed. Honest mediation with all countries involved is the only way to restore our moral authority in the councils of nations and end the threat of a world war no one can win.

Elmer A. Benson, Chairman
C. B. Baldwin, Secretary
PROGRESSIVE PARTY "

uopwa 16

Progressive Party
150 West 46th St.
New York 19, N.Y.
JUDSON 6-2335

December 16, 1950

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Commenting on President Truman's Friday night broadcast and his declaration of a national emergency, C. B. Baldwin, Secretary of the Progressive Party, today said:

> For four years the President and his co-authors of the "get tough" policy have promised it would bring peace, while for four years it has been bringing us closer to world war. Today thousands of American soldiers in Korea are paying with their lives for the failure of that policy. Their safety and the security of America cannot be won by proclaiming a national emergency.
>
> The real national emergency will only be deepened by the demand President Truman made on the American people last night. Longer hours, frozen wages, higher taxes, more guns and less butter will increase the danger and add to the cost. Putting production under big business dictatorship, turning over civilian defenses to a Florida Dixiecrat and rejecting the just demands of the railroad workers with threats from the Commander in Chief, are not answers that the American people are looking for in this crisis.
>
> The Progressive Party believes that the best defense of America is peace with China. We again urge mediation of all outstanding differences between our two countries based on a cease fire, looking toward the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, an end to intervention in Formosa, and the seating of the representatives of 475 million Chinese people in the United Nations.

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uopwa 16

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
56 W. 45th Street
New York, 19, N. Y.

Address by

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON

At a Dinner Sponsored by Progressive Party
Opening Nationwide "PEACE TOUR" - Hotel
Commodore, April 27, 1949

THE NEGRO AND PEACE

I was very much struck by what Paul Robeson said about American Negroes in relation to a possible war. (I know it's a little unusual for a wife to pay attention to her husband's pronouncements, - you know the saying: "A prophet is without honor in his own country, in his own home, in his own time".) - but I thought this one was pretty important, and it certainly raised a storm.

He said, to quote him exactly: "It is unthinkable that American Negroes will go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us generations, against a country which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind."

The Professional Negro Leaders rushed into print to refute this statement, and to explain that Paul does not speak for the "overwhelming majority of the Negro People."

Walter White, the head of the N.A.A.C.P., perhaps the best known of those Leaders said, and I quote: "Negroes are Americans. We contend for full and equal rights, and we accept full and equal responsibilities. In event of any conflict that our Nation has with any other Nation, we will regard ourselves as Americans, and meet the responsibilities imposed on all Americans."

Now I agree that we Negroes are Americans. OF COURSE we are Americans, BUT TRY AND EXPLAIN THAT TO ROSA INGRAM and AMY MALLARD, and the AMERICAN COURTS OF JUSTICE in Georgia; try and explain it to the TRENTON SIX, and the American Courts of Justice in New Jersey; try and explain it to the NEGROES EVERYWHERE who worked in the GARBAGE BRIGADES, the LAUNDRY and CLEANING and LABOR BATTALLIONS in the AMERICAN ARMY in our last War for Democracy; try and explain it to the NEGROES EVERYWHERE who are trying now to get into AMERICAN Public Housing, Hospitals, Schools, and Work Projects.

WE NEGROES ARE AMERICANS, and WE KNOW IT, But Our Country keeps telling us, in heartbreaking ways, that we have no Rights and Privileges as American Citizens, - except those it chooses to grant us when it feels indulgent.

So it is natural and inevitable that the Majority of American Negroes have come to examine with a jaundiced eye the "duties and responsibilities and obligations" in their proper focus-where they belong - that is, side-by-side with the "rights and privileges".

I know that every sensible Negro in this country, - Professional Leaders notwithstanding, - feels that if he must fight any future war for democracy, the proper place to begin such a fight is RIGHT HERE.

It is in the light of this normal, reasonable conviction that we must examine the relation of the American Negro to a possible war.

IF OUR COUNTRY IS ATTACKED, INVADED, I believe Negroes - along with other loyal Americans, will rally to our defense. THAT'S ONE THING. But I also believe that if our country drafted Negro Americans - and many other sensible, reasonable, loyal Americans, to fight a war in Greece for a King the Greeks don't want, to fight a War in China for Chiang Kai Shek whom the Chinese People don't want, to fight a War for France and Holland, so that the Indo-Chinese and the Indonesians can be kept in Colonial Slavery - I really believe that the government of these United States will have a very hard time indeed luring sensible Americans into fighting such a war.

Now maybe Walter White CAN deliver up his 500,000 membership in the N.A.A.C.P.; maybe Adam Powell can deliver up his membership in the Abysinnian Baptist Church and the 22nd District in Harlem, and maybe other Professional Negro Leaders can deliver up their followers TO FIGHT SUCH A WAR, but I doubt it. But even if they could, that would deliver up a theoretical 2 million at most, - men, women and children.

Then what about the other 12 million un-organized Negroes, - the REAL VAST MAJORITY of the Negro People? Who speaks for them?

It may well be that a giant Negro, one Paul Robeson, the son of a slave who caught the ear of the world with his golden voice, - and who has always used that voice to call the attention of the world to the plight of his Negro People in America, in the West Indies, in Africa, and to the plight of all suppressed and oppressed people everywhere, - it may well be that this Golden Robeson Voice is putting into words some of the thoughts of those un-organized voice-less people, - this vast majority of the Negro People in this country.

Since he has never asked them for anything for himself, and is not doing so now, they may do well to listen to him. They have nothing to lose by so doing.

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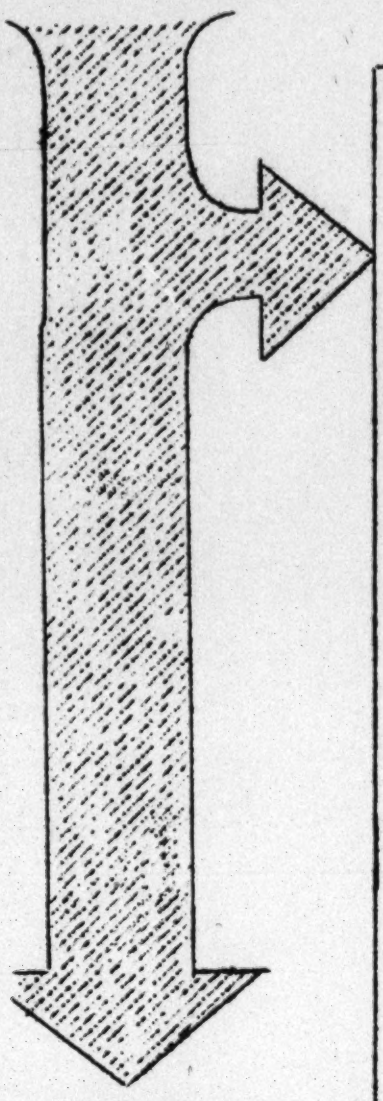
OPEN LETTER TO SECRETARY ACHESON:



URGING THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO

RESTORE PAUL

PROGRESSIVE PARTY of OHIO
1899 W. 25th St.

August 11, 1950

Hon. Dean Acheson
Secretary of State
State Department
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the Progressive Party, I protest the action of your department in cancelling Mr. Paul Robeson's passport.

If the action was taken to keep Mr. Robeson from speaking in Europe of the mockery which jim crow makes of democracy in our country, the cancellation of his passport will advertise the rottenness of jim crow to the world more effectively than Mr. Robeson could, for all his eloquence.

If his passport was cancelled to keep him from speaking in Europe of the desire of the American people for a peaceful understanding with the Soviet Union, through the United Nations, then your Department's action will advertise to the world better than Mr. Robeson could that our government wants no peaceful understanding.

If his passport was cancelled to keep him from speaking of the demand of the peoples of Asia and Africa for freedom from imperialist rule, your Department's action, again, advertises better than he could that you do not favor self-government for colonial peoples.

We believe that the order to take up the passport of one of America's leading spokesmen for full, working democracy was both unjust and unwise.

We urge you to restore Mr. Robeson's right of free travel.

Respectfully,

Hugh De Lacy

HUGH DE LACY
State Director

HD:nb
uopwa87

ROBESON'S RIGHT TO FREE TRAVEL!

IT WILL HELP IF YOU WILL WRITE YOUR OWN LETTER, WIRE, OR POSTCARD TO SECRETARY ACHESON.

ACT NOW!

Issued by: Progressive Party of Cuyahoga County, Melbourne B. Mitchell, Director

Clip out and mail to: Progressive Party of Ohio, 1899 W. 25th St., Cleveland 13

I AM INTERESTED IN MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Zone _____

uopwa87

We join YPA in demanding the rescheduling of

"THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE"

• •

I Gave a Dollar Because

PAUL ROBESON MUST SPEAK!

BAN MUNDT BILL AND JIM CROW TACTICS

Signed:.....

TV program to be sponsored by Young Progressives of America, State of N. Y., 19 West 45th St., NYC

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

CHARLES R. DENNY, Executive Vice-President

National Broadcasting Company

30 Rockefeller Plaza

New York 20, N. Y.

Petition

To: CHARLES R. DENNY, *Executive Vice-President*
NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY
30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

FREE SPEECH STILL LIVES IN AMERICA!

We will not allow Mundt Bill censorship of one of America's leaders in the fight for full equality of the Negro people. We demand that the program, THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE, be rescheduled immediately.

We, the undersigned, are prepared to contribute to the sponsorship of this program.

SIGNATURE	ADDRESS	DONATION

Sponsored by: YOUNG PROGRESSIVES OF AMERICA, STATE OF NEW YORK, 19 West 45th St., N. Y. C.

309

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
56 West 45th Street, NYC 19
MU 7-8100

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY A.M., MARCH 19, 1950

The Executive Committee of the Progressive Party at a meeting held at national headquarters today (Saturday, March 18th) issued the following

Statement on Robeson Cancellation By NBC

The arbitrary cancellation by NBC of Mrs. Roosevelt's TV program on which she had invited Paul Robeson to speak on behalf of the Progressive Party along with representatives of the Republicans and Democrats, and its statement that Mr. Robeson has been permanently barred from its chain, goes far beyond the person of Mr. Robeson and the Progressive Party. It is an attack on freedom of speech in America. If this abuse of power is left unchallenged, it means a privately owned corporation shall hereafter dictate to all Americans whom and what they shall hear. NBC has already dictatorially decided that Americans shall not hear the voice of a great American speaking on behalf of his people. It has already dictated that the Progressive Party may not choose Mr. Robeson as its spokesman. It has already dictated that it will close the ears of Americans to a discussion of the betrayal by both old parties of the promise of civil rights legislation for the Negro people.

NBC's act is an act of unrestrained tyranny that is all the more arrogant because it rests on privileges granted by the people. NBC's right to use the air is derived from a license granted, through the government, by the people of the United States.

We invite all who are interested in our precious freedom of speech to join with us in protesting this arbitrary abuse of power by NBC and demanding that the program be rescheduled. If Mr. Robeson is denied the air, then tomorrow it will be a labor leader, a churchman who challenges the H-bomb, a teacher, and anyone whose views do not meet with the approval of the NBC.

uopwa #16 # # # # # # # #

NEWS RELEASE

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
39 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. • MU 6-5300

Change to: 56 West 45 St. MU 7-6100

FOR RELEASE WEEK OF MARCH 14TH

STATEMENT BY C. B. BALDWIN,
SEC'Y, PROGRESSIVE PARTY
MARCH 13, 1950

BALDWIN PROTESTS NBC CANCELLATION
OF ROBESON BROADCAST

The cancellation of the program scheduled for Mrs. Roosevelt's television show on Sunday, March 19, because of alleged protests against the appearance of Paul Robeson, gives the American people additional warning of the threat to civil liberties inherent in the present cold war hysteria. When the owners of a great radio chain use the pretext of a few protests to impose censorship of the air and attempt to silence the voice of a great American speaking on behalf of civil rights for his people, then the democratic rights of all Americans are placed in jeopardy. We are confident that all those who prize American freedom will join with the Progressive Party in denouncing this effort to silence the voice of Paul Robeson and, as a consequence, the voices also of the Negro Democratic and Republican leadership who would have participated on the program in a discussion of the fundamental question of "The position of the American Negro in the American political scene." Millions of Negro and progressive white Americans will believe with us that the cancellation of this program was motivated, at least in part, by an attempt to shut off public discussion of the betrayal by both old parties of their promise of civil rights legislation and to prevent the exposure of their hypocrisy which such discussion would make manifest.

####

Peace NOT WAR WITH CHINA

You want peace.

You can have peace—

But only if you speak out NOW—before the whole world bursts into atomic flames.

A cease-fire order to all armies in Korea can stop the fighting immediately.

United Nations mediation among all sides in the conflict can bring about lasting peace.

The best defense of America is peace—not war with China.

In your own words, in your own way—

- **Write or wire President Truman today. Ask your friends and neighbors and other members of your family to act with you.**
- **Tell the President you don't want war with China. Tell him you want peace—with everybody.**

Send your letter or wire direct to the White House, Washington, D.C.

Remember, nobody is a better spokesman for peace than you, yourself.

PEACE IS EVERYBODY'S JOB

Issued by The American Labor Party

178

Tune: Marching Through Georgia

When they drafted Willie how his family did pine.
No Senator did try to save this darling son of mine.
How different the story when they drafted David Schine!
Oh, what a yowl from McCarthy!

Furore, furore, "You've interfered with ME."
Furore, furore, "You've got to set him free."
McCarthy sassed the Pentagon all out from A to Z
When Schine was marched to the army.

Give him a commission, even though he isn't fit.
Make a job that's soft for him, in New York let him sit.
Soak the other drafted men, but Schine's a special bit.
This was the yowl of McCarthy!

Chorus

No K P for Davy. Overseas he must not go.
Do as I command or I will lay the army low.
Zwicker I'll insult and smear, and Stevens will eat crow.
This was the threat of McCarthy.

Hurraw, hurraw, McCarthy's hour has come!
Hurraw, hurraw, McCarthy's on the bum!
He played one trick too many, and the people are not dumb.
Now they can see through McCarthy!

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

cordially invites you

to attend a

DINNER

in honor of

JOHN J. ABT

to celebrate his fiftieth birthday

Wednesday evening, April 28, 1954

at six thirty o'clock

HOTEL COMMODORE

New York City

R.S.V.P.
Enclosed card

Couvert $7.50
Informal

JOHN J. ABT

Advocate for the people

1933	Chief, Litigation Division, Agricultural Adjustment Administration
1935	Assistant General Counsel, Works Progress Administration
1936	Chief Counsel, LaFollette Committee on Civil Liberties
1937	Special Assistant, United States Attorney General
1938	General Counsel, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
1948	General Counsel, Progressive Party

Since 1950, Mr. Abt has also engaged in the private practice of law, specializing in important civil liberties cases.

PROGRAM

C. B. BALDWIN

DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY

HERBERT BIBERMAN

HUGH DeLACY

VIVIAN HALLINAN

PAUL ROBESON

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS PROVISIONAL WORKERS AND PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE FOR MAY DAY 1953-5 11/5

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

(20)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

=Int'l Letter Telegram

LT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NAY118 DL PD LONG=NEW YORK NY 1 322P=

PAUL ROBESON, CARE FREEDOM=

53 WEST 125 ST=

500 DELEGATES EXPECTED AT NEW YORKS MAY DAY CONFERENCE SATURDAY APRIL 4TH STNICHOLAS SPORT CENTER 53 WEST 66 STREET TO PLAN MAY DAY PARADE OF 1953 IN ACCORD AMERICAN LABOR TRADITION SINCE FIRST MAY DAY PARADE CHICAGO 1886. IN SPIRIT OF LABOR AND PEOPLES UNITY WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU SEND GREETING TO CONFRERENCE WHICH WILL STIMULATE DELEGATES AND THOUSANDS THEY REPRESENT TO INCREASED EFFORTS FOR POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION ON MAY DAY FOR PEACE DEFENSE OF LIVING STANDARD CIVIL RIGHTS=

LEON STRAUS CHAIRMAN MAY DAY COMMITTEE ROOM 535 80 EAST 11 ST NEW YORK NY=

CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE 69th ANNIVERSARY OF MAY DAY
ROOM 201
16 Eeast 17th St.
New York 3, N.Y.

March 23, 1954

Dear Mr. Robeson,

The Provisional Committee for the 69th Anniversary of May Day has called a Planning Conference on Saturday, April 3, at the Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st Street, for the purpose of making arrangements for this year's anniversary celebration of May Day.

Many prominent speakers from all walks of life are being invited to address the Conference, which will be attended by 500 delegates from rank and file CIO, AFL and Independent trade unions, and a wide variety of community organizations.

Our Committee cordially invites you to be among the speakers on the program, and would be deeply appreciative if we could count on your appearance.

We can arrange for you to address the delegates any time at your convenience between the hours of 2-5 P.M.

Knowing that you are as anxious as we to guarantee a fine 69th Anniversary May Day celebration, we eagerly await some word of confirmation.

Thanking you again, we remain,

Respectfully,
Rudolph Christian
Rudolph Christian
Vice-Chairman

Provisional Committee for

THE 69th ANNIVERSARY OF MAY DAY

ROOM 201, 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WA. 4-6859

Detail (Fm)

April 19th, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson,

As you probably know, the protests of labor has won for it the right to celebrate the 69th Anniversary of May Day at Union Square Park on Saturday, May 1st, from 6:30 to 8 P.M.

Though our Committee is presently negotiating for additional time for its May Day Demonstration, nothing has yet been settled. Therefore, because of the limitations of 1½ hours still imposed on us, we are compelled to ask all speakers who are being invited to address the Demonstration, to limit themselves to five minutes.

Our Committee respectfully invites you to speak to and greet the thousands of workers who will be at Union Square on May Day demonstrating on labor's great holiday.

Kindly inform us immediately whether or not you can accept this invitation.

Respectfully,

Bill Mardo

Bill Mardo, Executive-Secretary

Rudolph Christian

Rudolph Christian, Chairman

Provisional Comm. for the 69th
Anniversary of May Day

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR MAY DAY—1953

80 East 11th Street, Room 535 • New York 3, N. Y. • GRamercy 5-6555

March 25, 1953

Low To
Prepare statement

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

In preparation for a large May Day Parade, we are trying to secure statements from outstanding Americans who appreciate and support the traditions of May Day established in 1886.

We would like to have a brief statement from you dealing with the historical significance of May Day and as it applies in the present day. I hope you will find time enough to do this.

With best personal regards, I am

Yours,

Louis

Louis

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE A · 23 WEST 26th STREET · NEW YORK 10, N. Y. · MURRAY HILL 4-6640

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Sec'y

June 3, 1953

Lou Burnham
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Lou:

The Mouvement Contre le Racisme, l'Antisemitisme et Pour la Paix which will hold its national Congress in Paris on the 14th of June asked for greetings from Paul.

I spoke at their 1937 Congress in Paris and know that they are carrying on a great work.

Very truly yours,

William L. Patterson

WLP:jcs
ftul #1283

Provisional Workers and People's Committee for May Day 1955

575 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.
ROOM 301 • OR. 5-7460

Arpil 18, 1955

Dear Mr. Robeson:

As you probably know, the protests of labor have won for it the right to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of May Day at Union Square Park on Friday, April 29th, from 3 - 8 P.M.

Many prominent speakers from all walks of life are being invited to address our giant May Day Rally for Peace, Jobs and Civil Liberties.

Our Committee respectfully invites you to speak and greet the tens of thousands of workers who will be at Union Square demonstrating on labor's great and cherished holiday.

Kindly inform us immediately whether or not you can accept this invitation.

Respectfully yours,

Leo Linzer,
Chairman

Charles J. Hendley,
Secretary-Treasurer

Accepted and delivered 4/25/55

Schedule for Friday
(May Day Rally)

Will be picked up at home at 5pm

Will arrive at Square at 6pm

Will speak at approximately 6:15

(Will have 15 minutes - other speakers are limited to 5 minutes.)

Will be returned home or wherever you wish to go after your appearance.

6:50 - Reverend William Howard Melish will say Grace

7:00 - Dinner Served

8:30 - 8:42	Earl Robinson and Metropolitan Music School Chorus Star Spangled Banner and opening song (12 minutes)
8:43 - 8:48	Jessica Smith, welcome to audience and introduction of Mr. Rockwell Kent as chairman (5 minutes)
8:48 - 8:53	Mr. Rockwell Kent (5 minutes)
8:53 - 8:58	Dr. Harry F. Ward (5 minutes)
9:00 - 9:03	Mrs. Victoria Garvin (3 minutes)
9:05 - 9:08	Mr. Ring Lardner, Jr. (3 minutes)
9:10 - 9:13	Mr. Louis Burnham (3 minutes)
9:15 - 9:18	Mrs. Katherine Van Orden (3 minutes)
9:20 - 9:23	Mr. Kumar Goshal (3 minutes)
9:25 - 9:28	Miss Dorothy Parker (3 minutes)
9:30 - 9:35	Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois (5 minutes)
9:37 - 9:47	Miss Nadyne Brewer, songs (10 minutes)
9:48 - 10:13	Mr. Rockwell Kent, collection assisted by Albert Kahn (25 minutes for both)
10:15 - 10:25	The Reverend Kenneth Hughes (10 minutes)
10:27 - 10:34	Introduction to Robesons and floral Presentation from groups (7 minutes)
10:34 - 10:46	Paul Robeson (12 minutes)
10:48 - 11:00	Eslanda Robeson (12 minutes)

(Time allowed between speakers for applause and Chairman's introduction of following speaker)

CALL

to a May Day Planning Conference

Saturday, April 3rd, 1:00 p.m.

AT YUGOSLAV HALL, 405 West 41st Street

TO ALL TRADE UNIONS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS:

It was 69 years ago that May Day was born in our own United States, born in the streets of Chicago, whose workers first raised the historic demand for an eight-hour day.

Is there anything the American workingman and woman can take a deeper pride in than the heartfilling tradition of doing honor to that most wonderful of all holidays—that glorious first day of May in the year 1886 when Chicago's workers took to the streets with a cry that rang around the world: "Eight hours of work, eight hours of sleep, eight hours for what we will!"

And because this was a cry, a hope, a demand that could fill a need not alone of Chicago's workers and the workers of America, but because workers all over the world could see in this the stuff that progress is made of, that moves history forward and lifts labor everywhere one rung higher up the ladder toward a better life, what was first born in Chicago 69 years ago, three years later, was pumped into the very heartbeat of world labor. May Day became an international workers' holiday.

So we Americans happily share our American-born May Day with men and women of labor everywhere. On the streets of Paris, London, Prague, Peking, Budapest, Tokyo "and lots more"—May Day is labor's public domain.

But this we know, and because the hyena howl against Our Day grows louder, this we must never forget: Along with July 4, 1776, May Day is the daddy of all American holidays.

There are those who would make it seem otherwise.

There are those who, in all their headlined and monied might, would try to make this, the 69th Anniversary of May Day, appear to be a "subversive plot" from abroad.

There are those in our own land, the Salem Sadists of 1954, who fear this anniversary celebration of May Day more than any that ever preceded it on the streets and in the squares of New York.

Fresh, new winds are blowing across our beloved and troubled land.

Yes, here in the U.S., where labor and democratic forces have suffered some of the severest Hitler-like blows that our country has ever known—and where now even the most conservative of Democratic Party leaders

---

(Please present this Credential at the May Day Conference)

DELEGATE'S CREDENTIAL

FOR

Planning Conference for 69th Anniversary of May Day

SATURDAY, APRIL 3, 1954, 1 P.M.—YUGOSLAV HALL, 405 W. 41 St., N. Y. C.

Name..... Address.....

Organization..... Official Post.....

Delegate's Fee..... Paid..... Unpaid.....

Signature of Secretary or Chairman.....

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE 69th ANNIVERSARY OF MAY DAY

Room 201, 6 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. -:- WA 4-6859

and Roosevelt New Dealers have been cited by McCarthy on "20 counts of treason"—there are, nonetheless, fresh new winds blowing in the growing crusade to defeat the aspiring and perspiring Storm Troopers.

Ever broader sections of our people—shocked and alarmed by the rapidly lowered living standards and the growing ranks of 5-millions unemployed—view the defeat of McCarthyism as the heavy knockout blow which must be socked home to win back the Bill of Rights, to win back jobs, to secure a good and permanent peace.

American workers want nothing more than they want peace, jobs, an end to the Inquisition. More and more millions of Americans are beginning to tap the right vein, are beginning to recognize the real face of the real enemy, are beginning to know McCarthy's Reign of Terror as the monstrous mask behind which Eisenhower and Dulles cloak their hammer-blows against the living standards of labor and its deep-rooted yearnings for peace.

For the idle worried worker, a new job makes more sense than a "New Look" war against the liberation movement of Indo-China. Peace-loving peoples everywhere look toward the forthcoming Geneva Conference with the hope that around the conference table the air can be cleared—instead of clouded with U.S. bombers whose flight-chart reads "Destination Indo-China."

The millions now living on meagre unemployment insurance would like to see from Eisenhower more action for full employment, and less about full jails for all patriotic Americans who dare give voice to the hopes of our people for a world at peace, an America at work, a Constitution reborn.

The Negro people, with their progressive white allies, demand an end to the brutal system of jimcrow, white-supremacy and second-class citizenship, and none of the war-cry against the colored peoples of Asia.

American labor wants an end to the crippling Taft-Hartley act, and a return to the New Deal era when workingmen and women won the right to organize and join unions freely and of their own choosing.

For all this, we do demonstrate on May Day, 1954.

For all this, was established our Provisional Committee for the 69th Anniversary of May Day.

And for all this does our Committee hereby issue this call to a Planning Conference on Saturday, April 3rd, 1 P.M. at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st Street, to prepare for New York's Anniversary May Day Demonstration, 1954.

Men and women, young and old, any and all from rank and file AFL, CIO and independent unions, fraternal, community, Negro, national, peace, cultural and youth organizations are invited and urged to send delegates and observers to the April 3rd Planning Conference.

One dollar ($1) is required from each delegate to cover the costs of this Conference.

Men and women and young people—all of you who stand fast by, and speak for, the true America—ACT IMMEDIATELY UPON THIS CALL!

FOR AN END TO McCARTHYISM!

FOR JOBS, SECURITY, AND
THE DEFEAT OF TAFT-HARTLEY!

FOR NEGRO-WHITE UNITY!

FOR A WORLD AT PEACE!

Join with us to plan a May Day Demonstration for all these things—a May Day in America which, like its glorious predecessor 69 years ago, was an American May Day heard around the world!

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL 1951-55 11/6

Hospitable Spain . . .

Spain is a country where every visitor is a friend. You'll enjoy the Spanish way of life, chatting with everyone else at the cafes, nibbling the tasty almonds. . . .

Hitler, while he lived, enjoyed this hospitality. Franco welcomed him: "The destiny of history has united you with myself and the Duce in an indissoluble way . . . I stand ready at your side, entirely and decidedly at your disposal, united in a common historical destiny."

Franco's hospitality was more than a hand-shake. Hitler's Luftwaffe and submarine packs were berthed in Spanish ports so they could more easily prey upon Allied shipping during the war.

Today Franco has switched loyalty – for a fee (over $100,000,000 was voted by Congress for Franco in 1952). Dollar-hungry, he has rolled out the red carpet for American tourists. And our government, base-hungry, is opening his seaports and airports to the U. S. fleet and U. S. jet fighters and bombers. The swastika has made way for the Stars and Stripes in Franco Spain. Tourist dollars mean added graft for Franco and his Falange. For the Spanish people, the dollar influx means worse inflation, worse hunger. Can you blame them for showing no enthusiasm for Franco's new-found industry – "American tourists"?

Changeless Spain . . .

Despite her skyscrapers, subway and "Talgo," Madrid keeps reminding you she once was a Moorish outpost, that Hapsburgs and Bourbons were her kings. . . .

Madrid also reminds you that the Franco fascist dictatorship still grips the Spanish people – with the help of U. S. dollars. The incredible beauty of Spain, and the great spirit and culture of its people, lie under the blight of stern repression. In Spain there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of press, no freedom of worship, no freedom of association. The poverty of the people is Franco-made. The utterly corrupt Franco regime could not withstand the strength and wrath of the Spanish people without outside aid:

If you're touring Europe, detour Franco Spain!

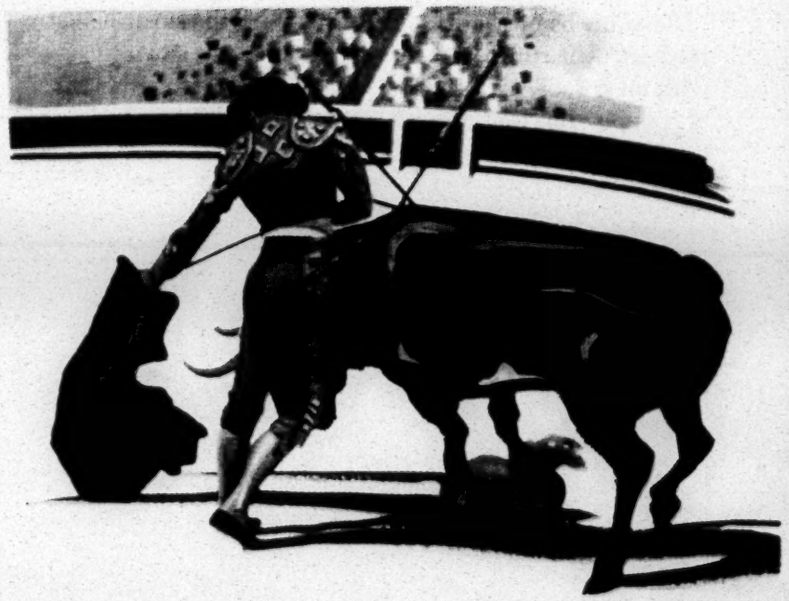
No U. S. aid to Franco! Support the Spanish people!

No U. S. alliances with Franco!

Issued by the SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL
23 West 26th Street, New York, N. Y. Murray Hill 4-0381

Is It Spain

this summer?



"If you want to enjoy yourself in beautiful surroundings with charming companions, Spain is your best bet."

—Spanish State Tourist Department

See For Yourself —

SPAIN . . .

LIFE SMILES UNDER THE light of a perennial sun in Spain. You're glad to be alive in this make-believe world of castles and gardens. . . .

IN MADRID alone, 400,000 people live in rows of huts scooped out of the hills. The Madrid paper, "Ya," draws this unforgettable picture:

"The suburbs of Madrid are a stench in the nostrils; tin-bestrewn ruins with miserable huts. It is a city without a roof, a sink of misery, a herding together of people on the ground with rats, typhus, and tuberculosis."

Such Food, Such Fun . . .

The visitor will find the food excellent and abundant, and the wine out of this world. . . .

The average Spaniard would have to work three days for the price of the drink you sip at cocktail hour. He earns $250 a year and faces a cost of living nine times higher than in 1939. For more than half the population the only pleasures are those that come free.

Gracious Living . . .

Drive or horseback around Madrid's 400-acre park, "Retiro," with its beautiful rose gardens, fountains and lakes and youngsters tended by nursemaids in frilly streamered caps. . . .

Spain boasts the highest infant mortality rate in Europe — 99 of every 1,000 infants die before they reach the age of one. Leprosy and tuberculosis are widespread. In the schools, "coughing children" present a never-ending problem. Spain leads among countries with the highest rate of illiteracy — more than half of the school-age children go without schooling.

Picturesque Peasants . . .

The beauty of this land is its sober simplicity: spacious views, noble trees, and a magnificent blue sky, dazzling in the pure and brittle air. . . .

Of almost 4,000,000 farm workers and landless peasants, one out of seven has a steady job.

The rest, seasonal workers, live on roots and wild plants most of the year.

Debt-ridden farmers must wring life out of the soil by the most primitive means. Two per cent of the landlords of Spain own 60 per cent of the arable land.

Peace and Comfort . . .

Everywhere you'll find quiet, cheerful service. Not only in the swank hotels, but along the highways in the charming centuries-old castles and monasteries equipped with modern conveniences. . . .

Behind old, old walls — prison walls, are almost 200,000 political prisoners with neither modern nor centuries-old conveniences. Among them are 21,000 women — and their children. In such cities as Barcelona, there are so-called "model" jails, where the torture is modern.

In five years, more than 1,100 civilians have been shot to death — either by military tribunals, or by civil guards under the "Ley de Fugas" — in effect, shot while "trying to escape." Driven into exile are almost half a million workers, 2,000 teachers, 700 doctors and professors, 100 writers and poets, 50 scientists, composers, artists, painters.

NEW OFFICERS
of the
JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee today announced the election of Dr. Mark Straus as chairman to assume the vacancy left by the resignation of Dr. Edward K. Barsky, for more than ten years a leader of the anti-Franco relief organization.

Dr. Straus, a practicing physician, is a veteran of the Spanish civil war. He has long been an active leader of the refugee committee and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

A "Reunion of the Thirteen" anti-Franco leaders who have all completed their jail sentences, will be held at the Brevoort Hotel on Saturday evening, March 3rd, to which all friends of the committee have been invited.

"The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is to be congratulated in the election of Dr. Straus as chairman," said Dr. Barsky. "He has been active in the struggle against Franco since the beginning, and will bring to his new office energy, enthusiasm, vision and courage. Unfortunately for me, the demands of my present situation do not permit me to continue as chairman. The objectives of the committee are today as pertinent and urgent to all Americans as ever. The fate of Spain and of the Spanish Republicans in exile depends on peace. A durable peace will never obtain until democracy rises once again in Spain."

The Committee also announced the designation of Milton Kaufman as executive secretary to succeed Miss Helen Bryan. Miss Bryan and Mrs. Ernestina Fleischman have just completed their prison terms for contempt of the House Commit-

-more-

tee on Un-American Activities.

Dr. Barsky, a noted surgeon who headed the American hospital in Spain during the civil war and pioneered in the establishment of mobile front-line hospitals for the Spanish Republican forces, served as chairman of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee from its inception. Like the other twelve leaders of the committee, Dr. Barsky was convicted of contempt for declining to risk submitting to the Un-American Activities Committee the names of Spanish refugees who were beneficiaries of relief or of the thousands of Americans who contributed to the work of the committee he headed. Holding that the congressional committee's demands were unconstitutional and that its personnel displayed a marked pro-Franco bias, Dr. Barsky was forced to serve his sentence when the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case. He is now engaged in efforts to safeguard his right to practice as a physician.

"Dr. Barsky has established a tradition of vigorous advocacy of the cause of Republican Spain and of support of the exiled victims of Franco that will be difficult to equal,"declared Dr. Straus in tribute to the outgoing chairman. "The exchange of ambassadors and the lifting of the five-year diplomatic boycott of Franco by the United Nations dealt a serious blow to the aspirations of the Spanish people and to the cause of world peace," he said. "But these actions will solve nothing. No power on earth can shore up for any length of time the vicious and oppressive rule of Franco. Neither American dollars, nor American diplomats can for long delay the end of the lone surviving partner of Hitler and Mussolini.

"The work of this committee deserves the fullest, uninterrupted support of the devoted friends of the cause of Spain and of world peace."

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SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL *of the*

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE
23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 4-0381

Chairman DR. MARK STRAUS

Executive Secretary PAULINE ROYCE

APPEAL OFFICERS
PABLO PICASSO
Honorary Chairman
DOROTHY PARKER
Acting Chairman

February 9, 1955

Dear Friend:

On January 31, Justice Schreiber of the N. Y. State Supreme Court denied a motion to quash a subpoena issued by the N. Y. State Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Organizations demanding that Pauline Royce, Secretary, produce the books and records of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Similar subpoenas were served on several other organizations including the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

While the JAFRC has answered the subpoena and made available financial records for examination, it is already evident that the N. Y. State Joint Legislative Committee is not satisfied with financial data but what they want is names and other information about the functioning of the organization, over which they have no jurisdiction.

Set up originally to investigate racketeering in the raising of funds for charities and philanthropies, this Committee has completely distorted its function into a fishing expedition and a dragnet for "contempt" jailings, creating the atmosphere of a local witchhunt. Its total concentration now is on people's organizations in the civic, political and defense field. This Committee has already issued subpoenas to many people connected in one way or another with these organizations.

The present activities of the Committee are an invasion of the First Amendment, with its guarantee of freedom of speech and associat ion; of the Fourth Amendment, which secures people against unreasonable search and seizure; of the Fourteenth Amendment which prevents any state from making or enforcing any law which abridges the privileges or immunities of the people.

As in the past, JAFRC will fight against this latest attempt in New York State to invade our constitutional rights. We urge anybody who may receive a subpoena to immediately communicate with our office.

Cordially yours,

Pauline Royce

Pauline Royce

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL *of the*

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE
23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 4-0381

Chairman DR. MARK STRAUS

Executive Secretary PAULINE ROYCE

APPEAL OFFICERS
PABLO PICASSO
Honorary Chairman
DOROTHY PARKER
Acting Chairman

January 28, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
270 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is paying tribute to the ceaseless struggle for freedom in Spain by sponsoring a rally on April 14th to commemorate the 24th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE SPANISH REPUBLIC.

While paying tribute to the courageous people of Spain who are keeping alive the spirit of the Republic through their increasing struggle against Franco, the meeting will at the same time be a demonstration against the growing U.S.-Franco partnership and the efforts of the Spanish dictator to get full membership in the United Nations.

You have been a sponsor of long standing of our organization, and we would be honored if you would agree to speak at the meeting. With Spain on the front pages every day, this meeting assumes great significance at the present time.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,
Pauline Royce
Pauline Royce
Executive Secretary

June 9, 1954

Mr. Morris Granat
Mr. Ted Gibbs
5101 South Kimbark
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mee and Ted:

Your letter of April 23rd was received but we could not answer earlier because our plans for Paul's schedule could not be definite until after May 26th Salute to him.

Paul is scheduled to be in Chicago between July 17th and July 25th. He will be on his way to the Canadian Border for a concert there on August 1st. I understand that two major events are being planned — one on the south side and the other on the west side. I have been in touch with Ishmael Flory, whom I understand is assuming a major responsibility regards this visit. I suggest that he be contacted for discussion around any appearance involving your organization.

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG:cb

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL *of the*

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23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 4-0381

Chairman DR. MARK STRAUS

Executive Secretary PAULINE ROYCE

APPEAL OFFICERS
PABLO PICASSO
Honorary Chairman
DOROTHY PARKER
Acting Chairman

April 23, 1954

Answered 4/29/54

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

This month JAFRC completes twelve full years of activity in support of the victims of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini. The Committee has raised over a million dollars which was sent far and wide to relieve the distress of the exiled Spanish Republicans. Despite repeated attacks, JAFRC is still on the job, sending relief to Spanish refugees and telling the American people the truth about Franco's regime.

Last spring the Attorney General called upon the Subversive Activities Control Board to order JAFRC to register as a "Communist-front" organization under the McCarran Act. Former President Truman described the McCarran Act as putting the U.S. into the thought-control business. It is no accident that this new attempt to destroy JAFRC coincided with the Eisenhower administration's wooing of Franco, negotiating for air bases in Spain, and appropriating millions to build up Franco's regime militarily and economically.

JAFRC is now defending itself against the Attorney General's false and malicious charges. The right to continue relief work and to emphasize the anti-American character of the Franco regime warrents wide support in itself. In today's fear-ridden atmosphere of McCarthyism, defense of the Committee assumes special importance; for the right for retention of democratic, constitutional freedoms will be won only where it is specifically waged.

You have long supported the cause of the Spanish refugees, and have been for many years a national sponsor of the Committee. A reaffirmation of your sponsorship at this time will give us inestimable strength in our defense of American democracy. We are enclosing a statement for your signature, and would appreciate any comments. May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Mark Straus

Mark Straus, M. D.
Chairman

264MR:jr

22 Belsize Square

London N.W.3.

10th June 1953

Dear Paul Robeson,

I am writing on behalf of an organization known as the Aid to Spanish Youth Committee, to ask if you would be prepared to help us with a concert we are planning for the near future.

I have no need to plead with you the cause of Republican Spain and the urgency of our giving all help we can to the anti-Franco forces. But I should tell you exactly what this particular concert is in aid of.

Our Committee has persistently campaigned, in the youth movement here, for the release of Gregorio Lopez Raimundo and other Spanish democrats held in jail for political offences. To further this aim, we plan to join with the International Brigade Association in sending a delegation to Spain, some time in September: Their task will be to seek an interview with Raimundo, and to find out from his lawyers, relatives and friends everything possible about his conditions, so that we may have full information for our campaign. Our share of the expenses is likely to be at least £60, and it is to raise part of this that we are organizing the concert.

Perhaps you have already guessed that the form of help we are asking of you is a recorded message; a spoken message and a song to follow it would be ideal. We can, of course, borrow a copy of "Los quatro generales" for the occasion - though the "Songs of free men" volume is pretty well unobtainable in England and probably fetches its weight in gold! But we know that if we were able to advertise a message recorded specially for the occasion, the success of our concert would be more than assured. We shall, of course, be glad to reimburse the costs of the recording and airmail postage, if you are able to help us in this way.

As the concert is to be in mid-July we should be very grateful to hear, one way or the other, as soon as

you can conveniently let us know. Finally, may we send our very best wishes to you and to all our friends and comrades in the American movement?

With warmest greetings,

Yours fraternally,

Geoff de N Clark
for Aid to Spanish Youth Committee

Robison

SPANISH REFUGEE APPEAL *of the*

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE

23 WEST 26 STREET, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 4-0381

Chairman DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY • *Treasurer* PROFESSOR LYMAN R. BRADLEY • *Executive Secretary* HELEN R. BRYAN

APPEAL OFFICERS

PABLO PICASSO
Honorary Chairman

DOROTHY PARKER
Chairman

NATIONAL SPONSORS

REV. DR. CHARLES B. ACKLEY
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PROF. DOROTHY BREWSTER
PROF. ARTHUR G. BRODEUR
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AGNES GEORGE DE MILLE
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EARL B. DICKERSON
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OLIN DOWNES
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ALBERT EINSTEIN
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PHILIP EVERGOOD
DR. HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD
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HOWARD FAST
LION FEUCHTWANGER
DR. LOUIS FINGER
ELIZABETH P. FRAZIER
REV. STEPHEN FRITCHMAN
BETTY GARRETT
FRANK GERVASI
MRS. ELINOR S. GIMBEL
RABBI SOLOMON GOLDMAN
DR. ROBERT GORDIS
(Partial list)

February 26, 1951

Dear Sponsor:

I am enclosing an announcement of the committee which we are about to make public.

Most unfortunately, Dr. Edward K. Barsky and Miss Helen R. Bryan have found it necessary to resign. Nevertheless, Dr. Barsky's reassuring statement points to his continuing interest and support of the work of the Committee. He is at present engaged in efforts to safeguard his right to practice as a physician.

The new officers are determined to maintain the enviable traditions which have been built in the ten years this committee has functioned. Our relief commitments are paid up-to-date, as are our bills. There is every reason to expect that through the support of the many friends of this organization we will continue to operate on a sound financial basis. In view of present developments in American relations with the Franco regime, our activity in behalf of Spanish Republican refugees has become all the more urgent.

Sincerely yours,

Milton Kaufman

Milton Kaufman
Executive Secretary

mk:fc
enc
dpowa/65

NATIONAL SPONSORS *(CONTINUED)*

WILLIAM GROPPER
CHAIM GROSS
PROF. RALPH H. GUNDLACH
PROF. MARION HATHAWAY
LILLIAN HELLMAN
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ORSON WELLES
MRS. PHILIP E. WILCOX
MITCHELL WILSON
CARL ZIGROSSER

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS UNITED FREEDOM FUND CONSTITUTION, MINUTES 1952 11/7

THE FREEDOM FUND
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Trustees

Paul Robeson, Chairman
Louis E. Burnham, Secretary
W. Alphaeus Hunton, Treasurer
Victoria Garvin
(One or more members to be added to the Board of Trustees pending discussions now in progress.)

Preamble

The future of American democracy depends largely on the future of the American Negro. No aspect of our national life escapes the damage wrought by three hundred years of segregation and discrimination.

The disfranchisement of millions in the South remains the mainspring of corruption and reaction in our political life. Economic exploitation creates poverty, ignorance and disease, manufactures rural and urban slums in the midst of resplendent wealth, and threatens the security of the whole nation. Our democratic intentions are sullied in the eyes of the people of the world who witness on our shores the perpetuation of an oppression more brutal than anywhere else in the world, with the possible exception of South Africa.

No real peace is possible without friendship, respect, and cooperation of the colored peoples of the colonial world who constitute two-thirds of the human family. And the United States cannot win, nor will it deserve to win, that friendship and cooperation so long as 15 million Americans of color remain half-free.

Each movement and project, then, which seeks to break the long-standing walls of "Jim-Crow" in our land, contributes to the democracy of the nation, to its economic security, to its capacity to serve the cause of peace, not war. Each movement so directed merits the attention and the support of all Americans who would work for peace, freedom, and security.

Purpose

The purpose of the Freedom Fund shall be to encourage and support, through financial grants-in-aid, such organizations, projects and activities as may contribute substantially to the achievement of full and equal citizenship status for the Negro people in the United States and the exercise of their maximum role in the progress of all humanity.

Organizational Structure

The Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of five (5) members. Pursuant to its original establishment, the Board shall select from among its members: (a) a Chairman, to serve for a term of five years; (b) two members, to serve for a term of two years; (c) two members to serve for a term of three years.

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a Secretary and a Treasurer of the Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund and to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions.

3. The assets of the Freedom Fund shall be deposited in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by the Chairman of the Fund and countersigned by the Treasurer.

(continued)

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

5. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive, consider, and act upon all requests made to the Fund for financial aid on behalf of organizations, committees or individuals whose activities fall within the purposes of the Fund.

6. The Board of Trustees shall normally meet at least once each month to review the affairs of the Fund and to transact its business. Additional meetings of the Board may be held at the call of the Chairman.

7. For the purpose of transacting the business of the Fund, the attendance of at least three members of the Board is required at any meeting.

8. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to engage personnel necessary to the accomplishment of its aims.

Determination of Grants-In-Aid

In acting upon requests for grants-in-aid, the Fund shall be guided by the following major considerations:

1. That the project under consideration shall contribute to the strengthening of the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the Negro people of the United States and oppressed and colonial peoples throughout the world, with especial reference to the people of Africa.

2. That the project under consideration shall enhance the role of organized labor in the affairs of the Negro communities and strengthen the ties between the Negro people and the trade union movement.

3. That the project under consideration shall stimulate the participation of the Negro people in the world-wide struggle for peace.

4. That the project under consideration shall enhance the particular efforts of the Negro people in the South for full equality.

5. That the project under consideration shall achieve the dissemination of materials and literature designed to foster the foregoing objectives.

* * * * * *

6. Cultural field

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Organizational Structure

The Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of ~~five (5)~~ members. ~~Pursuant to its original establishment, the Board shall select from among its members: (a) a Chairman, to serve for a term of five years; (b) two members, to serve for a term of two years; (c) two members to serve for a term of three years.~~

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer of the Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund and to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions.

3. The assets of the Freedom Fund shall be deposited in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by ~~the Chairman of the Fund and countersigned by the Treasurer.~~ Two of the 3 officers of the Fund.

(continued)

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

~~5. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive, consider, and act upon all requests made to the Fund for financial aid on behalf of organizations, committees or individuals whose activities fall within the purposes of the Fund.~~

6. The Board of Trustees shall normally meet at least once each month to review the affairs of the Fund and to transact its business. Additional meetings of the Board may be held at the call of the Chairman.

7. For the purpose of transacting the business of the Fund, the attendance of at least ~~three~~ five members of the Board is required at any meeting.

8. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to engage personnel necessary to the accomplishment of its aims.

Determination of Grants-In-Aid

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2. That the project under consideration shall enhance the role of organized labor in the affairs of the Negro communities and strengthen the ties between the Negro people and the trade union movement.

3. That the project under consideration shall stimulate the participation of the Negro people in the world-wide struggle for peace.

4. That the project under consideration shall enhance the particular efforts of the Negro people in the South for full equality.

5. That the project under consideration shall achieve the dissemination of materials and literature designed to foster the foregoing objectives.

* * * * * *

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Organizational Structure

The Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of five (7) members. ~~Pursuant to its original establishment, the Board shall select from among its members: (a) a Chairman, to serve for a term of five years; (b) two members, to serve for a term of two years; (c) two members to serve for a term of three years.~~

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a Secretary and a Treasurer of the Chairman, Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund and to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions.

3. The assets of the Freedom Fund shall be deposited in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by the Chairman of the Fund and countersigned by the Treasurer.

(continued)

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

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4. That the project under consideration shall enhance the particular efforts of the Negro people in the South for full equality.

5. That the project under consideration shall achieve the dissemination of materials and literature designed to foster the foregoing objectives.

* * * * * * *

Every Council & all Officers

Minutes of United Freedom Fund Meeting
Office of Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Session 1 - February 12, 1952

Present:

Coleman Young, Ray Dennis, Vickie Garvin, Ernest Thompson-Nat'l Negro Labor Council; Edith Roberts, George E. Murphy Jr., Louis Burnham - Freedom; Council on African Affairs, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton; Ruth Jett, Committee for the Negro in the Arts; Paul Robeson

Agenda

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund
II. Robeson Tour
III. Greetings Project.

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund

m/s/c/: To establish a national fund.

m/s/c: That the purpose of the fund primarily, is to raise monies for the budgets of the participating organizations, with the understanding that this arrangement will in no way preclude the independent fund-raising activities of the participating organizations.

m/s/c: That the first project will be sponsorship by the Fund of the Robeson Birthday tour, and secondly, sponsorship of the Greetings project, and that other projects will be considered at a future date.

That the rules , personnel, trustees of this fund are temporary and will be reviewed after the completion of the initial projects. That the Fund shall be composed of two representatives from NNLC, two from FREEDOM, 1 from CAF, 1 from CNA.

m/s/c: That the organizational structure of the United Freedom Fund be set up as follows:

1. The United Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of six (6) members.

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer of the United Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund, to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions The Honorary Chairman of the Fund shall be entitled to attend meetings and participate in deliberations of the Board, but shall not vote upon or be responsible for the decisions made by it.

3. The Secretary and the Treasurer are authorized to set up an account in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by two of the three officers of the Fund.

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

5. The Board of Trustees shall normally meet at least once each month to review the affairs of the Fund and to transact its business. Additional meetings of the Board may be held at the call of the Chairman.

6. For the purpose of transacting the business of the Fund, the attendance of at least four members of the Board is required at any meeting.

7: The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to engage personnel necessary to the accomplishment of its aims.

m/s/c: That the members of the UFF shall be officially designated by their organizations and that where the officially designated members cannot be present at meetings, officially designated alternates shall be appointed by the organization.

m/s/c: That persons present at this session shall constitute themselves as officially organizing the UFF.

m/s/c: That regular and alternate members of the Fund are as follows:

NNLC - Regular: Ray Dennis and Coleman Young: Alternates - Vickie Garvin and Ernest Thompson

CAF - Regular and Alternates members to be named.

Freedom Associates - Regular: Edith Roberts and Louis Burnham; Alternate - George B. Murphy, Jr.

CNA - Regular: Ruth Jett; Alternate: to be named.

m/s/c: That alternates present be permitted to participate in this meeting.

m/s/c: That Officers of the Fund shall be authorized to secure such legal aid that shall be necessary in the conduct of the Fund.

MEETING ADJOURNED UNTIL 9: A. M. WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13th.

Meeting, Wednesday February 13, 1952

Present: Ray Dennis, Coleman Young, Louis Burnham, Edith Roberts Vickie Garvin, Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, Ruth Jett, George B. Murphy Jr.

Agenda: I. Tour II. Birthday Greetings Campaign

1. Tour

m/s/c: Local sponsorship would consist of participating organizations (in UFF) where they exist plus as many individuals from other organizations in the area who will become sponsors. Local sponsorship will exclude any organizations other than officially designated participating organizations in the UFF.

m/s/c: That the meetings shall be primarily cultural celebrations with the finest artists in the area and that the major feature presentations should be the aims and purpose of the United Freedom Fund combined with collection speech--that provisions should be made for presentation of various programs of the participating organizations, taking into consideration the mass basic of NNLC. That presentation of greetings to Paul Robeson by key community people should also be considered a major feature of the program of these meetings.

m/s/c: That the following itinerary be considered the basis for organizing the tour.

APRIL	2 - Pittsburgh	15 - Denver	MAY 1 - New York
	4 - Cleveland	18 - Los Angeles	9 - Boston
	6 - Detroit	20 - San Francisco	11 - Philadelphia
	7 -	21 - Oakland	13 - Newark
	9 - Chicago	24 - Portland	17 - Baltimore
	11 - Indianapolis	27 - Seattle	
	13 - St. Louis	Buffalo to be worked in with the N. Y. dates	

Southern Tour - the last two weeks in May:

Louisville

Winston-Salem

New Orleans

Durham

Birmingham

m/s/c/ That the financial arrangement for each local meeting be as follows:

Local Obligation:

1. Promotional expenses
2. Travel expenses for Robeson party (pro rata share)
3. $500 professional fee for Mr. Robeson and Mr.Brown

After deduction of above , the gross proceeds should be divided as follows:

$1000.00 minimum guarantee or 60% of the net proceeds -whichever is greater shall be allocated to the UFF. The remaining monies of net proceeds shall become the property of the local sponsoring group.

m/s/c: That Mr. Robeson's Party consist of 4 people:

1. Mr. Robeson ". Mr. Lawrence Brown 3. United Freedom Fund Field Representative 4. Mr.Robeson's personal representative.

m/s/c: That John Gray of Chicago assume the responsibility of Field Representative for the UFF and begin his official duties immediately with an advance field trip along the proposed itinerary.

m/s/c: That the personal representative be worked out by the trustees.

It is agreed that the NNLC will provide a representative to accompany the party in each area of the itinerary if it is unable to provide for the entire trip.

m/s/c: That the officers of UFF shall be as follows:

Coleman Young, Chairman. (NNLC)

Louis Burnham, Treasury. (Freedom Asso.)

CAF to provide a secretary.

II. Birthday Greetings Drive

m/s/c: That Edith Roberts be appointed director of the project on loan to UFF for duration of the campaign and that FREEDOM will pay her salary which will be repaid from UFF.

m/s/c: That a budget of $11,585.20 be raised to promote the greeting

m/s/c: project- (see enclosed budget) with provisions that his budget can be modified as deemed necessary.

m/s/c: That the immediate wum of $5,000.00 be raised to get the greeting project and the tour under way.

The meeting closed with the following unfinished business:

1. Budget for the tour

2. Other organizational details

Goal: Distribution of 700,000 greetings with net income of at least $50,000.00

Greetings	700,000	$4,235.00	
Envelopes (Return)	"" ""	1,925.00	
Letters to trade Unions (2M		26.00	
Letters to Organizations 2M		26.00	
Letters to Individuals 170M		1,122.00	
# 10 envelopes	170M	952.00	
Total Printing expense			$8,286.00
Postage 170M @ 3@		$5,100.00	
" Misc.		100.00	
" Packages-Greetings		200.00	
Total Postage			$5,400.00
Full time clerical worker 8 weeks @ $		50.00	
Misc. volunteer workers-lunches,carfare etc.		25.00	
Office supplies		50.00	
Org. Expenses		25.00	
Total			$14,186.00

Immediate Budget

Greetings	50M	$ 335.00	
Envelopes,return	50M	175.00	
Letters to T. U.	2M	26.00	
" " " Org.	20M	26.00	
Letters to Indiv	20M	260.00	
#10 Envelopes	20M	112.00	
Printing			$ 934.00
Postage 20M @ 3@		$ 600.00	
3 weeks guarantee salary clerical worker		150.00	
Total			$1,684.00

Minutes of United Freedom Fund Meeting
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Session 1 - February 12, 1952

Present:

Paul Robeson;
Coleman Young, Ray Dennis, Vicki Carvin, Ernest Thompson - NNLC; Edith Roberts, George B. Murphy, Jr., Louis Burnham - FA; Alphaeus Hunton - CAF; Ruth Jett - CNA

Agenda:

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund
II. Robeson Tour
III. Greetings Project

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund

m/s/c: To establish a national fund.

m/s/c: That the purpose of the fund primarily, is to raise monies for the budgets of the participating organizations, with the understanding that this arrangement will in no way preclude the independent fund-raising activities of the participating organizations.

m/s/c: That the first project will be sponsorhip by the Fund of the Robeson Birthday tour, and secondly sponsorship of the greetings project, and that other projects will be considered at a future date.

m/s/c: That the rules, personnel, trustees of this fund are temporary and will be reviewed after the completion of the initial projects.

m/s/c: That the name of the fund shall be the UNITED FREEDOM FUND.

m/s/c: That the Fund shall be composed of two representatives from NNLC, two from FREEDOM, 1 from CAF, 1 from CNA.

Minutes - UFF Feb. 12, 1952

m/s/c: That the organizational structure of the United Freedom Fund be set up as follows:

1. The United Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of six (six) members.

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer of the United Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund, to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions. The Honorary Chairman of the Fund shall be entitled to attend meetings and participate in deliberations of the Board, but shall not vote upon or be responsible for the decisions made by it.

3. The secretary and the Treasurer are authorized to set up an account in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by two of the three officers of the Fund.

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

5. The Board of Trustees shall normally meet at least once each month to review the affairs of the Fund and to transact its business. Additional meetings of the Board may be held at the call of the Chairman.

6. For the purpose of transacting the business of the Fund, the attendance of at least four members of the Board is required at any meeting.

7. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to engage personnel necessary to the accomplishment of its aims.

m/s/c: That the members of the UFF shall be officially designated by their organizations and that where the officially designated members cannot be present at meetings, officially designated alternates shall be appointed by the organization.

m/s/c: That ~~regular and alternate~~ persons present at this session shall constitute themselves as officially organizing the UFF.

m/s/c: That regular and alternate members of the Fund are as follows:

NNLC - Regular: Ray Dennis and Coleman Young; Alternates Vicki Garvin and Ernest Thompson.
CAF - Regular and Alternate members to be named.
FA - Regular: Edith Roberts and Louis Burnham; Alternate: George B. Murphy, Jr.
CNA - Regular: Ruth Jett; Alternate: to be named.

m/s/c: That alternates present be permitted to participate in this meeting.

m s/c: That officers of the Fund shall be authorized to secure such legal aid that shall be necessary in the conduct of the fund.

MEETING ADJOURNED UNTIL 9 A. M. WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

Meeting, Wednesday, February 13, 1952

Present: Ray Dennis, Coleman Young, Louis Burnham, Edith Roberts, Vicki Garvin, Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, Ruth Jett, George B. Murphy, Jr.

Agenda: I. Tour II. Birthday Greeting Project

I. Tour

m/s/c: That local sponsorship would consist of participating organizations (in UFF) where they exist plus as many individuals from other organizations in the area who will become sponsors. Local sponsorship will exclude any organization other thanofficially designated participating organizations in the UFF.

m/s/c: That the meetings shall be primarily cultural celebrations with the finest artists in the area and that the major feature presentation should be the aims and purposes of the United Freedom Fund combined with collection speech -- that provisions should be made for presentation of various programs of the participating organizations, taking into consideration the mass base of NNLC. That presentation of greetings to Paul Robeson by key community people also be considered a major feature of the program of these meetings.

m/s/c: That the following ininterary be considered the basis for organizing the tour.

April		May
2 - Pittsburgh	15 - Denver	1 - New York
4 - Cleveland	18 - Los Angeles	9 - Boston
6 - Detroit	20 - San Francisco	11 - Philadelphia
7	21 - Oakland	13 - Newark
9 - Chicago	24 - Portland	17 - Baltimore
11 - ~~Louisville~~ Indianapolis ?		Buffalo to be worked in with New York dates
13 - St. Louis	27 - Seattle	

Southern Tour - last two weeks in May

Winston Salem
New Orleans
Durham
Birmingham
Louisville ?

m/s/c: The financial arrangements for each local ~~meeting~~ meeting shall be as follows:

Local obligations
1. Promotional expenses
2. Travel expenses for Robeson party (pro rata share).
3. $500 professional fee for Mr. Robeson and Mr. Brown.

After deduction of above from the gross the net proceeds should be divided as follows:

$1,900 (one thousand) guarantee or 60% of the net proceeds - whichever is greater shall be allocated to the UFF. The remaining monies of net proceeds shall become the property of the local sponsoring group.

m/s/c: That Mr. Robeson's Party consist of 4 people:
1. Mr. Robeson 2. Mr. Laurence Brown 3. United Freedom Fund Field Representative. 4. Mr. Robeson's personal rep.

m/s/c: That John Gray of Chicago assume the responsibility of Field Rep. for the UFF and begin his official duties immediately with an advance field trip along the proposed itinerary.

m/s/c: That the personal representative be worked out by the trustees.

It is agreed that the NNLC will provide a representative to accompany the party in each area of the intinerary if it is unable to provide for the entire trip.

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Louis Burnham, Treasurer (Freedom Assoc.

CAF to provide a secretary.

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m/s/c: That Edith Roberts be appointed director of the project on loan to UFF for duration of the campaign and that Freedom will pay her salary which will be repaid from UFF.

m/c/s: That a budget of $11,585.20 be raised to promote the greeting project (see enclosed budget) with provisions that this budget can be modified as deemed necessary.

m/s/c: That an immediate sum of $5,000.00 be raised to get the greeting project and the tour under way.

the meeting closed with the following unfinished business:

1. Budget for the tour
2. Other organizational details.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND

PRESENTS

PAUL ROBESON IN CONCERT

MANUAL FOR LOCAL SPONSORING GROUPS

PREPARED BY JOHN GRAY, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE — UNITED FREEDOM FUND

PAUL ROBESON HAS JUST COMPLETED HIS FIRST CONCERT TOUR SINCE 1947. THE TOUR MARKS MR. ROBESON'S FORMAL RETURN TO THE CONCERT STAGE. HE WITHDREW FROM THIS FORM OF ARTISTIC LEADERSHIP FIVE YEARS AGO, AND THROUGHOUT THAT PERIOD DEDICATED HIMSELF TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE, AND WORLD PEACE. NOW, WITH HIS VOLUNTARY LEAVE OF ABSENCE DRAWN TO A CLOSE, PAUL ROBESON IS ENSHRINED IN THE HEARTS OF FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

MR. ROBESON'S RECENT TOUR COVERED FIFTEEN CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND INVOLVED SOME 75,000 PEOPLE IN RECORD-BREAKING AUDIENCES. THE HIGH POINT OF THE TOUR WAS A CONCERT HELD ON THE CANADIAN-AMERICAN BORDER AT BLAINE, WASHINGTON UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF THE CANADIAN DISTRICT OF THE MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS UNION. THIS CONCERT WAS ATTENDED BY 40,000 MUSIC-LOVERS, MAINLY CANADIANS.

THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTIONS ARE OFFERED TO GROUPS UNDERTAKING TO SPONSOR PAUL ROBESON IN CONCERT.

I. CLEARANCE OF DATE, SECURING THE HALL, SIGNING THE CONTRACT:

A. THE PROPOSED DATE FOR YOUR CONCERT SHOULD BE CLEARED WITH MR. ROBESON'S MANAGEMENT:

MISS EDITH ROBERTS, DIRECTOR
UNITED FREEDOM FUND
53 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

B. AS SOON AS THE DATE IS CLEARED WITH MISS ROBERTS, BE SURE TO SECURE THE HALL FOR THE CONCERT. IF POSSIBLE PAY FOR THE HALL IN FULL BEFORE THE ARTIST IS ANNOUNCED, AND HAVE THE AGREEMENT FOR THE HALL REDUCED TO WRITING, IN CONTRACT FORM.

C. IMMEDIATELY UPON CLEARANCE OF THE PROPOSED CONCERT DATE, A CONTRACT FROM OUR OFFICE WILL BE FORWARDED TO YOU. THE CONTRACT SHOULD BE SIGNED IN DUPLICATE AND RETURNED WITH THE DOWN PAYMENT.

II. PROGRAM:

A. COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE CULTURAL LIFE OF YOUR COMMUNITY BE EXPRESSED AT THE CONCERT IN THE FORM OF THE PARTICIPATION OF OUTSTANDING ARTISTS FROM YOUR CITY OR REGION. MR. ROBESON IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN FURTHERING, THROUGH HIS APPEARANCES, THE OPPORTUNITIES OF YOUNG DESERVING ARTISTS TO REACH A WIDE CONCERT AUDIENCE.

B. IT IS PREFERRED THAT SUCH COMMUNITY TALENT BE FOUND AMONG INSTRUMENTALISTS, DRAMATISTS, VOCALISTS OR DANCERS. CHORAL GROUPS SHOULD NOT BE USED, EXCEPT IN UNUSUAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE FULL CHORUS CAN BE GUARANTEED. THE LOCAL SPONSORING COMMITTEE SHOULD CAREFULLY REVIEW ALL PERFORMANCES OF LOCAL TALENT WITH AN EYE TO CONTENT AND TO GUARANTEEING THAT THE QUALITY OF PERFORMANCE IS IN KEEPING WITH THE STANDARDS OF THE CONCERT. IN CASE OF ANY QUESTION REGARDING THE SUITABILITY OF LOCAL TALENT, THE FINAL DECISION WILL REST WITH MR. ROBESON'S MANAGEMENT.

C. THE CONCERT PROGRAM IS TO BE DIVIDED INTO TWO SECTIONS, WITH MR. ROBESON APPEARING AT THE END OF EACH HALF. THE NUMBERS TO BE SUNG BY MR. ROBESON WILL BE SUPPLIED UPON REQUEST, IN ORDER THAT THEY MAY BE USED IN PREPARING THE PRINTED PROGRAM FOR THE CONCERT.

D. WORK ON THE PROGRAM SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN SUFFICIENTLY IN ADVANCE OF THE CONCERT TO ENABLE A COMMITTEE TO SECURE ADVERTISEMENTS FROM LOCAL BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS. THIS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT MEANS OF RAISING MONIES TO DEFRAY PART OF THE COST OF PROMOTION. COPIES OF SUCH A PROGRAM SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE AUDIENCE WITHOUT CHARGE.

E. THIS OFFICE IS PREPARING A SOUVENIR BOOK FEATURING PICTURES AND STORY OF MR. ROBESON'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS, FOR SALE AT ALL CONCERTS.

F. TAPE OR WIRE RECORDINGS OF THE FULL PROGRAM OF ANY PART THEREOF IS STRICTLY PROHIBITED EXCEPT BY SPECIAL PERMISSION OF MR. ROBESON'S MANAGEMENT.

III. ADMISSION PRICE AND SCALING OF THE HOUSE:

A. PRICES OF ADMISSION FOR THE CONCERT SHOULD RANGE FROM $1.20 AND SHOULD INCLUDE SECTIONS OF THE HOUSE AT $1.80, $2.40, AND $4.80.

B. THE $4.80 TICKETS MAY BE SOLD AS "PATRON TICKETS" ENTITLING THE HOLDERS TO THE BEST SEATS IN THE HOUSE AND TO AN INVITATION TO AN AFTER-CONCERT RECEPTION IN MR. ROBESON'S HONOR.

C. NO TICKETS SHOULD BE SOLD FOR LESS THAN $1.20.

D. SCALE FOR 2,000 CAPACITY HOUSE

200 SEATS AT $4.80	$ 960.00
300 SEATS AT $2.40	720.00
500 SEATS AT $1.80	900.00
1000 SEATS AT $1.20	1,200.00
GROSS . .	$3,780.00
LESS FEDERAL TAX . .	630.00
NET TICKET SALES . .	$3,150.00

IV. SOUND SYSTEM AND PIANO:

A. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT A GOOD ELECTRICAL TECHNICIAN BE OBTAINED TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE PUBLIC ADDRESS SYSTEM IS IN ORDER AND TO BE ON HAND THROUGHOUT THE CONCERT TO OPERATE IT. IN ADDITION TO THE REGULAR LOUD-SPEAKERS, ONE SPEAKER SHOULD BE PLACED IN SUCH A POSITION AS TO ENABLE MR. ROBESON TO HEAR HIS VOICE AS HE SINGS. TWO MICROPHONES SHOULD BE AVAILABLE, ONE NEAR THE PIANO FOR MR. LAWRENCE BROWN, MR. ROBESON'S ACCOMPANIST, WHO JOINS MR. ROBESON IN SEVERAL SONGS, AND THE OTHER FOR MR. ROBESON.

B. THE PIANO SHOULD BE TUNED AND TESTED WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS PRIOR TO THE CONCERT. EITHER A STEINWAY OR BALDWIN CONCERT GRAND SHOULD BE USED. THE PIANO THAT COMES WITH THE HALL WILL MOST CERTAINLY NOT BE ACCEPTABLE FOR CONCERT WORK. PLEASE DO NOT TRY TO ECONOMIZE ON THIS ITEM. A GOOD CONCERT REQUIRES A GOOD PIANO.

V. SPONSORSHIP AND ADVANCE SALE OF TICKETS:

A. ALL EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO GUARANTEE THE WIDEST PARTICIPATION OF ALL SECTIONS OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY, SUPPORTED BY WHITE TRADE UNIONISTS, MUSIC LOVERS AND OTHER LARGE SEGMENTS OF THE WHITE POPULATION.

B. YOU MAY FIND IT ADVANTAGEOUS TO SELL LARGE BLOCS OF TICKETS (100 OR MORE) TO CHURCH GROUPS, COMMUNITY CENTERS, FRATERNAL AND SOCIAL CLUBS, AT A SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION (20%). SUCH A METHOD OF DISPOSING OF TICKETS SERVES THE TWO-FOLD PURPOSE OF AIDING LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS IN BUILDING THEIR TREASURIES AND INVOLVING WIDE SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION IN PROMOTING THE CONCERT. SETTLEMENT OF ALL SUCH BLOC TICKET COMMITTMENTS MUST BE MADE AT LEAST 48 HOURS BEFORE THE CONCERT, SO THAT UNSOLD TICKETS CAN BE PUT ON SALE AT THE BOX OFFICE.

VI. EXPENSES:

A. IN ADDITION TO THE CONCERT FEE, THE LOCAL SPONSORS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE LIVING EXPENSES (FOOD, HOUSING AND INCIDENTALS) FOR MR. ROBESON'S PARTY OF FOUR WHILE THE ARTIST IS IN YOUR CITY.

MEMORANDUM

Subject: NATIONAL CELEBRATION OF PAUL ROBESON'S BIRTHDAY

1. Paul Robeson will celebrate his 54th birthday on April 9. This memorandum deals with a program for organizing a mass tribute to Mr. Robeson on this occasion, and, through him, to the liberation struggles of the Negro people and the world-wide fight for peace. The program falls into two categories: (1) A series of meetings to be held in 24 cities from coast to coast, to take the form of Paul Robeson Birthday Cultural Festivals, with Mr. Robeson as the guest of honor and featured artists; (2) A birthday greeting project to be conducted by mail with the aim of soliciting birthday greetings to Mr. Robeson from at least one-half million people in the United States.

2. Auspices: The projects are being conducted nationally under the auspices of the United Freedom Fund. The UFF is a coordinating fund-raising agency recently established by four major organizations and institutions in the struggle for Negro rights: the National Negro Labor Council, the publication FREEDOM, the Council on African Affairs, and cultural groups. It thus embraces four of the major components in the anti-imperialist sector of the liberation movement; the organization of the Negro workers as a means of advancing their role of leadership; the mobilization of mass opinion and activity around the exploitation of Africa and the colonial world, as a key to winning the Negro people in the peace struggle, the building of Paul Robeson's paper FREEDOM as an influential consistent spokesman of the anti-imperialist viewpoint in the liberation movement, the fuller utilization of the unique talents of growing numbers of outstanding Negro cultural figures in the battle for peace and freedom.

A formal announcement of the formation of the UNITED FREEDOM FUND will appear in the press the week of March 3. The officers of the UFF are as follows:

Paul Robeson, Honorary Chairman
Coleman Young, (NNLC), Chairman
Louis Burnham, (FREEDOM), Treasurer
Herbert Aptheker, (CAF), Secretary

Members: Ray Dennis (NNLC), Edith Roberts (FREEDOM),
A representative of cultural groups.

Alternates: Ernest Thompson, Vicki Garvin, (NNLC);
George B. Murphy, Jr. (FREEDOM).

The Fund, of course, does not seek to influence the programs of the participating organizations or interfere with their independent fund-raising activities. It simply unites them for at least two major fund-raising appeals a year in the field of Negro rights, the first of which will take place around the Robeson birthday celebrations.

In this way it is expected to turn the emphasis of the organizations concerned in the direction of serious mass fund-raising as the only means of effectively solving the critical financial problems which they all face and which now dictate that they operate on a much smaller and narrower basis than objective situations require.

3. Goals: With this in mind it is the objective of the UFF to raise a total of $250,000 for the Negro liberation movement during the year; and raise $100,000 of this amount during the Robeson Birthday Celebrations.

4. Official Birthday Celebration Period: The official period for the celebration of Paul Robeson's 54th birthday is the two-month period beginning April 1 and ending May 31.

5. National Tour: A schedule is attached for a national tour which Mr. Robeson will make during April and May in connection with the project. The dates have been selected with the aim of meeting as nearly as possible the needs and requests of the local areas, but it must be borne in mind that if meetings are to be conducted as a tour, it will not be possible to accede to every request. The dates listed are fixed, not flexible, and those cities which cannot fit into the schedule will have to be left out for others which can.

6. Character of Meetings: As indicated above, the meetings are to be mainly cultural in character. They may be called concerts, cultural festivals, Paul Robeson Birthday Festivals, or some other appropriate name, but the content must be similar in all cities. In addition to Mr. Robeson, it is proposed that the leading artists (singers, actors, dancers, choirs, etc.) in the area participate, and that they be presented as paying tribute through their art to the greatest people's artist of our country. They, together with Mr. Robeson will make up the main part of the program. In addition to the artists, outstanding community leaders as representative groups as possible, from church, civic, education, business and labor groups - should be asked to give brief tributes to Mr. Robeson's leadership. The other main feature should be the collection speech to which major attention should be given. The collection speaker would be responsible for getting over a major part of the politics of the meeting, in that he or she will explain the purpose of the UNITED FREEDOM FUND and the programs and activities of the participating organizations.

7. Local Sponsorship: Local sponsorship of the meetings will be in the hands of a committee composed of local chapters of committees of the member organizations of the UFF, where they exist plus as big and representative a list of individuals as it is possible to get together. Other local organizations will be asked and expected to support the meetings, but are not to be included as sponsoring organizations. Thus, in various communities, it will be natural for groups as the Progressive Party, CRC, Peace Crusade, JPFO, Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and others to whose work Mr. Robeson has made incomparable contributions, to want to express their solidarity and support for him. Every provision should be made for them to do so, by selling tickets to guarantee the success of the affair presenting Mr. Robeson with subscriptions to FREEDOM as a birthday gift, and in similar ways. This does not mean that these groups are to become part

mainly cultural in character. They may be called concerts, cultural festivals, Paul Robeson Birthday Festivals, or some other appropriate name, but

of the sponsoring committee, or that the meetings are to become a forum for the presentation of their programs. It should be clear that, if that were to happen, the meeting would become an impossible hodge-podge rather than an expression of Robeson's base support and solidarity among the Negro people through the four organizations which make up the UFF.

Similarly, we may find in some cities that a minister or group of ministers or religious workers are interested in Mr. Robeson's appearance. By all means the support of the churches must be a key factor in preparing the meetings. But this is not the occasion for a church-sponsored concert, either on a strict professional basis or as a benefit. Mr. Robeson will be happy to return to many cities to do such concerts in the future. But the appearance immediately projected is to be a birthday celebration as outlined above and its character must be determined by the local representatives of the national sponsoring groups, getting all the help needed from all admirers of Paul Robeson and fighters for Negro freedom.

8. Financial Arrangements: The financial obligations which the local sponsoring groups must be prepared to meet in connection with the concert are as follows:

(a) Local promotional costs.
(b) Travel and living expenses for Robeson party of four.
(c) $500 artists fees for Mr. Robeson and accompanist.
(d) $1,000 or 60% of the gross proceeds to go to the UNITED FREEDOM FUND, whichever amount is larger.

This means that expenses in connection with the meeting will average around $3,000 in each city.

9. Size of Meetings: In light of the above it would be unwise for any city to undertake the meeting without an auditorium with a minimum seating capacity of 2,000. Such a hall, filled to capacity at $1.50 a seat plus tax, would just cover the expenses outlined above. In each case it is advisable to secure the largest hall above 2,000 which it is objectively possible to fill. The meetings should be conceived as the biggest Robeson meetings held in each city since since post-Peekskill tour, and bigger where possible. The tempo of struggle of the Negro people and the growing expressions of support for Robeson make such meetings possible if they are organized with sufficient energy, enthusiasm and breadth of vision. Such meetings would be major contributions to the offensive potential of the entire progressive movement in each community.

10. Sustainers: In each city an effort should be made to reach scores of individuals who will make annual sustaining contributions to the Negro liberation movement through the UFF. Such gifts could be announced at the meetings.

11. Attendance: The attendance at the meetings should not be confined to a given city. Delegations should be organized from cities, towns and rural areas within a radius of 50 or more miles of the meeting, so that admirers of Paul Robeson who do not live in the city may have an opportunity to join in the celebration.

12. FREEDOM: During the months of April - May, Paul Robeson's publication FREEDOM will be conducting its first nation-wide subscription drive. This monthly publication is the only consistent anti-imperialist voice in the Negro press. It provides the channel for Mr. Robeson's outlook on national and world affairs to reach into the homes of thousands of Negro and white readers regularly. It provides a mobilizing of tens of thousands around the campaigns of the National Negro Labor Council, the Council on African Affairs, the CRC, in opposition to the Smith Act victimization of political minorities and in the fight for peace. The aim of FREEDOM is to reach 20,000 new subscribers during this period in order to play a more decisive role in the fight for Negro representation and peace candidates in the crucial 1952 elections.

Attached to this memorandum is a schedule of subscription goals for various areas around the country. A major aspect of preparation for the birthday meetings should be a campaign for subs which will be presented to Mr. Robeson as one of his birthday gifts at the meeting.

13. Birthday Greeting Project: A separate memorandum on a birthday greeting mailing project, which is being conducted simultaneously with the tour, is in preparation, and will be available in a few days from the office of the United Freedom Fund, 53 West 125th Street, New York City 27.

14. Personnel: In order to carry out the project the UFF has employed the following personnel: Miss Edith Roberts, who will coordinate the tour and the greeting project and should be contacted regarding additional information, program, itinerary, etc.; Mr. John Gray, field representative, who will visit each city on the route of the tour beginning March 3, in order to assist with local arrangements and finalize agreements between the UFF and local sponsors.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MEMORANDUM

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4. Official Birthday Celebration Period: The official period for the celebration of Paul Robeson's 54th birthday is the two-month period beginning April 1 and ending May 31.

5. National Tour: A schedule is attached for a national tour which Mr. Robeson will make during April and May in connection with the project. The dates have been selected with the aim of meeting as nearly as possible the needs and requests of the local areas, but it must be borne in mind that if meetings are to be conducted as a tour, it will not be possible to accede to every request. The dates listed are fixed, not flexible, and those cities which cannot fit into the schedule will have to be left out for others which can.

6. Character of Meetings: As indicated above, the meetings are to be mainly cultural in character. They may be called concerts, cultural festivals, Paul Robeson Birthday Festivals, or some other appropriate name, but the content must be similar in all cities. In addition to Mr. Robeson, it is proposed that the leading artists (singers, actors, dancers, choirs, etc.) in the area participate, and that they be presented as paying tribute through their art to the greatest people's artist of our country. They, together with Mr. Robeson will make up the main part of the program. In addition to the artists, outstanding community leaders as representative groups as possible, from church, civic, education, business and labor groups - should be asked to give brief tributes to Mr. Robeson's leadership. The other main feature should be the collection speech to which major attention should be given. The collection speaker would be responsible for getting over a major part of the politics of the meeting, in that he or she will explain the purpose of the UNITED FREEDOM FUND and the programs and activities of the participating organizations.

7. Local Sponsorship: Local sponsorship of the meetings will be in the hands of a committee composed of local chapters of committees of the member organizations of the UFF, where they exist plus as big and representative a list of individuals as it is possible to get together. Other local organizations will be asked and expected to support the meetings, but are not to be included as sponsoring organizations. Thus, in various communities, it will be natural for groups as the Progressive Party, CRC, Peace Crusade, JPFO, Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and others to whose work Mr. Robeson has made incomparable contributions, to want to express their solidarity and support for him. Every provision should be made for them to do so, by selling tickets to guarantee the success of the affair presenting Mr. Robeson with subscriptions to FREEDOM as a birthday gift, and in similar ways. This does not mean that these groups are to become part

of the sponsoring committee, or that the meetings are to become a forum for the presentation of their programs. It should be clear that, if that were to happen, the meeting would become an impossible hodge-podge rather than an expression of Robeson's base support and solidarity among the Negro people through the four organizations which make up the UFF.

Similarly, we may find in some cities that a minister or group of ministers or religious workers are interested in Mr. Robeson's appearance. By all means the support of the churches must be a key factor in preparing the meetings. But this is not the occasion for a church-sponsored concert, either on a strict professional basis or as a benefit. Mr. Robeson will be happy to return to many cities to do such concerts in the future. But the appearance immediately projected is to be a birthday celebration as outlined above and its character must be determined by the local representatives of the national sponsoring groups, getting all the help needed from all admirers of Paul Robeson and fighters for Negro freedom.

8. Financial Arrangements: The financial obligations which the local sponsoring groups must be prepared to meet in connection with the concert are as follows:

(a) Local promotional costs.
(b) Travel and living expenses for Robeson party of four.
(c) $500 artists fees for Mr. Robeson and accompanist.
(d) $1,000 or 60% of the gross proceeds to go to the UNITED FREEDOM FUND, whichever amount is larger.

This means that expenses in connection with the meeting will average around $3,000 in each city.

9. Size of Meetings: In light of the above it would be unwise for any city to undertake the meeting without an auditorium with a minimum seating capacity of 2,000. Such a hall, filled to capacity at $1.50 a seat plus tax, would just cover the expenses outlined above. In each case it is advisable to secure the largest hall above 2,000 which it is objectively possible to fill. The meetings should be conceived as the biggest Robeson meetings held in each city since since post-Peekskill tour, and bigger where possible. The tempo of struggle of the Negro people and the growing expressions of support for Robeson make such meetings possible if they are organized with sufficient energy, enthusiasm and breadth of vision. Such meetings would be major contributions to the offensive potential of the entire progressive movement in each community.

10. Sustainers: In each city an effort should be made to reach scores of individuals who will make annual sustaining contributions to the Negro liberation movement through the UFF. Such gifts could be announced at the meetings.

11. Attendance: The attendance at the meetings should not be confined to a given city. Delegations should be organized from cities, towns and rural areas within a radius of 50 or more miles of the meeting, so that admirers of Paul Robeson who do not live in the city may have an opportunity to join in the celebration.

12. FREEDOM: During the months of April - May, Paul Robeson's publication FREEDOM will be conducting its first nation-wide subscription drive. This monthly publication is the only consistent anti-imperialist voice in the Negro press. It provides the channel for Mr. Robeson's outlook on national and world affairs to reach into the homes of thousands of Negro and white readers regularly. It provides a mobilizing of tens of thousands around the campaigns of the National Negro Labor Council, the Council on African Affairs, the CRC, in opposition to the Smith Act victimization of political minorities and in the fight for peace. The aim of FREEDOM is to reach 20,000 new subscribers during this period in order to play a more decisive role in the fight for Negro representation and peace candidates in the crucial 1952 elections.

Attached to this memorandum is a schedule of subscription goals for various areas around the country. A major aspect of preparation for the birthday meetings should be a campaign for subs which will be presented to Mr. Robeson as one of his birthday gifts at the meeting.

13. Birthday Greeting Project: A separate memorandum on a birthday greeting mailing project, which is being conducted simultaneously with the tour, is in preparation, and will be available in a few days from the office of the United Freedom Fund, 53 West 125th Street, New York City 27.

14. Personnel: In order to carry out the project the UFF has employed the following personnel: Miss Edith Roberts, who will coordinate the tour and the greeting project and should be contacted regarding additional information, program, itinerary, etc.; Mr. John Gray, field representative, who will visit each city on the route of the tour beginning March 3, in order to assist with local arrangements and finalize agreements between the UFF and local sponsors.

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES

53 West 125th Street

New York, 27, N. Y.

A PROJECT

To Establish the Major Base of Readership and Support for the Newspaper FREEDOM among the Negro Population of the South.

PROSPECTUS

Statement of Objective: FREEDOM, Paul Robeson's paper, is a monthly publication dedicated to the achievement of full equality for the Negro people in the United States. It has been published continuously for the past seventeen months. During this period it has acquired some 20,000 readers, 11,000 of whom are regular subscribers at $1.00 a year, another 9,000 of whom receive single copies through the sale of bundle orders.

An analysis of the subscribers and bundle orders, however, shows that the vast majority of FREEDOM readers live in the North, and not in the South where the majority of Negroes live. It is the plan of the publishers to increase the circulation of the paper everywhere, of course. However, an immediate plan of promotion must select certain points of concentration in order to succeed. In such a plan the South must be given priorities above all other areas because the most decisive movements and and projects in the general battle for equality are taking place in the South.

First among these is the movement for the right to vote which, since 1944, has succeeded in registering a million Negroes as voters in the Southern states. Second is the beginning of important stirrings among Negro sharecroppers and tenant farmers whichpromises to take organized form in several Southern states in the near future. Third is the continuing militancy of Negro workers in major industries, illustrated most graphically in the recent campaigns and elections in the iron ore mines in the region of Bessemer, Alabama, won by the progressive Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union as a consequence of the leadership of the Negro workers.

In order to guarantee that FREEDOM becomes a vital part of these movements and an indispensable instrument in mobililzing the Southern people for a better life, a representative of the paper has been hired to work full time in promotion in the Southern states. Some indication of the difficulties to be overcome may be gleaned from the fact that after three weeks of work in Birmingham, this representative, Earl Chapman, was arrested on a trumped-up "vagrancy " charge. As a result of protests Mr. Chapman was released, but he was warned not to continue selling FREEDOM in Birmingham. Despite this warning Mr. Chapman is continuing to sell the paper in Birmingham and other areas of the South.

The Project: In order to further the beginnings made in the South by Mr. Chapman, a second major project is planned and is the main concern of this memorandum. The plan is to have a FREEDOMOBILE travel throughout the South for the six weeks period July 1 - August 16.

PROSPECTUS

The FREEDOMOBILE will be a plain automobile but is will have FREEDOM people and FREEDOM papers in it. The aims of the FREEDOMOBILE will be threefold:

(1) to introduce FREEDOM to thousands of prospective readers throughout the South, and to find agents for the papers;

(2) to gather story material for special issues of FREEDOM which are planned for September, October and November on the questions of: (1) sharecropping: (2) the 1952 elections, and (3) the status of Negro workers.

(3) to provide a wealth of material regarding Negro life in the South, outstanding personalities in the liberation movements, and major trends, for future use in the pages of the paper.

PERSONNEL: The members of the FREEDOMOBILE will be full-time and volunteer members of the staff of FREEDOM, as follows:

(1) Lorraine Hansberry: Miss Hansberry is associate editor of FREEDOM. A young writer of unusual ability she writes the Stories for Children and is responsible for the cultural and colonial coverage of the paper. Her recent report on the Inter-American Peace Conference at Montevideo, Uruguay was an outstanding feature of the paper.

(2) Ernest Crichlow: Mr. Crichlow is a leading artist who has contributed illustrations to FREEDOM. He is Chairman of the well-known Committee for the Negro in the Arts, and recently won a first prize in the Atlanta University Annual Exhibit of the works of Negro artists. As a member of the FREEDOMOBILE he would make sketches of personalities, living and working conditions, typical Southern scenes, for use in the paper.

(3) Roy DeCarava: Mr. De Carava is one of the leading photographers in the United States. He is a recent recipient of a Guggenheim grant in photography, one of seven photographers to have won this recognition in the history of the Foundation's program. Mr. De Cavara who has contributed photographs to FREEDOM would take hundreds of shots for future use.

(4) James L. Kelsaw: Mr. Kelsaw is a teacher of English at Selma University, Selma, Ala. He is a young writer of fine talent who will be spending the summer as a volunteer member of the editorial staff of FREEDOM. His knowledge of the South will be an invaluable asset to the members of the group who are not Southerners. It is our hope that, when finances permit, Mr. Kelsaw may join the staff of FREEDOM as a full-time Southern correspondent.

PROSPECTUS

Itinerary: The itinerary of the FREEDOMOBILE will be arranged so that its members can cover the most vital areas of the South. In Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee they will talk with Negro members of city councils who have recently won office on the strength of the Negro vote. In the Eastern belt of North Carolina they will talk and live with tobacco leaf house workers and fisherman. They will visit the huge Reynolds plant in Winston-Salem, N. C., talk with the Negro banker, C. C. Spaulding in Durham, and spend time at outstanding educational institutions such as Hampton Institute, Atlanta and Fisk Universities. In Alabama and Louisiana they will visit the rural areas and live on the cotton farm of sharecroppers and tenant farmers. The group will also talk with white workers and farmers and white leaders in the South - professional, church, labor and government leaders.

Housing: In each area the group will stay with friends and readers of FREEDOM, or with contacts secured through our readers.

Budget: The budget for the project is worked out on the minimun basis necessary for the operation. It contemplates that members of the group will spend approximately $3.00 a day each for food and that another small sum weekly will be used to take care of cleaning and pressing clothes and other such necessities. The budget, itemized, is as follows.

TRAVEL;

Four thousand miles @ 5¢ per mile	------	$200.00
Car contingency fund - repairs	------	150.00

FOOD AND LODGING:

Five persons @ $40.00 a week, six weeks	- 1200.00

MATERIALS:

Art supplies and film ------	100.00
TOTAL...	$1,650.00

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Minutes of United Freedom Fund Meeting
Office of Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Session 1 - February 12, 1952

Present:

Coleman Young, Ray Dennis, Vicki Garvin, Ernest Thompson - Nat'l Negro Labor Council; Edith Roberts, George B. Murphy, Jr., Louis Burnham - FREEDOM; Council on African Affairs, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton; Ruth Jett, Committee for the Negro in the Arts; Paul Robeson

Agenda

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund
II. Robeson Tour
III. Greetings Project.

I. Organization of the Freedom Fund

M/s/c: To establish a national fund.

m/s/c: That the purpose of the fund primarily, is to raise monies for the ~~building~~ budgets of the participating organizations, with the understanding that this arrangement will in no way preclude the independent fund-raising activities of the participating organizations.

m/s/c: That the first project will be sponsorship by the Fund of the Robeson Birthday tour, and secondly sponsorship of the Greetings project, and that other projects will be considered at a future date.

m/s/c: That the rules, personnel, trustees of this fund are temporary and will be reviewed after the completion of the initial projects.

m/s/c: That the name of the fund shall be the UNITED FREEDOM FUND.

m/s/c: That the Fund shall be composed of two representatives from NNLC, two from FREEDOM, 1 from CAF, 1 from CNA.

Minutes - Freedom Fund Meeting, Feb. 12, 1952

m/s/c: That the organizational structure of the United Freedom Fund be set up as follows:

1. The United Freedom Fund shall be composed of and administered by a Board of Trustees composed of six (6) members.

2. The Board of Trustees shall select from its members a ~~Honorary~~ Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer of the United Freedom Fund. It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Fund to keep all records of the Fund, to maintain a faithful record of its meetings and transactions. The Honorary Chairman of the Fund shall be entitled to attend meetings and participate in deliberations of the Board, but shall not vote upon or be responsible for the decisions made by it.

3. The Secretary and the Treasurer are authorized to set up an account in a reputable bank. All checks drawn against the account of the Fund shall be signed by two of the three officers of the Fund.

4. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to receive gifts and contributions on behalf of the Fund.

5. The Board of Trustees shall normally meet at least once each month to review the affairs of the Fund and to transact its business. Additional meetings of the Board may be held at the call of the Chairman.

6. For the purpose of transacting the business of the Fund, the attendance of at least four members of the Board is required at any meeting.

7. The Board of Trustees shall have the authority to engage personnel necessary to the accomplishment of its aims.

m/s/c: That the members of the UFF shall be officially designated by their organizations and that where the officially designated members cannot be present at meetings, officially designated alternates shall be appointed by the organization.

m/s/c: That persons present at this session shall constitute themselves as officially organizing the UFF.

m/s/c: That regular and alternate members of the Fund are as follows:

NNLC - Regular: Ray Dennis and Coleman Young; Alternates Vicki Garvin and Ernest Thompson

CAF - Regular and Alternate members to be named.

Freedom Associates - Regular: Edith Roberts and Louis Burnham; Alternate George B. Murphy, Jr.

Minutes - UFF Feb. 12, 13, 1952

CNA - Regular Ruth Jett, Alternate: to be named.

m/s/c : That alternates persent be permitted to participate in this meeting.

m/s/c/: That officers of the Fund shall be authorized to secure such legal aid that shall be necess ry in the conduct of the Fund.

MEETING ADJOURNED UNTIL 9 A. M. Wednesday, February 13.

Meeting, Wednesday, February 13, 1952

Present: Ray Dennis, Coleman Young, Louis Burnham, Edith Roberts, Vicki Garvin, Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, Ruth Jett, George B. Murphy, Jr.

Agenda: I. Tour II. Birthday Greeting Campaign

I. Tour

m/s/c Local sponsorship would consist of participating organizations (in UFF) where they exist plus as many individuals from other organizations in the area who will become sponsors. Local sponsorship will exclude any organization other than officially designated participating organizations in the UFF.

m/s/c: That the meetings shall be primarily cultural celebrations with the finest artists in the area and that the major feature presenta ion should be the aims and purposes of the UFF combined with collection speech - that provisions should be made for presentation of various programs of the participati g organizations, taking into consideration the mass basis of NNLC. That presentation of greetings to Paul Robeson by key community people should also be considered a major feature of the program of these meetings.

Minutes - United Freedom Fund Meeting, Feb. 12, 13, 1952

-4-

m/s/c: That the following itinerary be considered the basis for organizing the tour.

April

2 - Pittsburgh
4 - Cleveland
6 - Detroit
7 . . . . .
9 - Chicago
11 - ~~Louisville~~ Indianapolis
13 - St. Louis
15 - Denver
18 - Los Angeles
20 - San Francisco
21 - Oakland
24 - Portland
27 - Seattle

May

1 - New York
9 - Boston
11 - Philadelphia
13 - Newark
17 - Baltimore

Buffalo to worked in with the N. Y. dates.

Southern Tour - the last two weeks in May :

Winston Salem
New Orleans
Durham
Birmingham

m/s/c: ~~That the proceeds of each local meeting shall be allocated as follows:~~

Gross Proceeds

1. Promotional expenses
2. Travel expenses for Robeson party (pro rata share).
3. $500 professional fee for Mr. Robeson and Mr. Brown.

After deduction of above the net proceeds should be divided as follows:

$1000.00 minimum guarantee or 60% of the net proceeds - whichever is greater shall be allocated to the UFF. The remaining monies of net proceeds shall become the property of the local sponsoring group.

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m/s/c: That Mr. Robeson's Party consist of 4 people:

1. Mr. Robeson 2. Mr. Laurence Brown 3. United Freedom Fund Field Representative 4. Mr. Robeson's personal representative.

m/s/c: That John Gray of Chicago assume the responsibility of Field Representative for the UFF and begin his official duties immediately with an advance field trip along the proposed itinerary.

m/s/c: That the personal representative be worked out by the trustees.

It is agreed that the NNLC will provide a representative to accompany the party in each area of the itinerary if it is unable to provide for the entire trip.

m/s/c: That the officers of UFF shall be as follows:

Coleman Young, Pres. (NNLC) chairman

Louis Burnham, Treas. (Freedom Assoc)

CAF to provide a secretary.

II Brithday Greeting Drive

m/s/c: that Edith Roberts be appointed director of the project on loan to UFF for duration of the campaign and that FREEDOM will pay her salary which be repaid from UFF.

m/s/c: That a budget of $11,585.20 be raised to promote the greeting project- (see enclosed budget) with provisions that this budget can be modified as deemed necessary.

m/s/c: That an immediate sum of $5,000.00 be raised to get the greeting project and the tour under way.

The meeting closed with the following unfinished business:

1. Budget forthe tour

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Motion X - Immediate accounting of John's books -

XI - Seek to get remainder of $ from ———

XII - Paper borrow $1500, to be repaid - No other money be raised except for salaries.

MOTIONS

1 - Re-establish as no. 1 political requirements the organized political discussions once a month with artist and wife participating.

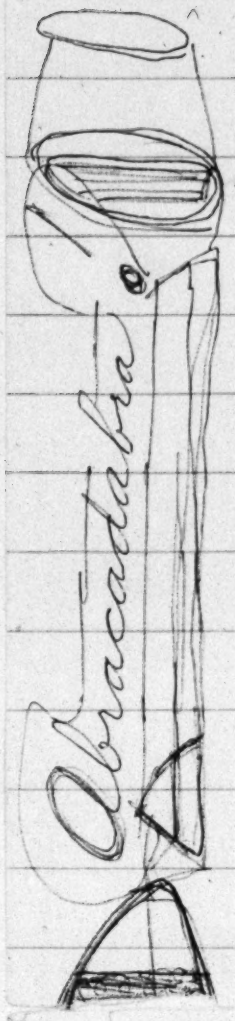
2- Weekly staff meetings organized by John: Freedom - Records - John Alpha cus.

3- Weekly briefing with the artist - ORGANIZED.

[NO SHORTCUT TO THE COLLECTIVE: TIME - PLACE - MOTIONS - AGENDA - CHECKUP]

4- Staff to examine concretely the security question. John to prepare a report for staff presenting a set of rules on security.

5- From John. Detroit written statements on what happened there.



6- Another spring tour - Four areas - [John to prepare memo on this]

① Midwest ② Coast ③ East ④ South

2 weeks in each area { Chicago Gary Hot - Flint Cleveland area } May 20 July 1

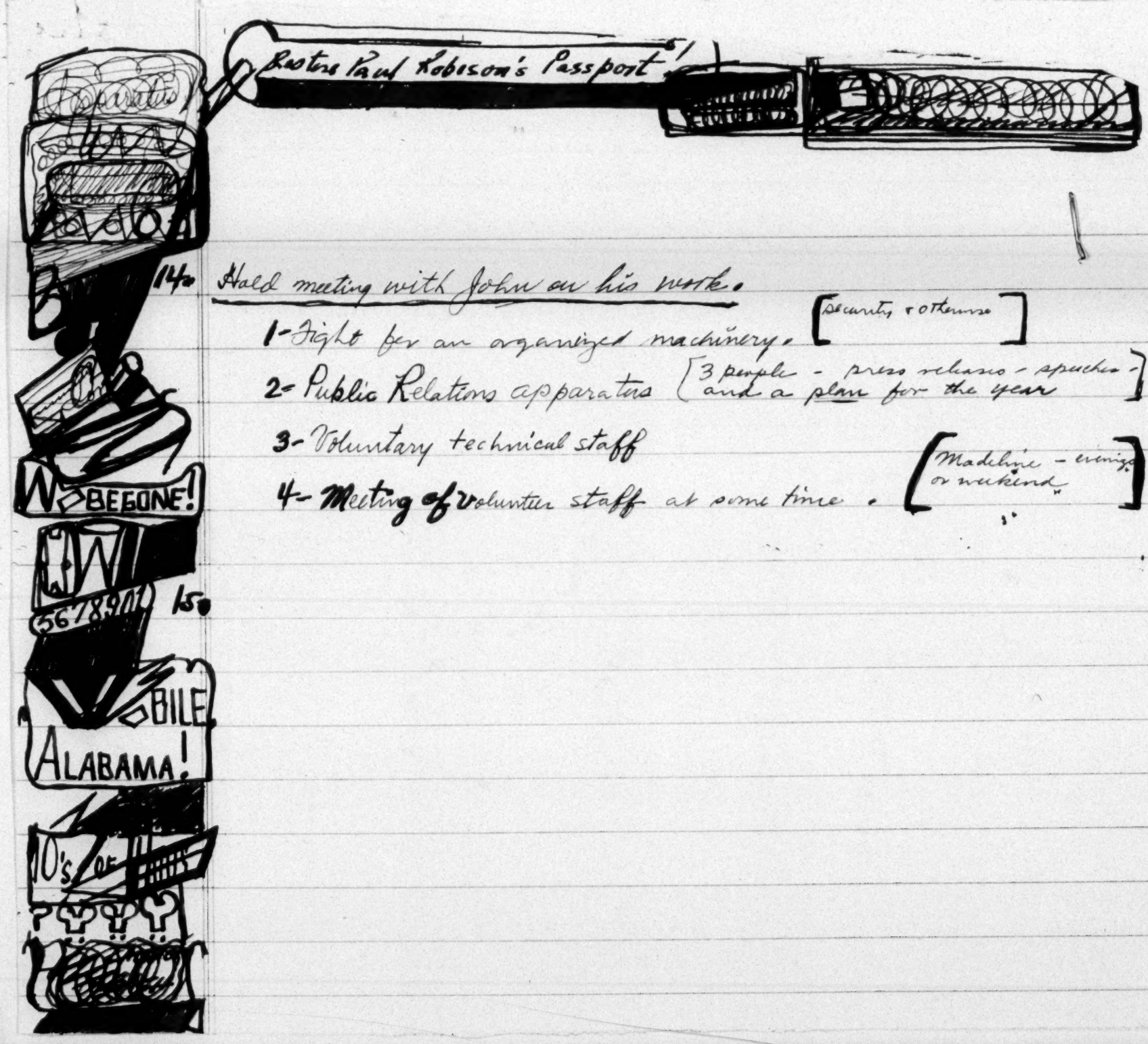
[Wash - Balo. Phila. N. Y.] Ap. 9 May 15 -

[Fall - on the coast]

7- Search for another accompanists [Lucy Brown]

8- Adopt perspective for a theatre project. Tommy to formulate project on the basis of discussions with the artist and others.

9- Steps to be taken for birthday celebration, through discussions in the staff, with report to be ~~sent~~ presented to this body by John.



Hold meeting with John on his work.

1- Fight for an organized machinery. [Security & otherwise]

2- Public Relations apparatus [3 people - press release - speeches - and a plan for the year]

3- Voluntary technical staff

4- Meeting of Volunteer staff at some time. [Madeline - evenings or weekend "]

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS UNITED FREEDOM FUND CORRESPONDENCE 1950 11/8

FREEDOM FUND

3451 Giles Place
Bronx, 63, N.Y.
November 26, 1950

Mr. Louis E. Burnham, Secretary
Freedom Fund
53 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Burnham,

I would very much like to apply to the Freedom Fund for a grant to develop two projects for children which I believe would support the qualifications specified in your description last week of the Fund's purposes.

Both would involve work in Negro history for use by Negro and non-Negro children here and abroad. From a recent survey I made of existing materials in this field (which will be summarized in the February, 1951 issue of Masses & Mainstream) only a small portion can be recommened without reservation.

I would like to work out first, a picture history of the Negro people for children from seven to nine years, emphasizing the life and struggles of the Negro people into our times, and secondly, an anthology for children of a wider age range which would include glimpses of Negro history, both fiction and non-fiction, in some instances from volumes now available, in others from older materials like the Brownies' Book, edited by Dr. DuBois in 1920 and 1921, and in still others new material showing Negro life in various parts of our country, within the labor movement, etc.

As to my own background, I am a professional librarian, with thirteen years of experience both with adults and children. Until last month, I worked in the Jefferson School Library, where I was for almost seven years.

Should you wish any further details, I shall be most happy to supply them. For personal qualifications, you can consult either Doxey A. Wilkerson, Frederick V. Field, Dr. Alpheus Hunton, Gwendolyn Bennett, or Dr. Herbert Aptheker.

Sincerely yours,
Clara Ostrowsky
Clara Ostrowsky

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES

Received of Clara Salowsky 11/20/50 19

One no/100 Dollars

3451 Tiebo Place, Bx 63, N.Y.

1 unit.

$ 1.00

E. Poled.

File — Freedom Ass., Inc., Ben

LAW OFFICES OF
OTTERBOURG, STEINDLER, HOUSTON & ROSEN
200 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

EDWIN M. OTTERBOURG
EMANUEL M. STEINDLER
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EDWARD F. UNGER
AARON ROSEN
FREDERIC P. HOUSTON

DAVID S. EDGAR, JR.
ARTHUR S. COWEN
MARKS F. PASKES
STANLEY H. SCHINDLER
MAX S. KAUFMAN
JOHN M. ROCHFORD

TELEPHONE OREGON 5-2230

CABLE ADDRESS "OTLERTON"

November 30, 1950.

In re. The Freeman Magazine, Inc.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
Council on African Affairs,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, New York.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

My clients were surprised at a radio broadcast on Friday at 6:45 P.M. over N.B.C., put on by Sonoco and called "Three-Star Extra," to hear that you are starting a monthly magazine, which you will call "The Freeman."

In the event that this radio report of your intentions is true, I would like to inform you that there is already being published here in New York a magazine by the name "The Freeman" and that another magazine by the same name will cause confusion in the public mind.

The radio announcement has already created an unfortunate confusion that you personally are somehow connected with the present "Freeman."

In obtaining a correction of the radio story and the confusion that has resulted, it would be very helpful if you could let us know whether the fact as stated on the radio is true.

Very truly yours,

Frederic P. Houston

Frederic P. Houston

FPH:sn
mb

Freedom Fund

450 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

December 1, 1950

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Fund
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Paul:

Louis Burnham sent to me various documents about the Freedom Fund, your newspaper FREEDOM, and the Council on African Affairs. I have looked over all of this material with considerable care.

I am afraid that my decision must be that I simply cannot take on the added responsibility of contributing financially to a new organization and journal at this time. Actually, over the past few years I have become so involved in financial commitments to so many organizations that I feel I have been scattering my resources too much. And I am engaged right now in cutting down organizational responsibilities rather than in taking on new ones.

Furthermore, I have contributed for a long time to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and am also giving to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. In general I feel that I am doing as much as I can in helping to establish full justice and democracy for the Negro people in America by giving to these two organizations, by taking an active part in the work of the American Civil Liberties Union and by writing on the subject of racial equality. In this field my chief work has of course been "The Peoples of the Soviet Union."

Incidentally, I cannot agree with your own attitude toward Ralph Bunche as expressed in our conversation here a couple of weeks ago. I think Mr. Bunche has in general been doing a fine job, and as a Harvard graduate I am very proud that my university has appointed him to a professorship.

Naturally I am fully aware of the fine and courageous work you have been doing so long in the field of race relations. And I wish you and the Freedom Fund all possible success for the future.

Sincerely yours,

Corliss Lamont

CL:G

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1. D. C.
OFFICE OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS

December 22, 1950

Mr. Louis E. Burnham, Editor
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Burnham:

We regret our inability to send you two copies of President Mordecai Johnson's speech beforethe CIO Convention as per your request.

President Johnson does not prepare copies of his speeches before presentation. The only speeches available in this office are those which were delivered on campus and which we recorded and transcribed.

Please feel free to contact us at any time.

Sincerely yours,
THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Jean Drew

Jean Drew

THE GERMAN AMERICAN, INC.
P.O. BOX 214, COOPER STATION
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

August 29, 1952

Uunion Sqaure Music Shop, Inc.
27 Union Square West
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

It has come to our attention that you have issued and sold a recording of songs by Paul Robeson with a label bearing the imprint of our name and address. Inasmuch as this was done without either our knowledge or consent, we ask that you immediately withdraw these records from the market and destroy any ones remaining in stock.

Furthermore we strongly protest this unauthorized action,and should there be further issuance or sale of these records will be obliged to take further steps.

Yours truly,

Margrit Adler, Editor
THE GERMAN AMERICAN,INC.

cc. Louis Burnham, Freedom Inc.

September 22, 1962

Mrs. Sara Gottlieb
323 East 13th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sara:

Thanks so much for the check for $200 contributed to the FREEDOM FUND. Lou wants to write to you himself relative to organizingsimilar affairs for the benefit of either the Fund or the newspaper FREEDOM. If he doesn't get in touch with you very soon, I shall contact you myself to see what we can work out.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Edith Roberts

Receipted
9-17-52
#6284

Answered

Sept 16. 1952

Dear Lou:

I am enclosing a check for $200.00 raised by a group of programmers at Hampton Bays L.I this summer. The Freedom Fund was chosen as one of the fine organizations which seemed most worthwhile and important to raise funds for. This money can go towards the publication of "Freedom", and any other organizations like C.N.A, etc you feel need the money urgently —

Do drop me a line that you have received money & I can continue the work with this fine

committee during the coming summer and also on a day to day basis –

I hope things have perked up! The paper is excellent!

Very sincerely,
Sara Gottlieb

3 & 3 E 131
143

September 12, 1952

Miss Marie Giovia
264 Ninth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Miss Giovia:

I have received your letter of September 11 addressed to this organization requesting that your name be deleted from our mailing list. I do not have the slightest knowledge of what you are referring to your letter. This organization has never sent out any kind of mass mailing and I certainly have not had any correspondence with you. In fact, I have never heard of you. Would you be so kind as to enlighten us as to just you received in the mail bearing our name.

Sincerely,

Edith Roberts

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Sept. 11, [redacted], 1952

UNITED FREEDOM FUND
53 W 125th St
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please delete my name from your mailing list at once.

I find it a great inconvenience to accept any unsolicited mail, therefore please remove my name from your mailing list without further correspondence.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Marie Giovia

Marie Giovia
264 Ninth Avenue
New York 1, N.Y.

Freedom Associates

53 West 125th Street • New York 27, N. Y.

Theodore PTA SHNE
2529 Monterey Ave.
St. Louis Park, Minn.

Dear Friend:

I should like to talk with you about FREEDOM, a copy of which is enclosed.

Here is a paper dedicated to your needs and to the interests of American democracy and world peace. FREEDOM is the voice of the oppressed and abused, pointing the direction to full-liberation now. Its chief columnist is the renowned Paul Robeson.

Please read this issue carefully. We are confident you will want to become a member of our growing family of readers. We are on our way to 50,000 subscribers which will enable us to appear twice a month.

We invite you to join our "Freedom train" by filling out the enclosed subscription blank, attaching a dollar and mailing it to our Circulation Department at the above address.

For FREEDOM'S Sake,

Louis E. Burnham

Louis E. Burnham
Editor

264

PAUL'S Schedule

April

24-Thursday---Culture Fights Back Rally-Manhattan Center--10 p.m.-34th and 8th Ave. (Larry) 130

25--Friday-----Artists at Jimmy Yergans--271 W.125th(over Morgan Smith Studio)8 p.m.

26--Saturday--Meeting with Negro women in Brooklyn-Car will be at 155 W.136th at 8:10 p.m. to take him to Brooklyn) (Mrs. Anna Bratright 28 Chestnut St Brooklyn)

27--Sunday--Russky Golos Luncheon, Hotel Brevoort,Eight Street at Fifth Ave.-be present at 2:30 with Larry(dinner at 1 p.m.)

28---Monday--Freedom sponsors meeting at Bert Alves- at 8 p.m.

29

30

May

1

2

3

4---Concert [redacted] at Refuge Temple(125th at 7th Ave.

5

6------Cleveland

7

8----Rockland Palace concert NY.

9

10

11

12

13

14---Cultural evening First AMEZion Church,Brooklyn-Tompkins Ave. at McDonough St.

15 ~~[illegible]~~

18----Blaine,Washington-Concert festival at International Peace Arch-on Canadian Border

19

20---Seattle,Washington

21

23-----Oakland,California

22 -------San Francisco

24------~~Oakland~~

25------Los Angeles

26

27-------Denver

29-------Milwaukee

30

31--------Chicago

June

1---------Chicago

2

3 — Minneapolis, Minn. (Cadillac)

4

5

6------Philadelphia

7------Philadelphia

8

9

10

11

12

13-------Newark,N.J.

15-------Detroit

18--------[redacted]

19 —

20 — Pittsburgh

23-24-25 — St. Louis- Tentative.

28 -

Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

53 WEST 125 STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. · ENright 9-3980

In order to avoid difficulties that might arise in obtaining hall. The following procedure is suggested:

April 17, 1952 As soon as definite date is settled, and before artists is announced, pay for hall in full, upon signing of contract.

Dear ~~[illegible]~~,

Greetings to all of the concert commitee members from the FREEDOM FUND workers here.

Let me express my sincere appreciation to all of you for the many kindnesses shown me while I was in your city. The people here are enthusiatic about the report made on the prospects for the tour. Now, to discuss some of the questions which you may have in connection with running the concert. Material for the printed program will ~~follow.~~ be supplied upon request.

PROGRAM

It is important that the cultural life of the community be expressed at this concert in the form of the participation of outstanding local or other instrumentalists artists on the program with Mr. Robeson, such as a pianist, ~~choral group (church or community)~~ a dramatist, dancer, etc. The program would be divided into two sections, with Mr. Robeson appearing at the end of each section. We suggest that choral group not be used unless some extra special reasons exist, Concert Committee to review proformance of local talent for content

If you have other artists who sing, the program should be arranged so that they do not appear directly before Mr. Robeson. ~~The collection, brief remarks by Mr. Robeson and the appeal for FREEDOM subs should take place during the intermission.~~

SOUND SYSTEM AND PIANO

It is important that you have a good technician to make certain the PA system is in order and to be on hand throughout the concert to operate it. In addition to the regular loudspeakers, Mr. Robeson would appreciate placing a Speaker on stage so that he can hear his voice. Two mikes should be available, one near the piano for Mr. Lawrence Brown, who generally joins with Mr. Robeson in several songs. The piano should be tuned and tested just prior to the concert. Either a Steinway or Baldwin piano are Mr. Brown's preferences. The piano that comes with the ballroom or hall is not acceptable for concert work. Economy at this point should not be the main consideration.

ROBESON RECORDS

Plans for a new album of Robeson records are proceeding. We will inform you as soon as we have definite information on these plans.

SPONSORSHIP

We urge you again to strive for the broadest possible individual sponsorship from people in the community.

TRAVEL EXPENSE FOR ROBESON PARTY

Within a short time we will be able to give you the travel expenses for four people who will be in the Robeson party. It is our plan to pro-rate this expense to prevent undue financial strain on any city. The travel expenses should be paid before Mr. Robeson reaches your city.

Apart from calling for subscriptions to FREEDOM during the intermission you will want to order bundles of the paper (payable in advance @ 8¢ per copy) for the concert. Arrangements can be made to sell the paper and obtain subscriptions at a table somewhere in the hall or church. I am enclosing a sample envelope which you may duplicate for use by the collection speaker for contributions to the FREEDOM FUND and subs to FREEDOM.

FUND RAISING

If as a birthday greeting a small committee is given the responsibility to raise funds from organizations and groups who wish to present these sums at the concert to Mr. Robeson, you can guarantee a large collection at the concert. Many prominent persons who help to sponsor the concert can be asked to contribute sums in advance, which will swell the collection.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray

John Gray

dpowa
#65

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS UNITED FREEDOM FUND SCHEDULES - PAUL ROBESON NATIONAL TOURS, 1952. 1955 11/9

1. Tour 2. Freedom Fund 3. Furute Concerts 4. Robeson Schedule

Tour: ~~Fina~~ Politically and Culturally successful

Weaknesses: a) inadequate financing ~~xxxx

(Conference with Negro Press - Age - Amsterdam News - E. Cunningham
Nora Holt.)

Invite Federate Press Richard ~~xx~~ Sasuly, 331 E. 76th St. to Press Conference.

FREEDOM FUND

Proposals.

1. regular Meetings to be called by E. R.

2. John Gray and Edith Roberts 2 staff members @ $65

3. Money ~~no~~ in Fund at present here to be used ~~xx~~ for ~~xxxxxx~~ setting up and maintaining office. Not to be distributed

4. Freedom Fund Bd. consist of rep. from organizations within the fund plus individuals who are not members of any representative organization

5. new Statement to be drafted setting forth the ~~xxx~~ purposes and and program of the U. F. F.

6. Get legal advice on setting up bank account for Fund etc.

7. Fund Bd. members to determine what is to happen to ~~funds~~ money in the fund giving consideration to application for grants.

PROPOSED PAUL ROBESON SCHEDULE 7-24-52

AUGUST

4 - 11 Progressive Party Work (limited amount) Vacation period

~~12 - 15~~ Records

16 - 25 California Election work
August 18 release Halinan

L. A. 21

S. F. or 25

27 - 28 Denver - conferences etc.

SEPTEMBER

1 - 8 Rest and preparation for concert

8 - 12 (Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Convention N. Y.)

9 - 14 National Baptist Convention

~~20~~ 27-28

16 - 30 Concerts Denver area: Denver, Boulder, Pueblo,
Salt Lake City, Utah, Bayard, N.M., (O. A.)
Silver City, N. M.. (O. A.)

OCTOBER

4 - 8 ? New York City? Buffalo, Schenectady, Utica, Syracuse

9 (leave open) Mother Jones

10 Progressive Party, Newark N. J. Lafayette

14 - 30 Election work, Progressive Party

16 - Chi

Md Chi

NOVEMBER

1 - 4 Election Work

5 - 14 Rest and preparation for concert

15 - 16 Hartford, Conn. Concert

17 - 19 Open for specific affairs

21 - 22 Negro Labor Council Conference, Cleveland

~~28 - 30~~ Concerts)
)
)
DECEMBER)
)
4 - 7 Concerts)

NORTHWEST
Seattle, Portland, Tacoma, Aberdeen, Spokane,
Everett, Bellingham, Olympia

10 - 18 Concerts)
)
)

WEST & BAY AREA
San Francisco, Berkeley, Sacramento,
Los Angeles, San Diego

21 - 30 ~~Preparation for stage production~~

1953
~~1953~~

JANUARY

1 - 30 Preparation for stage production

FEBRUARY

1 - 30 Stage Production

MARCH -
Settle question of production

APRIL - Concerts - Beginning of birthday tour celebrations

1 - 30 SOUTH: Raleigh, N. C., Durham, Johsnon C. Smith College (Charlotte), Winston Salem, Bennett College (Greensboro), Norfolk & Richmond, Va., New Orleans

MAY
1 - 30 MIDWEST & UPPER MIDWEST: Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Milwa kee, Madison
Ann Arbor, Mich and possible Des Moines

Election Campaign

July 24, 1952

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

	Thursday, August 14,	C. B. Baldwin dinner, N. Y.
	~~Thursday~~ Wed., aug ~~21~~, 27	Meeting with Hallinan and Mrs. Bass Los Angeles.
	~~Monday~~ Sunday, Aug 24	San Francisco.
ob.	Friday Oct. 10	Newark, N. J.
	~~Tuesday, Oct 14~~	~~Minneapolis, Minn.~~
ob.	~~Thursday~~ Wed., October ~~16~~ 17 ~~Tue~~	~~Chicago~~ Flint
ob.	~~Friday~~ Sat, Oct. 18 19 Sun	Detroit, Mich
	~~Saturday, Oct. 19~~	~~Cleveland~~
	Monday, Oct. 20	Pittsburgh
ob.	~~Wednesday~~ Tues, Oct. 21	Boston, Mass
ob.	~~Friday,~~ Thursday October ~~24~~ 23.	Philadelphia
	~~Saturday, October 25~~	~~New Haven, Conn.~~
	mon " 27	Madison Square Garden.

Sat 18 - Brooklyn Local rev Val.

mass mtg aftn. Detroit Eve - Ann Arbor.

Schedule

What about arrangements while in Chicago & in what hotel - in between stops etc.

Palace Rooms, Dallas Texas wants him.

Dec 14 — —

New York Concert - Possible dates

Sun - Nov. 9 or 10 - 11 - 12

Nov. 18 or 19 or 20 - Nov 30

Chicago possible Concerts

go from Cleveland to Chicago and remain in

Chicago from the 23 to the 30

Concert possible 28th or 30th.

****

City Center - Ju 6- 28~~24~~ 28.

No one night stands - Ballet during the month of Nov.

Carnegie Hall - Ci 7 - 1350

Second option - Nov. 9 - 22 - 23 - 26.

Sat Sun Wed } Dec. - Dec 22 - 23 - 24 26 - 28th. Re 7-7253

All other nights taken.

Hunter College - Re 7-3490 - ~~Dr~~ 9 2105

Miss Selden Sept 1. Er 207

Paul will check on Carnegie

Zeigfeld?

Majestic

~~City College~~ - start action immediately

Re 7-1933

Da 3-8741-2

Oct. 30 - 8-40

Mailing for Mr. Bacon.

Edward M. Hewan.

Brant - Chas Collins.

Da 3 - 8741

John Gray can be contacted on the raod as follows:

John Gray - 3334 W. Grenshaw, Chicago 24, Ill - Nevada 2-3562

Denver - Tony ~~Martin~~ Morton 3435 Marion St. - Keystone 1082

Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs, MOrris Travis - Keystone 7211

~~SEATTLE~~

SEATTLE Terry Pettus - People's World

SAN FRANCISCO

Bill Chester - Longshore and Warehouse Prospect 5-0533

LOS ANGELES

John Forrester, Negro Labor Council, 2827 S. Central Avenue

CANADA Harvey Murp y, Mine Mill and Smelter - Marine 0640

Vancouver

Additional Clippings and articles

A. M. E. Zion Editorial - Dr. Barbour (George has extra copies
Dec. 13, 1951

Walter P. Lovell, Editor

S. F. Chronicle - Friday May 23, 1952

Milwaukee Journal, Friday May 30, 1952

TO DO

1. See John K. Re press release, Negro Press, Federated Press (Richard Sasuly, 331 E. 76th St. - Tas)

2. ~~Send out press release~~ - have envelopes addressed

3. ~~Call meeting of U. F. F. as soon as possible~~ Tuesday 1 a.m. July 11

4. ~~Write Jim Tate, Negro Labor Council, Hartford, Conn. re September 20 - 21 Concert.~~

5. ~~Write memo to P. D. re California Election trip by Paul for August 22.~~

6. Letters on funds due UFF
   1. Fur
   (2) Philadelphia $50 expenses
   ~~(3) Milwaukee $150 artists fee.~~
   ~~(4) Detroit $85 Travel Expenses~~
   (5) Berkely $250 UFF
   ~~(6) San Francisco $250~~

7. ~~Write Dept. of Commerce~~ Calender Negro Organizations, Negro Convention dates, ~~Negro Journals etc.~~

8. Order stationery

9. Mrs. Eva Mae Finley, 709 Hardie Street, Detroit, Michigan. (send picture)

10. Mr. Raldolph Wallace - Owner Garfield Lounge and Hotel, 4457 John R.

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

JUNE

23

24

25 - Wed.

26 - Thurs

1 - 3 P. M. Luncheon southern Bar and Grill 213 4th Avenue near 17th St. Bave Green)4- 55700

Evening - Reception Progressive Party

27 - Friday

REST

28 - Sat.

Concert Brighton Beach

29 - Sunday

Rest ~~Press conference~~ - Alphaeus 3. P.M.

30 - Monday

Press Conf. 3 P.M. Morman

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

JULY

1 - 7 Progressive Party Convention in Chicago

8 - 24 - VACATION

22 - Cocktail Party. 6-8 Natl Liberation Day Poland Gr. Ballroom

25- Friday - Polish Celebration N. Y. Will sing Playa Hotel
($ Freedom $300 less 100 or 150 for Larry Brown

26 - Continue Vacationing until ~~Sept. 1~~ August 1

July 3 4-5 Chicago

July 9 - Wed. Mtg. 7.5.

July 10 - Thur. Recording

~~July 11 Fri. U.F.F.~~
~~Human Rights~~
~~Lady from Dundee~~

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

AUGUST 1 - 9

1 - Friday

2 - Saturday

3 - Saunday

4 - Monday

5 - Tuesday Interview -- Company Reports
23 W 20 3:30 P.M.
1:30 - appointment Dr Dan Rose

6 - Wednesday

7 - Thursday

Friday 8

Saturday - 9

CALENDAR FOR MR. ROBESON

August 10 - 16

10 - Sunday

11 - Monday

12 - Tuesday

13 - Wednesday

14 - Thursday Baldwin Dinner

15 - Friday

16 - Saturday

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

AUGUST17 - 23

17 - Sunday

18 - Monday

19 - Tuesday R

20 - Wednesday Randall's Island.

21 - Thursday

22 - Friday

23 - Saturday

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

AUGUST 24 - 31

24 - Sunday San Francisco

25 - Monday San Francisco

26 - Tuesday

27 - Wednesday Los Angeles.

28 - Thursday

29 - Friday

30 - Saturday

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

SEPTEMBER- Should be two major concerts during the month
1. Washington D. C. 2. St. Louis, Mo.
Also one in Hartford Conn. on or abour Sept. 20-21.

	Comment
1 - Monday --	
2- Tuesday ~~[illegible]~~	
3 - Wednesday	
4- Thrusday	
5 - Friday Roumanian Concert with Ray Lev - call Rae ? PLa-9-5550 Lev re concert. !	Check
6 - Saturday	

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

SEPTEMBER 7 - 13		Comment
7 - Sunday		
8 - Monday	8-12 Mine Mill & Smelter. ? Convention, N.Y.	
9 - Tuesday	9-14 Nat'l Baptist Con. ? Chicago.	
10 - Wednesday		
11 - Thursday		
12 - Friday		
13 - Saturday		

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

SEPTEMBER 14 - 20

14 - Sunday — Rockwell Kent Dinner

15 - Monday

16 - Tuesday 1 P.m Prof McDougal. N.W. University.

17 - Wednesday 5 P.m Prof Mc Dougal N.W University. ok

18 - Thursday

19 - Friday

20 - ~~Saturday~~ ~~Concert Hartford, Conn. Negro Labor Council Jim Tate.~~

&
21 P.P. Phila

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

SEPTEMBER 21- 27

21 - Sunday P.P. Phila.

22 - Monday

23- Tuesday

24 - Wednesday - ~~O.K. Dinner~~

25 - Thursday ~~City Center~~ O.K.

26 - Friday ~~Ben Franklin Band~~ ok

27 - Saturday

CALENDAR FOR PAUL ROBESON

SEPTEMBER 28 - 30

28 -Sunday

29 - Monday

30 - Tuesday

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

OCTOBER 1 - 11		Comment
1 - Wednesday	Prescott, N.J. (Pers.)	
2 - Thursday	Berkshire Denna Pat.	
3 - Friday		
4 - Saturday	Reception - Amer Women for Peace honors H. Moorhead - + Dr. Pavlone	
5 - Sunday 8 P.M.	Muriel Draper Memorial Barbizon Plaza Theatre 58th & 6th Ave.	
6 - Monday		
7 - Tuesday		
8 - Wednesday		

OCTOBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

		Comment
9 - Thursday	a m free	
10 - Friday	Progressive Party, Newark, N.J.	
11 - Saturday		

OCTOBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

OCTOBER 12 - 18		Comment
12 - Sunday	Late afternoon L.I. dinner reception ??	
13 - Monday	Tom Richardson Paul - — Mrs. Scallet 370 C.P.W. Cultural Meeting - with Paul Alice Childress.	
14 - Tuesday		
15 - Wednesday	~~Check Chicago.~~ (Same) out	
16 - Thursday		
17 - ~~Friday~~	~~Chicago P.P.~~	
18 - Saturday	~~Detroit P.P~~ Flint, Mich. A.M. P.P. ~~Bunch Local~~ P.M. Leave 11:30 —	

OCTOBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

OCTOBER 19 - 25

		Comment
19 - Sunday	Detroit - afternoon (home) 2:30 Rally. Masonic Ballroom. Ann Arbor in evening - Mass Meeting.	
20 - Monday	Detroit - Crockett. Mass meeting.	
21 - Tuesday	Boston, P.P. - Leave 11:40 (3 hrs)	
22 - Wednesday	8 P.M. Meeting Theatre (also c)	
23 - Thursday	Phila. P.P.	
24 - Friday		
25 - Saturday		

OCTOBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

OCTOBER 26 - 31	Comment
26 - Sunday	
27 - Monday Mr Adams Agnes Gordon call Arthur Schutzer	
28 - Tuesday ~~Pasa~~	
29 - Wednesday	
30 - Thursday ~~4th~~ Mr Pierce, Monday 8 P.M. 953 Hamilton Blvd, 1630 " " Hunterpoint Palace	
31 - Friday ~~4:30~~ 7:30	

NOVEMBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

NOVEMBER 1-8	Comment
1 - Saturday	
2 - Sunday	
3 - Monday	
4 - Tuesday	
5 - Wednesday	
6 - Thursday	
7 - Friday	
8 - Saturday	

NOVEMBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

NOVEMBER 9 - 15	Comment
9 - Sunday ~~[illegible]~~	
10 - Monday	
11 - Tuesday	
12 - Wednesday	
13 - Thursday	
14 - Friday	
15 - Saturday Hartford - Conn Jim Tate	

NOVEMBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

NOVEMBER 16 - 21	Comment
16 - Sunday Hartford, Conn. Jean Tate.	
17 - Monday	
18 - Tuesday	
19 - Wednesday	
20 - Thursday	
21 - Friday Negro Labor Council	
22 - Saturday Negro Labor Council	

NOVEMBER

SCHEDULE FOR PAUL ROBESON

NOVEMBER 23 - 30	Comment
23 - Sunday Negro Labor Council.	
24 - Monday	
25 - Tuesday	
26 - Wednesday	
27 - Thursday	
28 - Friday	
29 - Saturday	
30 - Sunday ~~Concert - Chopin Hall~~ Polish Celebration Chicago, Ill. Freedom, Africa mass meeting	

DECEMBER

PAUL ROBESON SCHEDULE

DECEMBER 1 - 6	Comment
1 - Monday	
2 - Tuesday	
3 - Wednesday	
4 - Thursday	
5 - Friday	
6 - Saturday	

DECEMBER

PAUL ROBESON SCHEDULE

DECEMBER 7 - 13	Comment
7 - Sunday	
8 - Monday	
9 - Tuesday	
10 - Wednesday	
11 - Thursday	
12 - Friday	
13 - Saturday	

DECEMBER

PAUL ROBESON SCHEDULE

DECEMBER 14 - 20	Comment
14 - Sunday	
15 - Monday	
16 - Tuesday	
17 - Wednesday	
18 - Thursday	
19 - Friday	
20 - Saturday	

DECEMBER

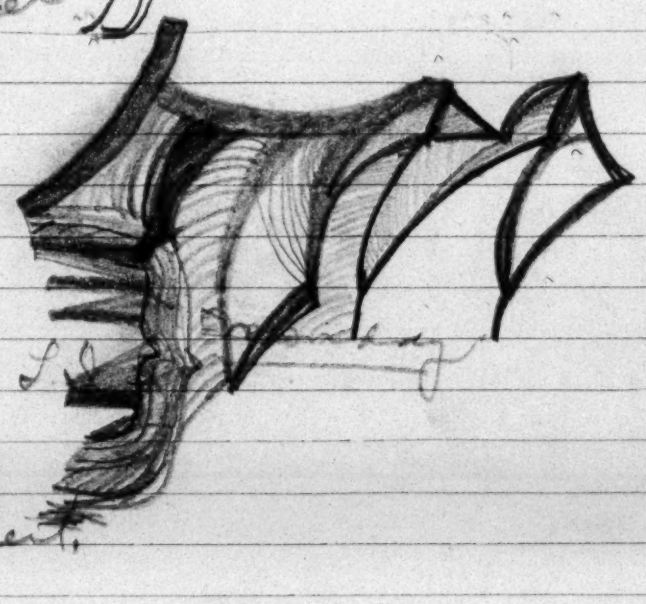
PAUL ROBESON SCHEDULE

DECEMBER - 21 - 31	Comment
21 - Sunday	
22 - Monday	
23 - Tuesday	
24 - Wednesday	
25 - Thursday CHRISTMAS	
26 - Friday	
27 - Saturday	
28 - Sunday	
29 - Monday	
30 - Tuesday	
31 - Wednesday	

Bequeath for Concert
Helen Butler
1070 Slebbens, Brown
Oct 10 - 2000 -

~~Wallford~~
~~Oct. 10-19~~

Mike Walker



Bettina Woodall
Floyd Neck
Mary Dunlington
Mar. Fuel Daughter

Committee - for Concert.

1. Shaw Kellen. - Ok.
210 W 50th

2. Jimmie Pead - Ok.

3. Kitty Sprand

4. Athea Cannis. ok.
444 Ft Meade
708-4533

5. Estela Ot allegre
21 E. 127 - ok

6. Barbara Stokes

7

The United Freedom Fund

Presents

A Paul Robeson Birthday Concert

on the occasion of

MR. ROBESON'S 54th BIRTHDAY

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 4, 1952 — 8 O'CLOCK

OTISFIELD HALL, ROXBURY, MASS.

ABOUT THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND . . .

The United Freedom Fund is a coordinating committee which includes representatives of the leading organizations that are today fighting most vigorously for full equality and for a peaceful and dignified life for all. These groups, including the Council on African Affairs, the publication **Freedom,** the National Negro Labor Council and a Negro Cultural Organization, will jointly benefit from the funds raised through this concert tour.

Tonight's concert is being held in as small a hall as this **not** because our artists attract only so small an audience as the present hall accomodates, but because these artists have, in the course of their life's work, insisted in every instance on full equality for all. Thus the larger halls were denied to us.

The National Negro Labor Council is presently carrying out a campaign to secure a national FEPC law and a hundred thousand **new** jobs for Negro workers in fields heretofore closed to them by jim crow restraints. And they are making progress.

The **Council on African Affairs** is carrying on a campaign of protest against the vicious racist attempts at **apartheid,** or wholesale segregation of Africans in the Union of South Africa.

The publication, **Freedom,** gives news of the above and other activities of vital importance to the Negro people in its monthly issues.

And, finally, the benefiting cultural organization will carry on its fight against stereotyping in films and other entertainment media; for decent roles for Negro artists in the theatre, the arts; and for the development of Negro artists and Negro culture through a national Negro cultural center.

THESE ARE THE REASONS YOU ARE BEING ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE.

Please consider carefully the amount you can give to these fighting organizations through the United Freedom Fund. Remember the sacrifices which Paul Robeson and others have made in the unceasing struggle to win dignity for all in a society at peace, and then . . . dig deep . . . dig a little deeper, and give till it **stops** hurting!

For information on any of these groups, write:

MR. ROY ATUS, Boston Treasurer, United Freedom Fund

14 Dilworth Street, Boston, Mass.

SPONSORS

Alfred Amery
Fanny Altshuler
Alice Aronow
Saul Aronow
Gladys Atus
Roy Atus
L. Austin
Jenny Bailey
H. R. Banks
Mary Bassett
Rosa Bazemore
Catherine Bell
Ethel Belle
Jean J. Bellefeuille
Sarah Benjamin
Sylvia Blacker
Sophie Blum
Elinor Boone
Elmer C. Bowers
A. C. Braxton
Eileen Breen
Barbara Brooks
Athalea Brown
Elaine Brown
Helen Brown
J. Brown
J. L. Brown
John H. Brown
Richard A. Brown
Mark Bryant
Lenora Calvin
Mary Carlson
Edward Carter
June Carter
Louise Carter
Milton Carter
William Cary
Florence Castleman
Lois Christie
Armanes M. Clifford
Dolores Cobb
Mercedes Cobb
Odessa Cobb
Dorothy Colby
Mable Collins
David H. Cornish
Estelle Crosby
Wm. H. Crosson
Jethro David
Larry Davis
Mary L. Davis
Mary Davis
Georgette DeCesare
Emily Deas
Lewis Dimpur
Laura Dinus
Ruth Dorgan
Rosalind Downs
Clorena A. Dozier
Virginia Dozier
Lillian Essex
Robert Fisher
Frank Foreman
Margaret E. Foster
Marguerite Foster
Clemens France
Dorothy J. Friedman
Vernice Gabriel
Louise Gaskins
Peter Gaskins
Lee Gass
Philip Gass
D. Gay
McDonald Gittens
Dr. and Mrs. Robert Goldstein
Sophia Goodman
Bess Gretsky
Jerome Grossman
B. Gurrah
Fred D. Hall
Mildred Hamilton
Sophia Hatch
Julius Hayes
Leon Henderson
Julian Henley
Louis Hicks
Marguerite Hicks
Marjorie Hicks
Yates Holmes
Frances Homans
Ossie Hood
Evelyn Horton
Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes
Edward Hyatt

PROGRAM

Master of Ceremonies — Mr. Jack Lee

★ ★

1. National Anthem ..... Rev. J. E. Jeltz and audience

2. I Viaggiatori (The Travelers)

   Director: Miss Dolores Cobb

   a. "The Heavens Resound" ..... Beethoven-Glen Carle

   b. "Starry Night" (Barcarolle) ..... John H. Densmore

3. Kenneth Scott, Soprano

   a. "Ave Maria" ..... Schubert

   b. "Precious Lord" ..... Dorsey

4. Dolores Cobb, Soprano

   a. "Bell Song", from Lakme ..... Delibes

   b. "Ah, Fors e lui", from La Traviata ..... Verdi

5. Birthday greetings to Paul Robeson

   Ode to Paul Robeson ..... Beulah Richardson

   Cynthia Belgrave Jones

   Presentation of birthday cake and gifts —

   Mrs. Erma B. Brooks

   Dr. R. A. Simmons

6. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass

   Lawrence Brown at the Piano

7. Intermission

8. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass.

   Lawrence Brown at the piano

ABOUT OUR ARTISTS

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort lead to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello" in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theatre Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

Paul Robeson, perhaps more than any other living artist, deserves the characterization of great. In 1943, he won the Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City, the following year, he was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theatre; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Paul Robeson, all-American athlete, Phi Beta Kappa scholar, outstanding actor and baritone, has earned a niche in the halls of fame in all these fields. But it is Paul Robeson the man, unflinching fighter for the rights of his people who has earned for himself a lasting place in the hearts of the "common men" all over the globe.

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals. It is rare indeed when the accompanist can qualify as a vocal accompaniment. Lawrence Brown, however, is the happy exception to the rule. His vocal assists to Paul's renditions of spirituals are absolutely appropriate and delightful.

Paul Robeson has said that an artist could not live in some rarified atmosphere far from the problems of the people. Certainly not the interpretive artist like the singer or the actor. By the very nature of his hiring, he serves someone. If he sang in Negro Churches, he served the Negro people. If he sang in the big concert halls, he served the big folks. If he sang in the community picturehouses, on the radio or in pictures, he was a part of the "bread and circus" policy of those who own these media to "keep the people happy." His appearance tonight at a "top" of $1.20 is in keeping with his policy of serving the bulk of the people and of bringing back to the people the music which found its base among the people. For tonight's recital, Mr. Robeson has chosen "those individually composed songs which are rooted in and deeply remindful of the folk tradition."

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Rosa Scott
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Dr. Ruth Struik
Harold Swartz
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Josephine Taylor
Sadie Thornhill
Beatrice Thornton
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O. Vesty
Robert Waite
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Frances Washington
J. Wasserman
Gene Wenger
Helen White
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Margaret Williams
Zita Williams
N. G. Williamson
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Rev. Nathaniel Wright
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Rose Yaffe
James Youngblood
Ida Zalefsky

(Partial List)

A New Voice — FREEDOM

"Our People feel themselves sorely aggrieved under the existing state of things." So wrote John Russworm and Samuel Cornish, editors of "Freedom's Journal", the first Negro newspaper in the United States, published in 1827.

Believing that "the calumnies of our enemies should be refuted by forcible arguments", these pioneers set out to provide a "channel of communication between us and the public", and announced that "anything that relates to Africa shall find ready admission to our columns."

That was 125 years ago.

TODAY, the Negro people remain "sorely aggrieved." A pall of repression hangs over the country and pollutes our national life. In this atmosphere all efforts at real liberation are met with the most ruthless attacks of our enemies, and either the distortion or silence of the commercial press.

A hell worse than slavery faces us unless the present drive toward atomic war and fascist dictatorship is halted in its tracks. The need of the hour is for courageous hearts, clear heads and united action.

FREEDOM is born to help that need.

FREEDOM

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

PAUL ROBESON'S PAPER

Brings you an up-to-date, lively view and interpretation of the changing world. A regular column by Paul Robeson . . . news of Africa and the colonial world . . . major trends in Negro life . . . developments in the battle for equality and the world struggle for peace . . . "Conversations from Life" by Alice Childress . . . humor in "Sam Sage Says" . . . and vivid cartooning by Ollie Harrington.

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c/o Mr. Roy Atus, Treasurer
14 Dilworth Street
Roxbury 19, Mass.

Please find enclosed one dollar ($1.00) for one annual subscription to

FREEDOM

Also enclosed find $..... in support of the program of Freedom Associates.

NAME (print) .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

Thurs Mar 10, 8 P.M, Freedom [1955]

1. Legal Fees: Russians, New Jersey,
a. Nationality Groups Jewish, Hungarian, Czechoslovian,
b. Individual responsibility Students, Emma Lazarus, June Gordan

2. Establishment of Passport Com.

3. 30th Anniversary

Forum "The World Today"
Du Bois

2500
500
750
3750
1250
2500

Asian-African
Seato Bankok

750
500
1250

Gathering of representatives of groups

1) Form groups to raise $500.00 each for passport + Legal Fees, John, Essie, Thelma, Ted Bayer
2) Individuals (5 house parties) Hershel Meyers
① Edith Tiger, (Leo) ② Marilyn ③ Ray Lee (Lou) ④ H. Meyers (A.S.P.)
⑤ Frances Blackwell (Lou)

Security
Getting around car at disposal
Should other affair be
attempted almena

~~Letter to Horace~~ Housing
Place where Lon stayed Rostadha
would be helpful to have at transportation costs in adv.
Lucius Lomax & wife
Geo. Thomas

~~Letter to Rev Fritchman~~

Letter to Matt write letter

~~Letter to Fund of the Republic~~

~~Letter to John Lawson — Sobell Com.~~

Call Angie

Call Erma

Ck on Negro ~~Hist.~~ Wk Breakfast Lon to see Jynes

Ck on Larry's birthday — Call Edna monday

Draw statement for Paul's fees

Jeff ~~school~~ Dinner?

Contact Marilyn to arrange Passport Com. meeting

Arrange time for Rachel people to see Renaissance Bull room

~~Check for Alan~~

~~Edna~~

Bill Smith

Negro Hist. Breaks.

~~Jones~~

Jeff Sch

Harlem Fre. Asso. Party Feb. 19,

Paul's report on fees 1954

Vicki's invitation for Sat. Mar. 5, Jamaican Progressive League

C.R.C. Letter

Chinese Authors

Young Peoples Jewish Chorus — May 21,

Program for California Concerto. — Alan's numbers.

Statement by Paul on release of Smith Act Victims for D.W.

Schedule

California Mar 9, – 16,

30th Anniversaries April 22 – 30 ? (N.Y.C.) Newark

Mid West Colleges May 6 – 10

Campuses

U. of Chicago

Northwestern U,

U. of Wisc.

C.C.N.Y. —— Jewish Young Peoples Chorus May 21,

National Conv.

N.A.A.C.P. Atlantic City

Elks " "

Nat'l Bapt

A.M.E. Zion ?

4th Border Concert Aug 1955

Theatre Production Fall 1955

52
50
2600

2500
750
500

3750
12250

2500

Negro Hist. Wk. Breakfast
Sun. Feb. 20, 10:15 A.M.
Grand St. Boys Club
106 W. 55th St.
400 per plate.

Yonkers Times

Make reservations with
Dr. James E. Allen
N.Y. Branch N.A.A.C.P.
165 W. 131st St. Rm. 1,
AU 6 - 2608

get both Worthy Articles (1/2 doz. each)

Rev. R. A. Harris
122 Avon Ave.
Newark, N.J.,

Bigelow 8-2075
about 6 P.M.,
5:30 - 7:00 P.M.,

Nichols Memorial A.M.E. Church
(Former Galilee Bapt Ch)

Pentecostal Ch. of God in Christ
158 First St. Elizabeth, N.J.,

Apr. 24, Mr. Wm Johnson Bi 2-6560
Mt Pistah Bapt. High + West Kenny

Masonic Bldg 1000-1200 Cap.
Was
Rev. Mays Bi 3-3257

Wise, R. & L —
Nelthmatter - student
governing Bd —

May or late April

Week of May 9 —

Miss Harriet Davis
The Fund For The Republic
Shelton Hotel — Room 454 Eldorado 5-6190
New York N.Y.

Henry Wortis
606 No. Francis St.
Madison, Wis.

L.Y.L. Chair,
U. of Wis.
Want Paul to Campus
Concert Spring before
May 15, 1955.

Feb. 26, Bill Smith (Home Wy 2-0719 Off. Bi 2-7676 Newark)
1419 Zeller Ave. Bronx
Mid afternoon Wild game dinner

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Lu Hsun — The True Story of Ah Q
Small Booklet

Lu Hsun — Selected

Ting Ling — The Sun Shines Over the Sangkan River
Full story in "Chinese Lit"

Liu Hu-Lan — Story of a Girl Revolutionary

~~Chu Yuan~~ — Five Act Play

Kuo Mo-jo — Chu Yuan - Poet

Chou Yang — China's New Literature + Art

THURSDAY, APRIL 8 - 10 PM
Mrs. Marian Liggons
2255 Fifth Ave., Apt.M-E
Au 6-9579

Louise

Paul and Essie

Pauli and Marilyn

Rev. and Mrs. B. C. Robeson

Vivian, Bennie and Marian

Dr. and Mrs. Forsythe & Daughter

Lou and Dorothy

George

✓ Kathy and Esther

Lloyd and Lillie

✓ Alan and Clarice

✓ Alphaeus and Dorothy

Thelma

Vicki

Tommy and Clara

✓ Pat and Louise

John and Hazel

Alex M. and Wife

Frances Smith

Larry Brown

Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois

✓ Wini Hall

Pete and Rose

Doxey and Yolanda

Claudia

Bert and Carmen

Sam + Helen Rosen?

Marilyn Alex.

Edith and Eddie

Chas. and Frances White

Abe and Pat

Beulah

Halois and Phil

Nadine and Jerry

Maude and Arthur

Don and Thelma

Alex and Mona

Mel

John and Jessica

Proposed Budget

Hall	400.	(this figure will be more or less
Printing	450.	heralds which can be used as mailing piece and posters ($300) (programs - $100 - (tickets - 50 -
Postage	150.	
Script	500.	
Rehearsals	500.	(10 people at $50.
Project coordinator	500.	
Advertising	500.	
Misc.	500.	(to include whatever props necessary, lighting, repairs, telephone, etc.
	$3500.	
for artists evening of performance	1500.	
	$5000.	

This is a rough budget and changes will be made here and there depending upon which hall is used. For example, if it were Carnegie I believe they print programs and tickets. The $500 misc. is fairly flexible for unforeseen costs. And of course we should have a 10% contingency which would give us another $500. and beyond that the budget can't budge.

1.) Baltimore
Robert Young

2) Mother Zion Concert June Zion Conf.
all clubs sponsorship

3.) Black Dispatch – releases to entire Negro press

4) Newark

5) Chicago Dickerson

6) California Rochester
Church Henderson
Foster

7.) Dr. Brown
" Warner
Major Roberts Mrs. Corrine Wright
(Dr. Lungs)
Bob Douglas Dr. Wells
Leontine Price + Warfield
Bishop Walls

8. British Composers and actors

9.) Bishop Spottswood

10.) San Francisco Goodlet

11) Philadelphia

12.)

Master plan
Packet

American Press

Phil Murray statement + picture

re: Ford victory.

Landis

American Scholars

1) A.S.P. request for Paul — Irma Kasner

2) Hungarian National Peace Council request greetings on 10th Anniversary Hugo Gellert

3.) Czechoslovak Radio request. (See Cable)

4) Appointment with Jamaican League leader Constance? (See Vicki)

5.) Essie to get copy for letter re: passport Com.

6.) Ed Ward's appt. Ed Ward WE 8-4736

7.) Follow up on Nationality Groups

8.) Marilyn Alexander

9.) Bondin

Essie Dickerson

~~10th~~ liberation of H.
Est. Dem. P. R. of H.

Addressed to P.C.
to be sent by them

Ted Bayer
Roy Best
Mrs. Robeson
Greek Am. Tribune — Mrs. Chas Dimitri
Freiheit
John

May 1, time limit.
Visit those invited but

[1955]

Anxiously awaiting details July Concerto.

Regards

John Gray

Harvey Murphy
111 Dunsmuir St
Vancouver 3 B.C.,

Thurs. Mar 10 8 P.M. Freedom Office

Essie Confirm time with Lee Thurs.

✓ Ted appt. Mon, 10 A.M.

✓ Thelma

✓ Hungarians Fodor Al 4-0397 130 E 16th St

✓ Freiheit Fuller al 4-9480

✓ Youth Alita Litvin Or. 5-2817

✓ Emma Lazarus Jane Gordan Ch 3-3640

✓ Russky Golos 130 E. 16th Russians - Gr 5 7595

✓ Ukrainians Frank Oleluk Gr 3-1762
Ukach
95 E. 4th St.

✓ Greeks Am. Tribune Chas Dmitri Ch 2-0260
35 W. 21st St.

✓ Peoples Artists Irwin Silber Wa 9-3907

✓ Greater N.Y. N.N.L.C. Mrs. Garvin

✓ Council on African Affairs Hunton
A.S.P
Jeff School Yolanda
Armenian Tribune Sariam 40 E. 12th St.

Letter to N.Y. Times
Appended to case See Boudin
Copies of letter to be made
Copy to Chick Webb + other sports Editors
Request copies of Reynolds News
Bring to attention of Am. Labor Move.
Send to Bapt. Bishop Walls
Letters to:
Local 600 AAU, Sponsorship
Reuther Olympic Com. 1. Labor Party
Quill 2. Coop movement
B.C. MMS 3. Trade Union Cong.
Murphy - Afro. Am.
Get Scottish Mineworkers letters

International Circulation of letter,
Nehru
Africans
Manley

12 West Indian leaders to be
asked to serve on Passport Com.

N.A.A.C.P.

Public Session (Law)

No records asked for.

To try to stop hearings and
stay supenas.

Clifford Moore
(N.A.A.C.P.)
Trenton N.J.
Commissioner

2/19	3.00
2/22	2.80
	2.00
2/23	4.00
	3.95
	$15.75
2/24	3.75
	7.85
	1.25
	12.85

1. Letter to individuals and orgs.
2. Piece for public use
3. Phila. Lemerte
Alleyne

4. Baltimore – Young, Berry
5. NYC. Dr Reed

To

Date Time

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr. John Bray

of

Phone

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL HIM	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		RUSH	

Message

Mrs. Richardson

Tel 8-9099

Mr. Biden: appt. case

4:45

Eric Nelson Called

Operator

Harlem Ptg. Shop, Inc., 51 W. 125th St., N.Y.C. - LEhigh 4-4646

Hanson Chas.
Trotter WA 6-1135

Integrity Realty Co
2309 7th Ave.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS UNITED FREEDOM FUND MAILING LIST 11/10

Here is the complete list of Reverends in Harlem for your use. Use it wisely (smile)

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There are approximately 500 on list.

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dead

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UN4 6621

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FO 8 4513

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WA 6 1557

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30 W 132
WA 6 8128

Rev. Frederick Dalton
30 W 132
WA 6 8128

Rev. George L Daniles
2198 8th Ave.
MO 6 2543

Rev. Rosa L Daniels
2576 8th Ave.
AU 3 5414

Rev. Samuel A Dantzler
131 W 143
AU 3 2753

Rev. Wm. Elijah Darden
60 W 129
LE 4 4083

Rev. Wm. Davage
305 W 114
MO 2 1511

Rev. Ernest Davies
18 W 122
SA 2 2690

Rev. A A Davis
1868 Amsterdam Ave.
FO 8 1648

Rev. A A Davis
1872 Amsterdam Ave.
AU 6 4090

Rev. George N Davis
132 W 134
WA 6 6265

Rev. H F
274 W 115
AC 2 6144

Rev. Joseph N C Davis
~~1777~~ 1772 Amsterdam Ave.
WA 6 6025

Rev. R L Davis
325 Lenox Ave.
MO 2 9636

Rev. Maurice Dawkins
2190 Madison Ave.
WA 6 1149

Rev. Rainey Days
314 W 120
MO 2 3942

Rev. George Dayson
114 Edgecombe Ave.
AU 3 5226

Rev. Daniel A Delaney
1830 Lexington Ave
EN 9 6750

Rev. A M De Lima
19 W 130
AU 3 5463

Rev. Thomas E DDennison
60 E 121 St.
AT 9 5266

Rev. Isaac Derrick
2749 8th Av.
AU 3 7405

Rev. Jas. De Windt
211 E 126
LE 4 3353

Rev. Mose Dickeerson
120 W 117
MO 2 0783

Rev. Willaim T Dill
2100 5th Ave.
TR 6 31 76

Rev. Frank D Dixon
107 W 135
Au 3 9716

Rev. Rollin Dodd
88 St. Nicholas Ave.
MO 2 3437

Rev. Joe P Donahue
221 W 107
AC 2 0666

Rev. Emmeline Danawa
2340 7th Ave.
AD 4 3041

Rev. H W Douglass
304 W 120
UN 4 7779

Rev. Benjamin Dove
238 W 136
WA 6 6913

Rev. Charles E Downs
202 W 119
UN 4 1447

Rev. Moody L Dunning
200 W 130
UN 4 6675

Rev. E E Durant
228 W 131
AU 6 8986

Rev. Robert Dutton
274 W 118
MO 3 9652

Rev. Willaim Earnest
122 W 129
MO 2 0894

Rev. George T Eason
221 W 120
MO 2 9828

Rev. J W Easter
56 W 140
WA 6 0323

Rev. Willaim P Eaton
251 W 138
AU 6 5436

Rev. John H Edwards
4 Hamiton Terrace
AU 3 2352

Rev. Lee Edwards
457 W 124
MO 3 5006

Rev. M B Edwards
2144 5th Ave.
WA 6 7004

Rev. Courtenay Elcock
11 W 127
SA 2 9101

Rev. Willaim H Ellis
207 W 123
MO 2 6295

Rev. O Engel
540 W 143
AD 4 8145

Ethiopian Hebrew Falasha Cong.
362 Lenox Ave
Sa 2 1357

Rev. Patrick L Ewing
16 E 129
LE 4 1506

Rev. Wm. E Fairfax
166 W 136
WA 6 2439

Rev. E E Farmim
255 W 137
AU 3 5224

Rev. Millard R Farrell
401 W 118
MO 6 2454

Father, Prince of Life
209 W 141
WA 6 3592

Rev. E A Ferdinand
304 W 114
MO 2 0816

Rev. Felix J Ferguson
73 E 127
LE 4 1115

Rev. John Ferguson
66 St. Nicholas Pl
AU 6 8499

Rev. F J Fitzgerald
65 W 138
AU 6 4458

Rev. S P Fleming
2727 8th Ave
WA 6 6901

Rev. Diego Flores
504 W 134
WA 6 5113

Rev. John Flowers
24 W 132
AU 3 7230

Rev. Lucious Fogle
10 E 115
EN 9 4561

Rev. Leslie Ford
263 W 153
WA 6 2959

Rev. M Wm Frasier
230 Bradhurst Ave.
WA 6 2725

Rev. Carrie Frazier
71 E 128
TR 6 8451

Rev. Arthur Freeman
2420 8th Ave.
MO 2 2584

Rev. Eugene E Freeman
73 W 116
EN 9 5593

Rev. M E Freeman
452 W 150
WA 6 5582

Rev. Marion Luther Fuller
422 St Nicholas Ave.
AU 3 1329

Rev. Nepton B Gadsden
245 W 120
AC 2 4954

Rev. Saul Gainey
25 Bradhurst Ave.
AD 4 8593

Rev. Robert E Gallagher
530 Audubon Ave.
LO 8 2237

Rev. Benjamin Garcia
88 E 111
AT 9 0570

Rev. Polly B Garden
202 St. Nicholas Ave.
MO 6 2422

Rev. John Gardner
19 E 95
AT 9 8942

Rev. Wm D Gardner
133 W 113
MO 3 5363

Rev. George Garner
49 E 131
AD 4 6408

Rev. Martin J Gaston
26 Lenox Ave. MO 6 0032

Rev. Ernest E Gayle
148 W 118 Mo 2 2088

Rev. Anna C Gaze
221 W 105 RI 9 6181

Rev. Anthony George
409 Edgecombe Ave. WA 6 9834

Rev. Raymond E Gibson
525 W 141 AU 3 6086
~~FØ/8/1326~~

Rev. A C Gilbert
271 W 141 FO 8 1326

Rev. John B Gilchrist
925 St. Nicholas Av WA 6 4679

Rev. C A Gill
486 Lenox Ave. WA 6 7278

Rev. Wm C Gillaims
125 W 116 MO 2 2145

Rev. J S Givens
2 E 127 LE 4 4933

Rev. Robert L Glenn
229 W 126

Rev. Paul Glover
158 W 129 RI 9 4524

Rev. S J Godfrey
254 W 143 FO 8 7206

Rev. Elizabeth Gray
108 Bradhurst Ave. Mo2 6466

Rev. Earl Green
43 W 129 TR 6 3191

Rev. Hezekiah Green
130 W 129 UN 4 5107

Rev. Nathan Green
260 W 144 AD 4 2452

Rev. H Greene
69 W 131 AU 3 7784

Rev. Maude Greenidge
107 W 135 WA 6 9416

Rev. F Howard
19 W 99 AC 2 8531

Rev. Fred Howard
2115 5th Ave. SA 2 3687

Rev. Ernest Gregory
2228 7th Ave. WA 6 9090

Rev. John B Gregory
148 Lenox Av. MC 3 7894

Rev. P L Grier
56 W 112 EN 9 1178

Rev. Fannie Griggen
455 W 155 FO 8 7376

Rev. L T Griffen
103 E 127 AT 9 4397

Rev. Samuel Grimes
45 W 110 UN 4 0076

Rev. Walter Gudger
156 W 144 AU 3 3345

Rev. Egerton Hall
450 Convent Av. Wa 44791

Rev. Wm Hall
36 Convent Av. UN 6 5883

Rev. L D Hanks
315 W 115 UN 4 6146

Rev. Eurie Harden
31 W 115 EN 9 0076

Rev. Walter L Harding
35 W 99 AC 2 2296

Rev. J Archie Hargraves
45 E 135 AD 4 8479

Rev. Addie Harper
134 W 139 FO 8 3289

Rev. Jas E Harper
1855 7th Av. MO 2 2939

Rev. Lillian Harper
270 W 115 MO 2 0717

Rev. Walter Harrigan
63 W 118 TR 6 2443

Rev. Bertha Harris
227 W 149 AU 6 5348

Rev. J W Harris
24 W 118 EN 9 6573

Rev. Jerome D Harris
201 W 144 WA 6 9591

Rev. Julius Harris
452 W 150 WA 6 5582

Rev. John T Harrison
238 W 146 WA 6 6248

Rev. Elizabeth Hart
43 W 98 MO 2 0024

Rev. Lancelot Harty
52 W 129 LE 4 4544

Rev. Ralph W Hawkins
5 W 126 SA 2 3942

Rev. John B Heyward
17 W 137 AD 4 0134

REv. Randolph A Higginson
151 W 126 MO 2 4657

Rev. Henry High
477 W 145 AD 4 6860

Rev. Horatio S Hill
137 W 142 WA 6 3912

Rev. J M Hill
34 W 118 EN 9 5684

Rev. Jessie Hill
67 Macombs Pl AD 4 8472

Rev. Jos. Cephas Hill
40 Morningside Av. MO 2 8948

Rev. Lewis Martin Hill
2 W 120 TR 6 3744

Rev. T J Hill
1 St. Nicholas Terr. MO 2 9380

Rev. S P Hodge
302 W 146 FO 8 1897

Rev. John Holden
310 W 147 WA 6 6194

Rev. Edwin C Holder
49 W 116 EN 9 4339

Rev. Clarence Holly
2412 7th Ave. AD 4 1783

Rev. Beulah House
298 W 138 WA 6 1833

Rev. Eugene W Houston
61 W 137 AU 3 2928

Rev. Rafael Hernandez
165 E 112 AT 9 2547

Rev. A L Hughes
306 W 141 AU 6 6718

Rev. H R Hughes
400 Convent Av. AD 4 8158

Rev. Jas K Humpherey
141 W 131 WA 6 1180

Rev. Edward L Hunt
520 W 158 WA 3 7276

Rev. C R Hunt
322 W 106 AC 2 5439

Rev. Wm Hunter
21 W 121 TR 6 6533

Rev. Walter L Hurdle
105 W 137 WA 6 1912

Rev. Sylvester Isler
289 W 147 AD 4 2065

Rev. Mannie Betty Jackson
106 W 128 MO 2 5554

Rev. Augustina James
AU 6 5091

Rev. John A James
1495 Amsterdam Av. WA 6 5220

Rev. John W James
522 W 146 WA 6 0238

Rev. Ruth James
111 W 128 UN 4 0004

Rev. Thomas Jefferson
2229 8th Av. MO 2 1018

Rev. Roy F E Jeffries
523 W 143 AU 3 7501

Rev. Burleigh Jenkins
408 W 130 RI 9 7160

Rev. L F Johns
21 W 123 LE 4 4025

Rev. Arabella Johnson
260 W 143 FO 8 1239

Rev. B J Johnson
43 W 140 WA 6 2756

Rev. Booker T Johnson
230 W 123 UN 4 2780

Rev. Adolphus G Johnson
132 W 117 UN 4 0380

Rev. E J Johnson
111 E 130 AU 3 5478

Rev. Richard G Johnson
100 W 134 AU 3 0112

Rev. Viola Johnson
164 W 146 WA 6 1178

Rev. Johnson
126 W 132 WA 6 9398

Rev. W D C Johnson
215 W 140 WA 6 1250

Rev. Wm. P Johnson
435 Convent Av. AU 6 7753

Rev. Robert E Jones
400 Convent Av. FO 8 5167

Rev. Rosalie Jones
2041 5th Ave. TR 6 2194

Rev. S P Jones
59 W 139 WA 6 1858

Rev. Theo. Jones
2324 7th Av. WA 6 8471

Rev. Wm P Jones
40 Morningside Av. UN 4 7481

Rev. Hilton R Jordan
486 W 165 LO 8 7142

Rev. Cecilia Joseph
62 W 142 AU 3 2729

Rev. John Joseph
210 W 130 UN 4 3353

Rev. Joseph Joshua
36 W 127 AT 9 5124

Rev. LeRoy Judge
535 W 151 WA 6 1975

Rev. Camute Kelly
51 E 122 AT 9 5036

Rev. O M Kelly
70 E 128 LE 4 3784

Rev. Robert J Kelly
135 E 96 TR 6 8839

Rev. Wm Kelly
36 W 123 AT 9 1084

Rev. Ethleen Kendall
505 W 124 UN 4 7175

Rev. Alfred Kennedy
310 W 148

Rev. Corinne C Kennedy
2066 5th Av. SA 2 2773

Rev. Theo. W Kerrison
108 W 111 MO 6 6265

Rev. Herbert King
310 W 139 AU 6 5865

Rev. W T King
55 W 139 AU 3 2770

Rev. Wm H Kirk
180 Riverside Dr. SC 5 8112

Rev. Wilfred Kirnon
62 W 142 AU 3 2729

Rev. Hattie Kichen
231 E 127 SA 2 2303

Rev. John P Ladson
536 W 156 AU 3 5861

Rev. Lucille LaFleur
278 W 125 Mo 3 7559

Rev. Exchiel Landau
258 Riverside Dr. MO 6 0708

Rev. John J Lands
317 Lenox Av. Mo 2 5585

Rev. Francis Lashley
457 W 144 Au 3 9417

Rev. Clifford S Lauder
88 St. Nicholas Av. MO 3 451
MO3-4514

Rev. Jos Lavington
209 W 118 MO 2 5824

Rev. Marion Lawrence
517 W 151 AU 3 0819

Rev. Robt. C Lawson
56 W 133 AU 6 2440

Rev. W S Lee
269 Lenox Av. TR 6 8839

Rev. Hermine Leter
169 W 98 AC 6 6956

Rev. Chas. A Levy
608 W 146 WA 6 5131

Rev. Waldron W Lewis
31 W 129 SA 2 8035

Rev. Mae Lofton
125 E 127 AT 9 4428

Rev. Irvin Logan
12 W 119 EN 9 1283

Rev. Cyril A Lucas
30 Macombe Pl AU 3 2712

Rev. Howard E Lynah
202 W 148 AU 3 3155

Rev. Ann McKelpin Lynch
11 W 113 MO 2 0297

Rev. Central L Mack
112 W 138 AU 6 6822

Rev. Algie Klin Mac
200 W 143 WA 6 4474

Rev. Wallace MacMullen
3681 Broadway WA 6 8502

Rev. Joh R Mahoney
510 W 165 Wa 7 28772

Rev. Julius Major
234 W 143 Wa 6 4356

Rev. Raymond L Manley
501 W 164 LO 8 0918

Rev. Eliz. Martin
230 E 99 LE 4 7829

Rev. Bernard Mason
337 W 138 WA 6 5027

Rev. Jas Patrick Mason
2435 8th Av. WA 6 1742

Rev. W A Matthew
87 W 128 LE 4 1058

Rev. Jas Matthews
2007 Madison Av. LE 4 0938

Rev. Walter L Matthews
226 W 152 AD 4 9351

Rev. O. Clay Maxwell
201 Lenox Ave. UN 4 1155

Rev. Lillain F Mayfield
8 Mt. Morris Pk W SA 2 0034

Rev. Clemencia C McConney
133 Lenox Av. MO 3 6339

Rev. Jesse McGowen
502 W 145 WA 6 3004

Rev. E G McGriff
478 W 146 Sc 4 1612

Rev. Reginald McHugh
105 W 130 WA 6 I549

Rev. Clyde McKethan
55 W 129 TR 6 8406

Rev. T H McKinzie
2553 8th Av. WA 6 2873

Rev. Ellis J McLeod
2099 8th Av. MO 3 8545

Rev. W C McPherson
109 W 137 WA 6 2975

Rev. Wm Meyers
2223 7th Av. WA 6 2885

Rev. Spencer W Miles
216 W 133 AU 3 4406

Rev. M Miller
535 W 110 MO 2 8352

Rev. W Willard Monroe
200 W 113 MO 2 3344

Rev. LeRoy Montgomery
53 Hamilton Terr WA 6 7734

Rev. Arthur C Moore
28 Edgecomb Av. WA 6 7709

Rev. E M Moore
103 W 120 MO 2 8489

Rev. Harry Moore
302 W 120 UN 4 1557

Rev. Richard Morford
457 W 123 UN 4 6277

Rev. V B Morgan
23W 129 SA 2 8836

Rev. Wm J Morgane
2255 5th Ave. WA 6 0755

Rev. W M Morris
795 St. Nicholas Av. AU 3 8870

Rev. Donald H Morse
501 W 110 MO 2 3360

Rev. Peter L Mouzon
7 W 131 FO 8 5373

Rev. H B Moyler
795 St. Nicholas Av.

Rev. Amos
450 Manhattan Av. UN 4 1581

Rev. J I Mumford
158 W 136 AU 3 3090

Rev. G Mundo
131 E 119 SA 2 3914

Rev. Charles M Myers
998 Amsterdam Av. MO 6 2585

Rev. Wm E Neal
2011 Madison Av. SA 2 2299

Rev. Darnley P Nebblett
541 W 124 MO 2 6069

Rev. D W Nichols
2295 7th Av. WA 6 4259

Rev. D Ward Nichols
209 Edgecombe Av. AU 6 4599

Rev. Reinhold Neibuhr
606 W 122 MO 2 3287

Rev. Roberto Nieves
504 W 131 FO 8 0340

Rev. Mamie Norton
48 W 136 AU 3 0150

Rev. Nicola Notar
407 E 114 AT 9 6740

Rev. Walter P Offut Jr.
2181 Madison Av. AU 3 5796

Rev. J C Olden
216 W 139 Au 6 4585

START

Rev. James Oliver
1687 Park Av. Sa 2 3182

Rev. Maggie Olivera
118 W 137 AU 3 5240

Rev. Daisey Gallis Parker
215 W 147 AU 3 0164

Rev. Bratton Pearson
100 W 124 MO 2 8868

Rev. George H Peets
455 W 144 AD 4 2365

Rev. Edith Pemberton
62 E 129 SA 2 0077

Rev. Celia Perez
108 W 99 Ri 9 6325

Rev. Juda L Pearle
160 W 106 AC 2 8737

Rev. John H Perry
134 W 139 WA 6 8813

Rev. Samuel P Pettagrue
135 W 142 WA 6 6698

Rev. Theo P Pierce
2528 7th Av. WA 6 6539

Rev. Lawrence F Pierre
180 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 1261

Rev. Lorida C Pinder
288 W 137 AU3 4034

Rev. Eliud Pizarro
119 E 101 AT 9 9694

Rev. H Z Plummer
1809 7th Ave. UN 4 0009

Rev. J O Pollard
405 Lenox Av. AU 3 2138

Rev. William Porkness
545 W 111 UN 4 6875

Rev. Phillip J Potter
144 W 90 TR 3 8846

Rev. A Clayton Powell
435 Convent Av. WA 6 3761

Rev. A Clayton Powell Jr.
132 W 138 AU 6 2626

Rev. G R Pratt
145 W 130 WA 6 3749

Rev. Geo. W Quarker
227 W 121 MO 2 1891

Rev. Samuel Quintyne
160 W 142 AU 3 5347

Rev. Herminio E Quiroga
110 E 104 SA 2 4121

Rev. Ismael Ramos
77 E 114 EN 9 4174

Rev. Samuel Reese
207 W 108 Ac2 0813

Rev. Sarah Reese
73 W 131 WA 6 2369

Rev. Fern Viola Reid
543 W 141 AU 3 6850

Rev. P E Reid
313 Lenox Av. AC 2 3794

Rev. Louisiana Rhodes
310 W 122 UN 4 1256

Rev. David N Richards
140 W 142 WA 6 4194

Rev. R Richardson
407 Lenox Av. WA 6 0174

Rev. Thomas C Riddel
416 W 129 MO 2 6092

Rev. Nicholas Rinaldi
312 E 110 DE 4 3856

Rev. Vincent A Riniti
343 E 118 SA 2 8065

Rev. George Rison
80 LaSalle St. MO 3 8756

Rev. James Rivers
105 W 138 WA 6 7665

Rev. Richard Rivers
115 W 120 MO 2 4391

Rev. L R Roberson
71 W 132 WA 6 8176

Rev. Addie King Roberts
216 W 136 AU 3 4326

Rev. Billy Roberts
313 W 125 UN 4 4467

Rev. Billy Roberts
560 W 144 AD 4 0071

Rev. James Roberts
65 W 140 WA 6 8347

Rev. Jonar Robertson
122 E 127 TR 6 0273

Rev. B C Robeson
155 W 136 AU 6 2667

Rev. Edkler C Robinson
146 W 129 MO 3 0044

Rev. Geo. N Robinson
368 W 117 MO 2 9356

Rev. James H Robinson
409 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 8152

Rev. William Robinson
2373 7th Av. AU 3 0213

Rev. Ules Rocker
132 W 133 WA 6 5803

Rev. Abraham Rodney
214 Audubon Av. LO 8 2420

Rev. Cedric Rodney
28 W 123 Tr 6 7040

Rev. Lewis G Rogers
134 E 95 SA 2 8773

Rev. Edward E Rolle
4 W 118 EN 9 3384

Rev. Shelby Rooks
206 W 137 AU 6 5256

Rev. John E Rooney
135 E 96 SA 2 5724

Rev. Allen M Rose
252 W 124 UN 4 4374

Rev. Lucius C Ross
132 W 133 WA 6 8212

Rev. Louis Sams
17 W 119 SA 2 4094

Rev. Aaron Samiel
211 W 146 AU 3 1660

Rev. William Samuels
67 Macombe Pl WA 6 8367

Rev. Felipa Santiago
533 W 145 WA 6 3716

Rev. John J Sass
226 W 152 WA 6 1166

Rev. Geo. F Saunders
168 W 100 AC 2 7045

Rev. John W Saunders
288 Convent Av. WA 6 2134

Rev. Rochester A Saunders
235 W 116 AC 2 6214

Rev. Felix A Scotland
221 W 136 AU 3 7253

Rev. Alice Scott
311 W 134 RI 9 8142

Rev. W H Scott
410 W 128 MO 2 7498

Rev. Warren Scott
226 W 150 AU 6 2232

Rev. Edwin T Scully
529 W 121 MO 2 8267

Rev. William G Sharp
421 W 162 WA 7 8666

Rev. David Sharpe
237 W 120 AC 2 2842

Rev. H S Shearer
220 W 140 AD 4 1389

Rev. Charles N Shepard
520 W 114 MO 2 4691

Rev. Cyril O Sheppard
158 W 132 AU 6 3518

Rev. Alice T Simmons
321 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 8503

Rev. Ellena W Simmons
122 W 135 AU 3 1961

Rev. Violet Simmons
26 Morningside Av. UN 4 7201

Rev. Archibald F Simon
108 W 141 AD 4 0143

Rev. C S Sims
462 Convent Av. WA 6 2207

Rev. G H Sims
131 W 131 AU 6 6188

Rev. Geo. H Sims Jr.
435 Convent Av. AU 6 9355

Rev. Walter H Singletary
145 W 138 AD 4 5897

Rev. Alester Skinner
269 W 153 WA 6 9197

Rev. L Small
15 W 119 LE 4 4317

Rev. William H Smalls
367 Lenox Av. MO 2 7241

Rev. L Smith
151 Lenox Av. MO 2 1403

Rev. Leonora Smith
160 W 118 MO 2 1403

Rev. A A Smith
2 E 119 LE 4 3077

Rev. Charles W Smith
2237 8th Av. MO 2 8785

Rev. Daniel Smith
2672 8th Av. AU 3 4609

Rev. Hannah Smith
44 W 99 M) 6 1108

Rev. Helen Smith
204 E 112 LE 4 8691

Rev. Julian L Smith
104 West 113 MO 3 0191

Rev. Ella Sorrel
120 W 117 MO 2 7880

Rev. Nora E Spivey
500 W 164 WA 7 1717

Rev. James S Spruill
571 W 159 WA 7 7394

Rev. Annie Stackhouse
28 W 127 SA 2 3174

Rev. Elizabeth Stafford
1878 7th Av. MO 3 6966

Rev. H W Stanley
269 W 133 AU 3 4051

Rev. John J Stanley
472 W 142 WA 6 2310

Rev. Millard Stanley
2060 8th Av. UN 4 7219

Rev. Augustus C Starnes
2738 8th Av. FO 8 2539

Rev. Harry Stevenson
213 E 123 LE 4 2292

Rev. Charles E Stewart
52 W 132 AU 3 5239

Rev. Webster Stewart
471 W 125 MO 3 1168

Rev. Lena M Stokes
134 W 129 MO 6 2201

Rev. Paul W Strickland
409 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 0313

Rev. W S Strong
35 W 131 WA 6 0530

Rev. Leon Sulton
131 W 112 UN 4 0965

Rev. S H Sweeney
49 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 0575

Rev. Willaim O Swint
2270 8th Av. MO 3 3154

Rev. James W Tate
2049 5th Av. LE 4 3420

Rev. Roland L Taylor
590 St. Nicholas Av. WA 69694

Rev. John J Tepter
681 W 193 LO 7 9791

Rev. A C Terry Thompson
73 W 115 EN 9 8393

Rev. Thomas J Tharpe
40 Morningside Av. UN 4 1465

Rev. H H Thomas
239 W 135 WA 6 1634

Rev. James Thomas
50 W 112 EN 9 3634

Rev. James W Thompson
475 W 159 WA 7 7104

Rev. William E Thompson
210 W 150 AU 3 6193

Rev. DeLeon Timmons
370 Manhattan Av. UN 4 3058

Rev. Roney L Tinnin
510 W 144 WA 6 3715

Rev. R H Tobitt
200 W 143 WA 6 7943

Rev. William W Tolton
2228 7th Av. AU 3 6661

Rev. Clarence Tomlin
281 Edgecombe Av. WA 6 2726

Rev. Elizabeth Tompkins
2631 8th Av. WA 6 8252

Rev. Fred A Toote
282 W 137 WA 6 5388

Rev. H Toussaint
493 Manhattan Av. MO 2 9819

Rev. Horace Travis
520 W 144 AU 6 7108

Rev. John Tribble
5 E 129 LE 4 7406

Rev. G Tribble
2501 8th Av. WA 6 1243

Rev. Charles Y Trigg
2190 7th Av. MO 2 9121

Rev. Emma Ulrich
853 St. Nicholas Av. AU 3 5048

Rev. Geo. C Violenes
41 W 129 LE 4 4250

Rev. James W Wactor
2200 Madison Av. AU 3 7356

Rev. James Wallace
120 W 138 WA 6 7036

Rev. Murray M Walters
525 W 123 AC 2 6534

Rev. Charles W Walton
169 Edgecombe Av. FO 8 3288

Rev. Geo. Washington
1820 Madison Av. LE 4 1358

Rev. Rachel Washington
125 W 142 AD 4 5881

Rev. T H Washington
2 W 120 LE 4 3537

Rev. Geo. E Watkins
534 W 124 MO 3 3280

Rev. H J Watkins
102 W 144 WA 6 2848

Rev. Richard H Watkins
2 E 127 AT 9 1559

Rev. Fred J Watson
413 Lenox Av. WA 6 1959

Rev. James C Watson
49 W 139 AU 3 0401

Rev. Louis W Watson
349 W 120 MO 3 5382

Rev. Edward D Wells
270 Convent Av. AU 3 2836

Rev. Paul West
74 W 126 LE 4 5887

Rev. Johnnie H Westbrooks
32 Morningside Av. MO 3 5373

Rev. M Moran Weston
270 Convent Av. AU 6 4895

Rev. Oliver Wheeler
74 E 124 AT 9 2426

Rev. Estelle White
462 Convent Av. WA 6 4762

Rev. Geo. W White
142 W 140 AU 3 7030

Rev. Louis S White
220 W 130 UN 4 0123

Rev. Robert L Wilbon
102 Convent Av. AU 3 2182

Rev. H F Wilkie
189 Lenox Av. MO 2 7188

Rev. Annie Rock Williams
41 W 124 LE 4 3568

Rev. Aurora E Williams
156 W 141 AU 3 5106

Rev. B Williams
305 W 150 AD 4 3385

Rev. Charles C Williams
9 W 110 EN 9 5355

Rev. F B Williams
154 W 136 AD 4 4487

Rev. G C Williams
468 W 157 WA 6 7103

Rev. James Williams
212 E 122 LE 4 6514

Rev. James W Williams
530 W 152 WA 6 8475

Rev. Cosby Wilson
35 Hamilton Terr. FO 8 3505

Thurs. Apr. 8,

Paul & Essie

Paul & Marilyn

Rev. & Mrs. B.C. Robeson

Vivian, Bennie, & Marian

Dr. & Mrs. Forsythe & Daughter

Lou & Dorothy

George & Lillie

Kathy & Esther

? Marilyn Alex.

? Edith & Eddie

Lloyd & Lillie

Alan & Clarice

Alpheus & Dorothy

Thelma

Vicki

Tommy & Clara

Pat & Louise

? Chas White & Frances

? Abe & Pat

John & Hazel

? Beulah

Alex M. & Wife

Frances Smith

Larry Brown

Dr. & Mrs. Du Bois

Wini Hall

Pete & Rose

Doxey & Yolanda

? Haloise & Phil

? Nadine & Jerry

? Maude & Arthur

? Don & Thelma

~~? Mrs Bose~~

? Alex & Mona

? Mel

Clundig

Geist & Carmen

Sam & Ellen Rosen

? John & Glenica

Mrs. Marian Liggons
2255 Fifth Ave. Apt. M-E

Turkey & Ham
Potato Salad
Toss "
Ice Cubes
Rolls
Relish
Butter
Nuts
Mints
Birthday Cake
Potato Chips (Cocktail mix)
Coffee Cream Sugar

Drinks
Ginger ale
Soda
Lemons
Napkins
Paper Cups
" Plates
Silver - Clunch

Delta Recording RC 6-5142 Tues. 2 PM tend.

Lloyd MO3-0697

Recording Machine Ck Annie's schedule, make appt for Lloyd + Annie

Letters

Paul.

Mrs. Marie Bowden ✓ 1447 1/2 West 27th St. L.A.

Mr. + Mrs. Geo. Sims, 236 E. 102nd St. L.A.

Mr. Homer Sadler ✓ 11121 Belhaven St L.A. 59

*Mr + Mrs. Anthony Morton 3435 Marion St. Denver

Mr. + Mrs. Otto Broady ✓ 13218 Wilmington, Compton Cal.

Dr. + Mrs Herbert Weitzner, 451 Vincente, Berkley Cal.

Mrs. Hazel Horder, 10057 24th S.W. — Seattle, Wash

Mr. John Flowers ✓, 1433 Divisadero St San Fran

Mrs. Pearl White ✓, 615 - 12th North Seattle

Mr. C.R. Lane, Broken Washington Hotel San Fran.

Mrs. Marian Ulmer, 667 South Downing Denver
Spruce 68314

Dr. + Mrs. Barney Malkin 8036 E. S. 28th Portland, Ore.

Dr. + Mrs. Chas. Grossman 5605 No. E. Cleveland "

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* Rev. Harry W. Williams 325 Herbert Ave. "

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The United Freedom Fund

Presents

A Paul Robeson Birthday Concert

on the occasion of

MR. ROBESON'S 54th BIRTHDAY

FRIDAY EVENING, APRIL 4, 1952 — 8 O'CLOCK

OTISFIELD HALL, ROXBURY, MASS.

ABOUT THE UNITED FREEDOM FUND . . .

The United Freedom Fund is a coordinating committee which includes representatives of the leading organizations that are today fighting most vigorously for full equality and for a peaceful and dignified life for all. These groups, including the Council on African Affairs, the publication **Freedom,** the National Negro Labor Council and a Negro Cultural Organization, will jointly benefit from the funds raised through this concert tour.

Tonight's concert is being held in as small a hall as this **not** because our artists attract only so small an audience as the present hall accomodates, but because these artists have, in the course of their life's work, insisted in every instance on full equality for all. Thus the larger halls were denied to us.

The National Negro Labor Council is presently carrying out a campaign to secure a national FEPC law and a hundred thousand **new** jobs for Negro workers in fields heretofore closed to them by jim crow restraints. And they are making progress.

The **Council on African Affairs** is carrying on a campaign of protest against the vicious racist attempts at **apartheid,** or wholesale segregation of Africans in the Union of South Africa.

The publication, **Freedom,** gives news of the above and other activities of vital importance to the Negro people in its monthly issues.

And, finally, the benefiting cultural organization will carry on its fight against stereotyping in films and other entertainment media; for decent roles for Negro artists in the theatre, the arts; and for the development of Negro artists and Negro culture through a national Negro cultural center.

THESE ARE THE REASONS YOU ARE BEING ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE.

Please consider carefully the amount you can give to these fighting organizations through the United Freedom Fund. Remember the sacrifices which Paul Robeson and others have made in the unceasing struggle to win dignity for all in a society at peace, and then . . . dig deep . . . dig a little deeper, and give till it **stops** hurting!

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Master of Ceremonies — Mr. Jack Lee

★ ★

1. National Anthem ..... Rev. J. E. Jeltz and audience

2. I Viaggiatori (The Travelers)

   Director: Miss Dolores Cobb

   a. "The Heavens Resound" ..... Beethoven-Glen Carle

   b. "Starry Night" (Barcarolle) ..... John H. Densmore

3. Kenneth Scott, Soprano

   a. "Ave Maria" ..... Schubert

   b. "Precious Lord" ..... Dorsey

4. Dolores Cobb, Soprano

   a. "Bell Song", from Lakme ..... Delibes

   b. "Ah, Fors e lui", from La Traviata ..... Verdi

5. Birthday greetings to Paul Robeson

   Ode to Paul Robeson ..... Beulah Richardson

   Cynthia Belgrave Jones

   Presentation of birthday cake and gifts —

   Mrs. Erma B. Brooks

   Dr. R. A. Simmons

6. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass

   Lawrence Brown at the Piano

7. Intermission

8. Mr. Paul Robeson, Bass.

   Lawrence Brown at the piano

ABOUT OUR ARTISTS

Paul Robeson's record of achievement is a lengthy one. Mr. Robeson first attracted national attention while a student at Rutgers. In the field of sports, he won letters in football, baseball, basketball and track. As a scholar, Mr. Robeson was distinguished as a winner of the coveted Phi Beta Kappa. For two seasons, he was the choice of the renowned Walter Camp for end on the all-American football team. While studying law at Columbia University, he appeared in amateur theatrical productions at the Harlem YMCA. This first dramatic effort lead to a performance in the leading role in Eugene O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." In 1930, Mr. Robeson played the title role in Shakespeare's "Othello" in London. He was to repeat his magnificent performance in the United States in the Theatre Guild production which also starred Jose Ferrer and Uta Hagen. Mr. Robeson's concert career, begun in 1925, has continued the tradition of perfection which was initiated formally at Rutgers.

Paul Robeson, perhaps more than any other living artist, deserves the characterization of great. In 1943, he won the Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City, the following year, he was awarded the Donaldson Award for best acting performance and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences Gold Medal for the best diction in the American theatre; and in 1945, the NAACP presented him with the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement.

Paul Robeson, all-American athlete, Phi Beta Kappa scholar, outstanding actor and baritone, has earned a niche in the halls of fame in all these fields. But it is Paul Robeson the man, unflinching fighter for the rights of his people who has earned for himself a lasting place in the hearts of the "common men" all over the globe.

Lawrence Brown has been the musical associate of Paul Robeson for all of the latter's musical career. Himself a singularly gifted musician, Mr. Brown is a scholar in the field of Negro music and has arranged and published many spirituals. It is rare indeed when the accompanist can qualify as a vocal accompaniment. Lawrence Brown, however, is the happy exception to the rule. His vocal assists to Paul's renditions of spirituals are absolutely appropriate and delightful.

Paul Robeson has said that an artist could not live in some rarified atmosphere far from the problems of the people. Certainly not the interpretive artist like the singer or the actor. By the very nature of his hiring, he serves someone. If he sang in Negro Churches, he served the Negro people. If he sang in the big concert halls, he served the big folks. If he sang in the community picturehouses, on the radio or in pictures, he was a part of the "bread and circus" policy of those who own these media to "keep the people happy." His appearance tonight at a "top" of $1.20 is in keeping with his policy of serving the bulk of the people and of bringing back to the people the music which found its base among the people. For tonight's recital, Mr. Robeson has chosen "those individually composed songs which are rooted in and deeply remindful of the folk tradition."

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A hell worse than slavery faces us unless the present drive toward atomic war and fascist dictatorship is halted in its tracks. The need of the hour is for courageous hearts, clear heads and united action.

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For FREEDOM'S Sake,

Louis E. Burnham

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114.	Mr T.O. THACREY	c/o the Daily Compags , 40 Duane St NEW YORK (NY)
115.	Dr Algernoon BLACK	2.W. 64th St. NEW YORK N.Y.

116. Bishop R.N. BROOKS	631 Baronne St. NEW ORLEANS (La)
117. Dr Henry HITT CRANE	Central Methodist Church , ~~1037xKerxsexxDeaxxxhorx~~ (23 East Adams St. Detroit (Mich.)
118. Rabbi Abraham Cronbach	Hebrew Union College 842 Lexington Ave. Cincinnati - 29 - (Ohio)
119. Dr Stringfellow BARR	Foundation for World Government, 58 Park Avenue, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
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139. Bishop Carey A. GIBBS	A.M.E. Church, JACKSONVILLE (Fla)
140. Hon. Hosiah W. GITT	Publisher, "Gazette Baily",YORK (Pa)
141. David HABER	Yale University Law School, NEW HAVEN (Conn)

142. Prof. C. SHELDON HART	Carleton college NORTHFIELD (Minn.)
143. Dr Walter M. HORTON	Oberlin Graduate School of Theology OBERLIN (Ohio)
144. Rev. Dr. J.R. Jamison	Pres. Ark. Missionary Baptist Convention, MORRILTON (Ark.)
145. Dr Mordecai M. KAPLAN	Jewish Theol. Seminary of America NEW YORK, 122nd St. BROADWAY, NewYork (NY)
146. Prof. Curtis D. MacDOUGALL	Northwestern University, EVANSTON(Ill)
147. Rev. George MECKLENBURG	Minneapolis (Minn.)
148. Rt Rev. Walter MITCHELL	Pro. Epis. Bishop (Ret.) of Arizona Rancho, Santa Fe (Calif.)
149. Dr F.M. ASHLEY MONTAGU	Rutgers University N.J. RUTGERS (N.J)
150. Dr John R. MOTT	World Alliance, YMCA, 347 Madison Av. NEW YORK (N.Y.)
151. Bishop Frank M. REID	Allen University, COLUMBIA (S.C.)
152. Very Rev. Paul ROBERTS	Dean, St Johns Cathedral, DENVER (Col
153. Prof. F.W. WENT	California Institute of Technology PASADENA (Calif.)
154. Prof. Henry Nelson WIEMAN	University of Oregon, EUGENE (Ore)
155. Rabbi Robert GORDIS	Jewish Theological Seminary 122nd St. BROADWAY, NEW YORK 27 (NY)
156. Prof. Georgia HARKNESS	Garrett Biblical Institute, EVANSTON (Ill.)
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159. Dean Walter G. MUELDER	Boston Uniersity, BOSTON (Mass)
160. Dr Albert W. PALMER	ALTADENA (Cal.)
161. Dr P.A. SOROKIN	Harvard University CAMBRIDGE (Mass)
162. Prof. Oswald VEBLEN	Institute for Advanced Study (N.J.) Princeton University (NJ
163. Bishop R.R. WRIGHT Jr	A.M. E. CHurch, ATLANTA (Ga)

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John - Hazel
Alphaeus - Dorothy
Geo -
Kathy
Thelma +
Vicki +
Lou - Dot
Pat - Louise
Dorsey - Yolande
Pete - Rose
Claudia
Kathy - Esther

Menu

Turkey

Ham

Thurs. Apr. 8, 8 P.M. –
to
Fri. Apr. 9, 1 A.M.

HARLEM'S BIG STAR NITE!

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FRIDAY 29th 8 P.M. FEB.

Fri, Apr, 9,

Forces

Collective work

Ben Gold
Leon Strauss
Ed Barsky + wife
Jessica Smith for Representative
Marilyn Alexander
Tommy Richardson
Theodore Bayer
Richard Morford
Vicki Garvin
Ramona Garrett
Frances Smith
Mrs. Steve Nelito
Howard Sanders + wife
Alex Jones
Mel Williamson

Bennie Robeson 155 W136
Dorothy Hunton 100-23
Nadine Brewer
Wini Hall - Don't mail

Bea Goodlow
Lou Wheaton
Lorraine
Peggie Kiselroff
John H. Jones
Frances Lubin
Leo "
Louise Patterson
Bert Alves
Edith Roberts
Maude Green
" Katz
Frances Blackwell
Joan Sandler
Vi Scott
Marvel Cook
Ruth Jett
Norma Starobin
Yolanda Wilkerson
Mel Fiske
Alex Jones

Writers:

Florence Murray — Articles
Mel Williamson — Greetings
Mel Fiske — Reactions to issues raised in Negro Press
Lloyd Brown — Reactions to main present day issue
John Pittman
Abner Berry
John Hudson Jones
Joe North — Release of Paul's column in March issue of Freedom
Augusta Strong
Abe Ginnes — galleys
Alex Jones — mats
Dorey
Patterson

Cable to W.F.T.U. see Essie - Greetings

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York
Phone: MO 6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: April 30, 1954

Paul Robeson, the world-renowned Negro singer and actor, will be feted at a Cultural Salute to be given him by stars of stage, screen and radio May 26 at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue.

The Salute will open a campaign to restore Robeson's passport. The State Department, for the past four years, has denied Robeson a passport to meet his singing commitments throughout the world.

Scores of singers and actors, some of whom have performed with Robeson throughout the nation, will pay their tributes to the famed Negro star at the reception.

#

"Cultural exchange to ease world tension".

I. Basic theme of Cultural Salute

II. Names to sign letters. — Letter heads

III. A.B.P. + Ben Davis Tribute

I. Letter of 10 or 20,

II. Meeting to choose a name to circulate letter for sponsors.

III.

IV. Intensive publicity campaign
aims and objectives to the public stated at meeting

Bob Justice
Bob Douglas
Evart Gunier

Letter to Churches + orgs.

Get help from people who have contact with Negro press Wicks, Rogers, Amsterdam,

PROPOSED COMMITTEES

I. Publicity Committee

a. Fact Sheet

b. Throw-aways

c. Press Conference

d. Posters

e. Press Releases

II. Contact Committees

1. Harlem Contact Committee

2. General Contact

a. Special Promotional events

b. U. N. Delegates -- Embassies

c. Organizations -- Unions

d. Individuals

III. Program and Arrangements Committee

a. Script and Program

b. Invitations -- mailing

c. Solicitation of Greetings and Offers

d. Refreshments

IV. Ticket Committee

List of names:

Special visits

Judge Delaney
" Bolin
" Rivers
Mrs Chance
Rev. Kilgore
Rev. Booker
" Trigg
" Bishop
" Rook

Other boroughs:

Nat'l Guardian:
Gene Jordan

CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
On the Occasion of Launching the Campaign to Restore His Passport
(May 26, 1954, at the Renaissance Casino)

Budget:

Chairs (Rental)	$60.00		
Printing (Invitations)	50.00	(Labor Donated)	
Postage	115.00		
Advertising	100.00		
Stationery	25.00		
Telephone	25.00		
Refreshments	100.00		
Publicity--posters, throw-aways	50.00		
Misc.	125.00		
		$650.00	
Hall		160.00	
Promotional Person (Part time or full time -- $50.00 $75.00 per week)		300.00	
		$1,110.00	

Income:

Tickets -- 1000 @ $1	$1000.00	
Patrons -- 100 @ $5	500.00	
Boxes -- 10 @ $100	1000.00	
" -- 20 @ 50	1000.00	
" -- 20 @ $25	500.00	
Collection	2000.00	
		$6000.00

IMMEDIATE PROMOTIONAL STEPS

1) Prepare list and send out 1000 letters for patrons -- local or national.
2) Luncheon or tea, other form (social), to get women's committee to work on wealthy box holders ($100 and $25).
3) Trade union gathering (luncheon or other form) to get (a) mass distribution of tickets in trade unions and (b) boxes.
4) Harlem gathering to mobilize forces for mass sale of tickets.
5) Gathering of Harlem leaders.
6) Press Conference for Negro and progressive press on launching of passport campaign, with May 26 the first milestone. Should be informative on background of case and steps to be taken in campaign.

COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

☒ I ~~will be pleased~~ may not be able to attend. I enclose $ 1.10 for 1 tickets at $1.10 ~~each~~ on or about May 23rd, 1954
$ ____ for boxes at $25 ~~each~~; ____ at $50 ~~each~~; ____ at $100 ~~each~~.

☒ I ~~cannot~~ shall attend. I shall enclose $ 1.10 to assist the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport. on or about 5/23/54

☒ Please send me more information.

NAME Carl R. Dilton

ADDRESS #1925 - 7th Ave, Apt 3N (House 4)

CITY New York ZONE 26 STATE New York

TELEPHONE NO. UN4-2030

Labor donated

May 14, 1954

Mr. Carl R. Diton
1925 Seventh Ave. Apt 3-N
House -4
New York 26, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ditons

At the request of Mr. Robeson, I enclose two complimentary tickets for the "Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson," for you and a guest.

Our Committee will be deeply honored if you will accept our invitation to occupy seats in the reserved section for distinquished guests at the affair.

Cordially yours,

John Gray
Secretary to Mr. Robeson

C. R. DITON
1925 - 7th Ave.,
Apt 3N (House 4)
NEW YORK 26 NEW YORK

NEW YORK, N. Y.
MAR 14
12-PM
1954

F
YOU ECT
EN

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
THREE CENTS
3

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, #139 WEST 125th St.,
New York 27 NEW YORK

Marilyn Alexander — Salt of the Earth
Edith Roberts — Ad 4-8837 - 208 W 57 Apt 4

Hotel-	Capacity	Rate per plate
	700 to 1000	$7.50 min. per plate

Bishop Allegna — Mrs. Terrell

Menu

Date Proposed
May 15th - 22nd
Friday or Saturday P. M.

Oscar Brown, Jr.
Earl B. Dickerson
New Jersey
Angelina Grimke
Marion Cumbo
Clarence Cameron White
Rev. Charles G. Tregg
Lement Roberts
Belford Lawson
Rebecca Stokes Dreyfus Allen
Wodzeska Simkins
Judge Houston

To be discussed further:

Character of Dinner

Budget

Invitations

Expenses

Special Suggestions:

Speak to Yolanda Wilkerson

Try to get organizations to send a representative to dinner
contact the Hungarian Group immediately: Mrs. Fodor

A proposal of 10 or 12 for Sponsoring Committee;

To be included on special sponsor list

✓ Mrs. Terrell
✓ Ascoe Dungee
~~Rev. B. C. Robeson~~
✓ Bishop Walls
Mrs. Rose Morgan (See Marilyn A.)
✓ Mrs. M. Bethune
✓ Mrs. Charlotta Bass
~~Carl Murphy~~

✓ Carl Murphy
✓ Dr. Dubois
Joe Bibbs (Govenor Cabinet of Illinois)
✓ Shirley Graham
✓ Bishop Allene

9) Alan Smith-Peking Lorley
10) H.E. Matles etc.
11) Fur
12) Food - Dan Benjamin
Howard Fast
Ray Lee

✓ Chas. White
✓ Rockwell Kent
Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines
Alice Hardship Ware
✓ Van Patten
1) Hope Stephens
2) Bob Douglas
3) Cecil Marquez
4) Bill Marshall
5) Willard Ransom
6) Ada B. Jackson
7) Nannie Burroughs
8) Ed McGowan
9) Howard Rankin

Robeson's Testimonial Dinner

Mrs. A. Sargent

Maude Green

Maude Katz

Mrs. Hubert Delaney

Baraba Watson ?

Canegata, Mrs Beatrice

Lawrence, Mrs. Dora

Mrs. Vita Barsky

Bennie Robeson

Edith Roberts

Frances Blackwell

Florence Murray

~~Joan Sadler~~

Joan Sandler

Pat Guiness

Viola Scott

Jessica Smith

Miss Alice Citron

Dorothy Hershenow

Rose Clonton

Mr. & Mrs. Chas. Cole

Marvel Cooke

Evelyn Cooper

Alice Crawford

Mrs. Dorothy Crislow

Gwendolyn Benett

Miss Constance Curtis

Ruby Dee

Ruth Jett

Norma Starobin

Freda Diamond

Angie Dickerson

Robert Douglass

Mrs. Shirley Graham

Mrs. Selma Duke

Duke Ellington

Teddy Wilson

Lucky Millinder

Dizzy Gillespie

Mrs. Howard Fast

Mrs. Bernard Feldsman

Dr. & Mrs. Phillips Brooks
649 St. Marks Ave.

Lou Wheaton

Selma Dubrin

Josephine Grayson Ford

Mrs. Martha D. Francis

Gertrude Martin

C. C. White

Nettie Brenner

Marvel Cooke

Dorothy Spencer (Guest)

Louise Patterson

Edith Roberts

Adele Glasgow

Alma Johns

Mollie Lucas

Mrs. Howell

Lucille Edwards Chance

Helen Edwards

Mrs. Roberts

Peggy Mayer Kiselloff

Mrs. Bert Alves

Fay Apteker

Mrs. Karl Armatneek

Ruth Attaway

Mrs. Chilsom (per Alpheus)

Mrs. Sid (Brunetta Benson)

Natalie Deloach

Mrs. Rosalie Pickney

Mrs. Theodore Bayer

Elizabeth Moos

Rosalie Berry

Dollie Mason

Marilyn Robeson

Vivian Robeson

Lilly Brown

Bessie Buchanan

Mrs. Dorothy Burnham

Allison Burrows

Harvey Cummings

Mrs. Flornine Donaldson

Mrs. Joe Cadden

Joseph Bullard

Mrs Morris Carnosky

Clarissa Cumbo

Grace Johnson

Mrs. Walter Christmas

Dinner...700 to 1000

at $7.00 per plate

John Gray — Nevada 2-3562

Check with Florence Freeblunder re birthday cake.

Rev. Asapansa
~~Asa~~ Panza Johnson Chair.

Interdenominational Ministers Alliance

Eugene
~~Rev. Houston~~ (dear friend of Rev A.P. Johnson

~~Dr. Thomas Johnson~~ Dentist

~~138th, 139th St.~~ 207 W 138

Henry
~~Dr. "Hap"~~ Delaney Dentist

7th Ave.

Wells Marion

~~Mr. Chas Buchanan~~ (Savoy)

~~Dr. Mac Chinn~~ 409 Edgecomb.

Dr. & Mrs Chauncey Levy, Dentist

Long Island

Mrs. Minnie Hurley (Poro)

Mother A.E.
c/o Zion Church

✓ ~~Dr. Hap Delaney~~ Henry Dentist

Dr. Aaron Wells

Douglas

✓ ~~Mrs. Canagata~~

✓ ~~Mrs. Clancee~~

Church club sponsoring Concert after May 6,

Announcement!

Dr. Brooks.

✓ ~~Cyril Phillips (Armil)~~

✓ ~~Mrs. Pinkney~~ "

✓ ~~Dr. Wm. R. Allen (Connie)~~

✓ ~~Vicky~~

✓ ~~Chas. Collins~~

Dr. Phanton "~~Bunty~~" Woods

Board of Bishops
all ministers Confs.

✓ ~~Dick Clemmons~~

✓ ~~Geo Woods~~

✓ ~~Hope Stevens~~

✓ ~~Viola Scott~~

✓ ~~Shelton Bishop~~

✓ ~~Hubert Delaney~~

✓ ~~Carl Dilton~~

✓ ~~C. C. White~~

Dizzy Gillespie

Wells Restraunt

✓ ~~Ed. Smalls~~

✓ ~~Dr. Ed Rudd~~
(Hotel Theresa)

✓ ~~Mrs. Pat Roberts~~

✓ ~~Lillian Sharp~~ Hunter

✓ ~~Rev. Mrs. Clarkson~~ A.C.L.

27-43 Gilmor East Lenhart

~~Bishop W. J. Walls~~

~~Bishop & Mrs. C. C. Alleyne~~

~~Rev. & Mrs. B. C. Robeson~~

~~Dr. & Mrs. Tom Forsythe~~

~~Mr. & Mrs. Robert Douglas~~

~~Judge Hubert Delaney~~

~~Judge Francis Rivers~~

~~Judge Jane Bolin~~

~~Mr. & Mrs. Carl Murphy~~

~~Dr. Mary Church Terrell~~

~~Mr. Carl Dixon~~

~~Dr. Lucien Brown~~

~~Dr. & Mrs. Cecil Marquez~~

Charles "~~Yardbird~~" Parker

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✓ ~~Father Shelton Bishop~~ Hale

✓ ~~Fritz Pollard~~

✓ ~~Dr. + Mrs. W. E. B. Du Bois~~

✓ ~~Mrs. Lucille Chance~~

✓ ~~Mr. Carl Diton~~

? ~~Mr + Mrs. Sidney Poitier~~

~~Mr. + Mrs. Ossie David (Ruby Dee)~~

✓ ~~William Marshall Harlem Y.M.C.A.~~

? Elaine Jones

~~Martha Schlamme~~

✓ ~~Miss Anna Smith~~ N.J.

? Miss Margaret Webster

✓ ~~Miss Rose Morgan~~

✓ ~~Mr. + Mrs. Pettis Perry~~ ? Elizabeth G. Flynn

✓ ~~Mrs. Gertrude Martin~~ N.Y. Com

? Mr + Mrs. George Woods Red Rowser

✓ ~~Dr. + Mrs. Hap Delaney~~

✓ ~~Mrs. Beatrice Camagota Com~~

~~Mrs. C. A. Bass~~

✓ ~~Mr. + Mrs. Howard Fast~~ Vrs

✓ Mrs. Ida Hagen

✓ ~~Mr + Mrs. Robert Rockmore~~

~~Mrs. Rosalie Pinkney~~

~~Dr + Mrs Dorie Wilkerson~~

✓ ~~Mrs. Patterson~~ - 409 Edgecombe Ave

✓ ~~Mrs Augusta Strong~~ } 123 Cambridge St Bklyn

✓ ~~Mrs Esther Jackson~~ }

✓ ~~Miss Vera Stoke~~ - P.O. Box 102 Sta J.

✓ ~~Mr & Mrs Chaim Suller~~ - 35 E 128 St
70 Freeland

~~Dr + Mrs Howard Selsam~~ -

✓ ~~Mrs Gertrude Martin~~ - 370 Manhattan Ave

✓ ~~Mr Robt Justice~~

✓ ~~Miss Ray Sen~~ - 490 West End Ave

✓ ~~Mr + Mrs John Killens~~ - 652 Lafayette Ave Bklyn

✓ ~~Rev + Mr. Eugene Houston~~ - 63 W 137 St
Randall Memorial
Presbyterian Church

✓ ~~Rev + Mrs Arthur Hodge~~ - 2255 - 5th Ave

✓ ~~Bidie Glasgow~~

✓ ~~Alma V. John~~

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✓ ~~Mrs. Geneva Brown~~ 1116 Twelfth St. N.W. apt. 602
Washington, D.C.

✓ ~~Mr. + Mrs. Oliver Palmer~~ Washington D.C.

✓ ~~Mr + Mrs. Lenerte Roberts~~ 1213 No. 58th St. Phila

✓ ~~Dr. + Mrs. J. Pius Barbour~~ 1614 W. 2nd St. Chester, Pa.

✓ ~~Rev. + Mrs. W. C. Williamson~~ 5218 Race St. Phila

✓ ~~Rev. + Mrs. William H. Gray, Jr.~~ 1511 No. 16th St. Phila

Mrs. Ida Taylor

Wash, D.C.

~~Mrs Nettie Carter Jackson~~

~~Mrs Carrie McKinney~~

Salt Lake City Contacts:

Mr. Monroe Fleming
5-4301 Concert Promoter
814 2nd Ave

Mrs. Emma Naves 9-0317
576 South 2nd East (600 - 2nd E.)

Mrs. Velma Oliver N.A.A.C.P. Bd member
720 South 4th East ~~3-4303~~
2-23780

Rev. Harry W. Williams A.M.E. Church
325 Herbert Ave
Salt Lake City, Utah

Mr. Clifford L. Piggie Negro Labor Council
655 Learned Ave Look up add. in directory
9-5153

Mrs. Essie Mae Washington
Husband Carl "

John Helman
Box 859
Great Falls Mont.

3 c-59

Effective from April 27, 1952

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Albuquerque		39.15	18.10	26.60	30.50	36.70	18.10	36.70	36.70	18.10	50.60	36.70	48.40	29.00	16.60	32.30	23.20	45.00	23.60	32.30	24.10	15.00	13.60	41.00	30.00	43.60	4.60	6.60	45.00	18.10	11.20	39.15	36.70	35.85
Bartlesville	74.40		43.60	34.70	37.75	20.05	45.20	23.45	15.55	38.50	.....	10.95	26.15	32.20	45.20	16.15	30.90	19.35	38.50	10.35	32.20	37.75	41.65	15.25	.....	.....	37.75	45.20	22.75	37.75	45.20	3.50	7.45	19.35
Carlsbad	74.40	82.90		43.70	45.70	53.80	11.30	53.80	52.05	6.10	40.60	47.45	65.50	46.10	14.45	32.20	14.10	55.85	12.10	34.25	41.20	32.10	13.40	51.75	19.40	33.00	21.70	18.10	62.10	35.20	18.10	41.10	43.95	29.00
Colo. Springs	50.60	66.00	83.10		5.00	23.70	43.70	20.30	29.40	43.70	57.70	29.40	37.70	8.40	42.20	40.53	46.00	33.70	43.70	34.70	3.50	12.60	39.20	29.60	48.70	55.60	23.80	32.20	35.40	9.50	36.80	34.70	32.90	43.70
Denver	58.00	71.80	86.90	9.50		27.60	45.70	24.20	29.40	45.70	61.60	29.40	37.70	12.30	45.70	43.55	49.90	33.70	45.70	37.75	7.40	16.50	43.10	29.60	32.60	59.50	27.70	36.10	35.40	13.40	40.70	37.75	32.90	46.75
Dodge City	69.80	38.10	102.30	45.10	52.50		53.80	4.40	6.80	51.45	.....	10.10	25.30	16.30	52.30	35.00	43.85	18.50	51.45	29.20	21.20	30.30	49.30	14.40	.....	.....	34.55	42.30	21.90	27.20	46.90	22.35	13.60	38.20
El Paso	34.40	85.90	21.50	83.10	86.90	102.30		53.80	53.65	16.25	44.05	49.05	65.50	46.10	4.15	35.85	24.25	57.45	16.25	35.85	41.20	32.10	18.10	53.35	23.15	35.65	21.70	14.15	62.10	35.20	9.55	42.70	45.55	35.85
Garden City	69.80	44.60	102.30	38.60	46.00	8.40	102.30		10.20	53.80	.....	13.50	28.70	12.90	52.30	38.00	.....	21.90	57.15	32.20	17.80	26.90	49.30	17.80	63.00	68.70	34.55	42.30	25.30	23.80	46.90	25.75	17.00	41.20
Great Bend	69.80	29.60	98.90	55.90	55.90	13.00	102.00	19.40		46.95	.....	5.60	20.80	22.10	52.30	30.50	39.35	14.00	46.95	24.70	27.00	34.55	49.30	9.90	.....	.....	34.55	42.30	17.40	33.00	46.90	17.85	9.10	33.70
Hobbs	34.40	73.20	11.60	83.10	86.90	97.80	30.90	102.30	89.30		35.50	42.35	65.50	46.10	18.10	27.10	9.00	50.75	7.00	29.15	41.20	32.10	8.30	46.65	14.30	27.90	21.70	18.10	62.10	35.20	18.10	36.00	38.85	23.90
Houston	96.20	.....	77.20	109.70	117.10	.....	83.70	.....	.....	67.50		.....	.....	.....	47.20	.....	.....	.....	29.50	.....	55.20	55.20	42.80	.....	22.20	12.85	50.60	50.60	.....	55.20	50.60	.....	.....	.....
Hutchinson	69.80	20.90	90.20	55.90	55.90	19.20	93.20	25.70	10.70	80.50	.....		16.20	25.40	52.30	25.90	34.75	9.40	42.35	20.10	29.40	34.55	45.50	5.30	.....	.....	34.55	42.30	12.80	34.55	46.90	13.25	4.50	29.10
Kansas City	92.00	49.70	124.50	71.70	71.70	48.10	124.50	54.60	39.60	124.50	.....	30.80		37.70	64.00	.....	.....	9.15	.....	.....	37.70	46.25	61.00	12.85	.....	.....	46.25	54.00	4.65	43.70	58.60	.....	.....	.....
La Junta	55.10	61.20	87.60	16.00	23.40	31.00	87.60	24.60	42.00	87.60	.....	48.30	71.70		44.60	38.00	48.40	33.70	46.10	32.20	5.90	15.00	41.60	29.60	51.10	56.80	26.20	34.60	35.40	11.90	39.20	32.20	28.90	41.20
Las Cruces	31.60	85.90	27.50	80.20	86.90	99.40	7.90	99.40	99.40	34.40	89.70	99.40	121.60	84.80		35.85	24.25	60.60	19.40	35.85	39.70	30.60	18.10	56.60	26.30	38.80	20.20	11.00	60.60	33.70	6.40	42.70	.....	35.85
Lawton-Ft. Sill	61.40	30.70	61.20	77.00	82.80	66.50	68.20	72.20	58.00	51.50	.....	49.30	.....	72.20	68.20		19.10	34.30	27.10	6.80	38.00	43.50	32.30	30.20	.....	.....	32.30	35.85	37.70	46.60	35.85	13.65	21.40	4.20
Lubbock	44.10	58.80	26.80	87.40	94.90	83.40	46.10	.....	74.80	17.10	.....	66.10	.....	92.00	46.10	36.30		43.15	15.00	21.55	43.50	34.40	16.30	39.05	22.30	35.90	23.20	24.25	46.55	37.50	24.25	28.40	31.25	15.90
Manhattan	85.50	36.80	106.20	64.10	64.10	35.20	109.20	41.70	26.60	96.50	.....	17.90	17.40	64.10	115.20	65.20	82.00		50.75	28.50	33.70	42.80	53.90	5.10	.....	.....	42.85	.....	5.50	39.70	.....	21.65	12.90	37.50
Midland-Odessa	44.90	73.20	23.00	83.10	86.90	97.80	30.90	108.60	89.30	13.30	56.10	80.50	.....	87.60	36.90	51.50	28.50	96.50		29.15	41.20	32.10	14.30	46.65	8.30	21.90	23.60	23.60	54.15	35.20	23.60	36.00	38.85	23.90
Oklahoma City	61.40	19.70	65.10	66.00	71.80	55.50	68.20	61.20	47.00	55.40	.....	38.20	.....	61.20	68.20	13.00	41.00	54.20	55.40		32.20	37.75	32.30	24.40	.....	.....	32.30	35.85	31.90	37.75	35.85	7.85	16.60	10.00
Pueblo	45.80	61.20	78.30	6.70	14.10	40.30	78.30	33.90	51.30	78.30	104.90	55.90	71.70	11.30	75.50	72.20	82.70	64.10	78.30	61.20		10.10	36.70	29.60	46.20	53.10	21.30	29.70	35.40	7.00	34.30	32.20	32.20	41.20
Raton	28.50	71.80	61.00	24.00	31.40	57.60	61.00	51.20	65.70	61.00	104.90	65.70	87.90	28.50	58.20	82.70	65.40	81.40	61.00	71.80	19.20		27.60	38.70	37.10	50.70	12.20	20.60	42.85	4.10	25.20	37.75	34.55	42.75
Roswell	25.90	79.20	25.50	74.50	81.90	93.70	34.40	93.70	93.70	15.80	81.40	86.50	115.90	79.10	34.40	61.40	31.00	102.50	27.20	61.40	69.80	52.50		49.80	21.60	35.20	17.20	18.10	57.30	30.70	18.10	39.15	42.00	31.20
Salina	77.90	29.00	98.40	56.30	56.30	27.40	101.40	33.90	18.90	88.70	.....	10.10	24.50	56.30	107.60	57.40	74.20	9.70	88.70	46.40	56.30	73.60	94.70		.....	.....	38.85	.....	9.20	35.60	.....	17.55	8.80	33.40
San Angelo	57.00	.....	36.90	92.60	100.00	.....	44.00	119.70	.....	27.20	42.20	.....	.....	97.10	50.00	.....	42.40	.....	15.80	.....	87.80	70.50	41.10	.....		14.60	30.00	30.00	.....	40.20	30.00	.....	.....	.....
San Antonio	82.90	.....	62.70	105.70	113.10	.....	67.80	130.60	.....	53.10	24.50	.....	.....	108.00	73.80	.....	68.30	.....	41.70	.....	100.90	96.40	66.90	.....	27.80		43.60	43.60	.....	53.10	43.60	.....	.....	.....
Santa Fe	8.80	71.80	41.30	45.30	52.70	65.70	41.30	65.70	65.70	41.30	96.20	65.70	87.90	49.80	38.40	61.40	44.10	81.50	44.90	61.40	40.50	23.20	32.70	73.90	57.00	82.90		10.20	42.85	15.30	14.80	37.75	34.55	31.55
Socorro	12.60	85.90	34.40	61.20	68.60	80.40	26.90	80.40	80.40	34.40	96.20	80.40	102.60	65.80	20.90	68.20	46.10	.....	44.90	68.20	56.50	39.20	34.40	.....	57.00	82.90	19.40		50.60	23.70	5.60	42.70	42.30	35.85
Topeka	85.50	43.30	118.00	67.30	67.30	41.70	118.00	48.10	33.10	118.00	.....	24.40	8.90	67.30	115.20	71.70	88.50	10.50	102.90	60.70	67.30	81.50	108.90	17.50	.....	.....	81.50	96.20		41.40	55.20	.....	.....	.....
Trinidad	34.40	71.80	66.90	18.10	25.50	51.70	66.90	45.30	62.70	66.90	104.90	65.70	83.10	22.70	64.10	88.60	71.30	75.50	66.90	71.80	13.30	7.80	58.40	67.70	76.40	100.90	29.10	45.10	78.70		28.30	37.75	34.55	45.85
Truth or Consequences	21.30	85.90	34.40	70.00	77.40	89.20	18.20	89.20	89.20	34.40	96.20	89.20	111.40	74.50	12.20	68.20	46.10	.....	44.90	68.20	65.20	47.90	34.40	.....	57.00	82.90	28.20	10.70	104.90	53.80		42.70	46.90	35.85
Tulsa	74.40	6.70	78.10	66.00	71.80	42.50	81.20	49.00	34.00	68.40	.....	25.20	.....	61.20	81.20	26.00	54.00	41.20	68.40	15.00	61.20	71.80	74.40	33.40	.....	.....	71.80	81.20	.....	71.80	81.20		9.75	16.85
Wichita	69.80	14.20	83.60	62.60	62.60	25.90	86.60	32.30	17.30	73.90	.....	8.60	.....	55.00	.....	40.70	59.40	24.60	73.90	31.60	61.20	65.70	79.80	16.80	.....	.....	65.70	80.40	.....	65.70	89.20	18.60		25.60
Wichita Falls	68.20	36.80	55.10	83.10	88.90	72.60	68.20	78.30	64.10	45.50	.....	55.30	.....	78.30	68.20	8.00	30.30	71.30	45.50	19.00	78.30	81.30	59.30	63.50	.....	.....	60.00	68.20	.....	87.20	68.20	32.10	48.70	

NOTE: The above fares are via the lowest Continental fare routings.

All Fares subject to 15% Federal Transportation Tax

GENERAL INFORMATION

AIR EXPRESS—All flights carry Air Express. Door-to-door pickup and delivery is provided by the Air Express Division of Railway Express Agency, Inc., at no extra charge.

AIR FREIGHT—Low cost air freight is carried on all Continental schedules. For information, consult any Continental office.

AIR MAIL AND AIR PARCEL POST—All flights carry U.S. Mail and Air Parcel Post.

BAGGAGE AND PERSONAL PROPERTY—40 pounds carried free on each ticket (baggage includes not only suitcase but also briefcases and packages). Charge for excess weight is ½ of 1% of the one-way full fare per pound of excess, with a minimum total charge of 25 cents. Liability for personal property including baggage shall not exceed $100 per passenger unless a higher valuation has been declared and paid for at the rate of ten cents for each $100 or fraction thereof.

CANCELLATIONS BY COMPANY—Company reserves the right to cancel bookings before passage or en route any time such action is deemed advisable or necessary. In all events, the passenger's sole recourse shall be recovery of the unused portion of his fare.

CHILDREN—One child under two years of age and not occupying a seat, will be carried free with each accompanying full fare passenger. Children under two years of age for whom seats are reserved, and children two years of age and under twelve years of age will be charged ½ the applicable adult fare.

Children under 5 years of age must be accompanied by a passenger 12 years of age or over. Children 5 years of age but under 8 years of age will be accepted for transportation wholly within the Continental Air Line system when such child is accompanied to airport of departure and is met at destination airport by parents or responsible adults. Children 8 years of age and over accepted without restriction.

EQUIPMENT—40 passenger Convair-Liners, 21 passenger Douglas DC-3's and 52 passenger Douglas DC-6's.

FARES—ROUND TRIP AND CIRCLE TRIP—When a round trip ticket or a circle trip ticket is purchased in advance, a 5% discount may be secured on the entire ticket.

FARES—All fares quoted are from airport to airport. Fares shown are for information only and are subject to change without notice. Official Continental Air Lines fares and official rules and regulations governing passage are published in the Airlines Local and Joint Passenger Tariff.

GROUND TRANSPORTATION—Ground transportation service is available at reasonable rates in all cities served.

CHECK-IN FOR FLIGHTS—Our passengers expect on-time performance. To maintain our enviable on-time record for you, we reserve the right to cancel the reservation of any passenger who fails to present himself at the airport ticket counter at least 20 minutes before scheduled departure if ticket has already been purchased and 30 minutes before scheduled departure if ticket has not yet been purchased. Flight forms are closed and all flights are "locked-out" 10 minutes before scheduled departure. Help us keep your flight on time. Check in early.

REFUNDS—If weather or other conditions prevent the company from completing a flight, a refund draft covering the complete unusued portion of the air fare will be issued immediately.

RESERVATIONS—All reservations must be made in advance. Reservation phone numbers and office locations are listed in this folder. For information and reservations call the nearest Continental office or consult an authorized Travel Agent.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEPARTURE, ARRIVALS AND CONNECTIONS—Continental Air Lines will not be responsible for damages resulting from the failure of planes to depart or arrive at times stated in this time table nor for errors herein nor for failure to make connections with planes of other lines or of this Company. Schedules are subject to change without notice.

TICKETS—Tickets are valid for a period of four months after date of issuance. Stopovers will be allowed at any regular stop, provided reservation is made accordingly, and provided such stopover is not specifically prohibited.

TRIP INSURANCE—Trip insurance, at low rates, may be purchased at all air line offices.

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES—SYSTEM SCHEDULES EFFECTIVE APR

DENVER—TOPEKA—KANSAS CITY—ST. LOUIS

READ DOWN						All Flights Operate Daily	READ UP					
62 Convair	CM 968 Convair	42 Convair	60 Convair	66	64		41 Convair	67	69 Convair	65	CM 963 Convair	61 Convair
*6:20p	*12:45p	*7:20a	7:00a	5:00a	2:50a	Lv..... DENVER ....(MT)Ar	12.00N	2:21p	1:45p	7:29p	9:57p	12:05a
			7:28a	5.32a		Ar..COLORADO SPRINGS..Lv		1:51p			9:30p	
			*7:40a	5:40a		Lv..COLORADO SPRINGS..Ar		1:48p			9:20p	
				6:07a		Lv..... PUEBLO Lv		1:29p				
				6:38a		Lv.....LA JUNTA....(MT)Lv		12:49p				
				8:39a		Lv.... GARDEN CITY (CT)Lv		12:41p				
				9:03a		Lv..... DODGE CITY Lv		12:17p				
				9:40a		Lv..... GREAT BEND.....Lv		11:34a				
				10:08a		Ar..... HUTCHINSON Lv		11:02a				
				10:23a		Lv..... HUTCHINSON .....Ar		10:41a				
				10:52a	6:22a	Lv..... SALINA Lv		10:14a		5:57p		
				11:41a	7:11a	Lv..... TOPEKA Lv		9:25a		5:05p		
9:35p	4:00p		10:55a	12:09p	7:39a	Ar.....KANSAS CITY (CT)Lv		8:50a	*12:05p	4:30p	7:40p	10:25p
	4:20p					Lv.....KANSAS CITY.....Ar					7:25p	
	5:25p					Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv					*6:15p	

Oil King — the Rainbow — Oil Queen — the Silver Dollar — the Nugget — Effective April 28

DENVER—V

READ DOWN				
40 Convair	48	46	42 Convair	66
6:00p			*7:20a	5:00a
*6:43p				5:40a
				6:07a
				6:38a
				8:39a
				9:03a
				9:40a
9:23p			10:05a	10:08a
9:33p			10:20a	
9:55p			10:42a	
10:10p			10:57a	
			11:30a	
			11:36a	
			11:56a	
	3:50p			
10:54p	4:14p			
11:09p	4:30p	12:18p		
11:50p	5:23p	1:11p		

Oil King — Oil Queen

TULSA—

READ DOW		
48	29	46
3:50p		
4:15p		
4:30p		12:18p
5:23p		1:11p
5:33p		1:19p
6:16p		2:02p
6:39p		2:25p
		2:35p
		4:21p
		4:27p
		4:07p
	10:48p	4:17p
	11:23p	4:52p
	12:25a	5:54p

DENVER—ALBUQUERQUE—EL PASO—SAN ANTONIO—HOUSTON

READ DOWN							All Flights Operate Daily	READ UP							
29	23 Convair	954 DC-6	21	31	27-49 Convair	952 DC-6		22	45	30	26 Convair	955 DC-6	28	953 DC-6	24 Convair
5:30p	3.45p		12:15p		7:40a		Lv..... DENVER .....(MT)Ar	12:14p			4:00p		7:48p		11:32p
6:02p			12:47p		8:08a		Ar..... COLORADO SPRINGS Lv	11:44a					7:18p		11:05p
6:07p			12:52p		8:16a		Lv..... COLORADO SPRINGS .....Ar	11:37a					7:13p		10:59p
6:31p			1:21p		(Z)*8:50a		Lv..... PUEBLO Lv	11:18a					6:54p		10:40p
			1:57p				Lv..... TRINIDAD Lv	10:35a							
			2:24p				Lv..... RATON Lv	10:08a							
			(a)				Lv.....LAS VEGAS.....Lv	(a)							
8:09p			3:24p		10:05a		Lv.....SANTA FE.....Lv	9:08a					5:18p		9:10p
8:35p	5:35p		3:50p		10:28a		Ar..... ALBUQUERQUE Lv	8:38a			2:15p		4:46p		
8:50p	*5:50p		4:00p	1:00p	10:43a		Lv..... ALBUQUERQUE .....Ar	8:28a		12:07p	2:00p		4:26p		8:55p
			4:35p				Lv..... SOCORRO Lv	7:57a							
			5:04p				Lv..TRUTH OR CONSEQUENCES..Lv	7:28a							
			5:36p				Lv..... .....LAS CRUCES..... Lv	6:56a							
10:03p				2:12p			Lv..... ROSWELL Lv			10:57a			3:16p		
10:43p							Ar..... HOBBS Lv			10:10a			2:30p		
10:48p							Lv..... HOBBS .....Ar		7:31a				2:25p		
11:23p							Lv..... CARLSBAD Lv		7:01a						
12:25a	7:00p		6:03p		11:53a		Ar.....EL PASO.....Lv	6:25a	6:00a		‡12:50p				7:45p
	‡7:25p	*6:35p			‡1:20p	3:30a	Lv.....EL PASO.....Ar				11:48a	10:55a		5:50p	
					2:21p		Lv..... CARLSBAD Lv				10:46a				
				2:52p	2:51p		Ar..... HOBBS Lv				10:13a				
				3:12p			Lv..... HOBBS .....(MT)Ar				9:53a				
	9:59p			4:56p			Lv..... MIDLAND-ODESSA ..(CT)Lv				10:13a		2:45p		
	11:02p			5:59p			Lv..... SAN ANGELO Lv				9:20a		1:47p		
	12:15a	9:35p		7:12p		6:30a	Ar..... SAN ANTONIO Lv				8:00a	9:40a	12:30p	4:35p	
		9:55p				*6:50a	Lv..... SAN ANTONIO .....Ar					9:20a		4:15p	
		10:55p				7:50a	Ar..... HOUSTON .....(CT)Lv					*8:20a		3.T5p	

the Texas Arrow — the Texas Arrow — Skylark — the San Francisco Arrow — Skylark — the Los Angeles Arrow — Falcon

THROUGH DC-6 ARROW SERVICE

HOUSTON—SAN ANTONIO—EL PASO—LOS ANGELES—SAN FRANCISCO

READ DOWN			All Flights Operate Daily	READ UP			
The "California Arrows"				The "Texas Arrows"			
A-C-953	A-C-955	111		A-C-952	910	A-C-954	112
3:15p	*8:20a		Lv..... HOUSTON .....(CT)Ar	7:50a		10:55p	
4:15p	9:20a		Ar..... SAN ANTONIO .....(CT)Lv	*6:50a		9:55p	
4:35p	9:40a		Lv..... SAN ANTONIO .....Ar	6:30a		9:35p	
5:50p	10:55a		Ar..... EL PASO .....(MT)Lv	3:30a		*6:35p	
*6:15p	*11:20a	*11:25a	Lv..... EL PASO .....(MT)Ar	3:00a	3:00a	6:05p	6:00p
8:10p		1:20p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES .....(PT)Lv	11:15p			2:15p
	2:35p		Ar..... SAN FRANCISCO .....(PT)Lv		8:50p	1:15p	

Explanation of Reference Marks

"SAME SEAT..

THR
DEN

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

ENJOY FAMILY ONE-HALF FARE PLAN ON MONDAYS, TUESDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS

1952 *May* 1952

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

1952 *June* 1952

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

ROBERT F. SIX
President

STANLEY O. HALBERG
VICE PRESIDENT, TRAFFIC AND SALES

General Offices:
Continental Air Lines,
Stapleton Airfield,
Denver 7, Colorado.

Form 3547 requested.

VE APRIL 27, 1952 (EXCEPT AS NOTED)

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

DENVER—WICHITA—TULSA—OKLAHOMA CITY

D DOWN			All Flights Operate Daily	READ UP				
42 Convair	66	30		41 Convair	67	45	43 Convair	49
*7:20a	5:00a		Lv..... DENVER .....(MT)Ar	12:00N	2:21p		4:40p	
	5:40a		Lv.... COLORADO SPRINGS Lv		1:51p		4:13p	
	6:07a		Lv..... PUEBLO Lv		1:29p			
	6:38a		Lv..... LA JUNTA .....(MT)Lv		12:49p			
	8:39a		Lv..... GARDEN CITY ..(CT)Lv		12:41p			
	9:03a		Lv..... DODGE CITY Lv		12:17p			
	9:40a		Lv..... GREAT BEND Lv		11:34a			
10:05a	10:08a		Ar..... HUTCHINSON Lv	11:00a	11:02a			
10:20a			Lv..... HUTCHINSON .....Ar	10:45a			3:10p	
10:42a			Ar..... WICHITA Lv	10:23a			3:00p	
10:57a			Lv..... WICHITA .....Ar	10:08a			2:38p	
11:30a			Ar..... BARTLESVILLE Lv	9:34a			2:23p	
11:36a			Lv..... BARTLESVILLE .....Ar	9:28a		1:42p		
11:56a			Ar..... TULSA Lv	9:05a		1:20p		
		6:15a	Lv..... TULSA .....Ar	8:50a		1:05p	1:40p	8:23p
		7:08a	Ar..... OKLAHOMA CITY (CT)Lv	8:10a		12:19p		7.37p

Old Ranger — Old King — Old Dawson

TULSA—OKLAHOMA CITY—ALBUQUERQUE—EL PASO

READ DOWN					All Flights Operate Daily	READ UP			
	29	46	26	30		47	45	49	31
'p					Lv..... BARTLESVILLE ..(CT)Ar		1:42p		
p					Ar..... TULSA Lv		1:20p		
p		12:18p		6:15a	Lv..... TULSA .....Ar	11:20a	1:05p	8:23p	
p		1:11p		7:08a	Ar..... OKLAHOMA CITY Lv	10:34a	12:19p	7:37p	
p		1:19p		7:18a	Lv..... OKLAHOMA CITY .....Ar	10:24a	12:09p	7:27p	
p		2:02p		8:01a	Lv.... LAWTON-FORT SILL Lv	9:49a	11:34a	6:52p	
p		2:25p		8:24a	Ar..... WICHITA FALLS Lv	9:20a	11:05a	6:23p	
		2:35p		8:34a	Lv..... WICHITA FALLS .....Ar		10:55a	6:13p	
		↓		10:04a	Lv..... LUBBOCK Lv		↑	5:03p	
		4:21p			Ar..... {MIDLAND- } Lv		9:19a		
		4:27p			Lv..... {ODESSA } (CT)Ar		9:14a		
		4:07p		9:50a	Ar..... HOBBS .....(MT)Lv		7:36a	3:11p	
10:48p		4:17p	10:13a	10:10a	Lv..... HOBBS .....Ar		7:31a	2:51p	2:52p
11:23p		4:52p	10:46a		Lv..... CARLSBAD Lv		7:01a	2:21p	
12:25a		5:54p	11:48a		Ar..... EL PASO Lv		6:00a	1:20p	
				10:57a	Lv..... ROSWELL Lv				2:12p
				12:07p	Ar..... ALBUQUERQUE (MT)Lv				1:00p

*Complimentary Light Meal. **AC**—American-Continental DC-6 through service. **CM**—Continental-Mid Continent Convair through service. ‡Change of Planes. (a) Service temporarily suspended due to Airport conditions. (**ET**) Eastern Standard Time. (**CT**) Central Standard Time. (**MT**) Mountain Standard Time. (**PT**) Pacific Standard Time. (**Z**)—Flight No. 27 may land at Pueblo Air Base instead of the Municipal Airport dependent upon load conditions. Contact Continental offices at least one hour before departure for information about which Airport will be used. Light Face indicates am hours. **Bold Face indicates pm hours.** Beverage service on all DC-3 flights.

...ration of ...vice Marks

THROUGH CONNECTING SERVICE

KANSAS CITY—SALT LAKE CITY—LOS ANGELES—SAN FRANCISCO—SEATTLE

READ DOWN					All Flights Daily	READ UP				
61	963	65	69	67-41		60	42-66	968	62	64
10:25p	7:40p	4:30p	*12:05p	8:50a	Lv..... KANSAS CITY (CT)Ar	10:55a	12:09p	4.00p	9:35p	7:39a
12:05a	9:57p	7:29p	1:45p	12:00n	Ar..... DENVER ....(MT)Lv	7:00a	*7:20a	*12:45p	*6:20p	2:50a
UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL	Via Connecting Airline	UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL
5:30a	12:35a	12:35a	4:30p	4:30p	Ar..... SALT LAKE CITY Lv	11:45p	11:45p	7:25a	3:30p	11:45p
3:40a	3:40a	3:40a	5:10p	5:10p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv	12:20a	12:20a	6:20a	.....	8:40p
8:20a	2:45a	2:45a	7:15p	7:15p	Ar..... SAN FRANCISCO Lv	11:15p	11:15p	.....	7:50a	8:15p
4:35a	4:35a	.....	8:35p	8:25p	Ar..... PORTLAND Lv	7:00p	7:00p	7:20a	10:45a	8:20p
5:55a	5:55a	12:45a	9:55p	9:55p	Ar..... SEATTLE Lv	9:25p	9:25p	6:00a	9:25a	9:25p

DENVER—CHICAGO—ST. LOUIS—WASHINGTON—NEW YORK

READ DOWN					All Flights Daily	READ UP				
62	64	CM-968	42-66	60		67-41	69	65	CM-963	61
*6:20p	2:50a	*12:45p	*7:20a	7:00a	Lv..... DENVER ....(MT)Ar	12:00n	1:45p	7:29p	9:57p	12:05a
9:35p	7:39a	4:00p	12:09p	10:55a	Ar..... KANSAS CITY (CT)Lv	8:50a	*12:05p	4:30p	7:40p	10:25p
.....	.....	5:25p	.....	.....	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	.....	.....	.....	*6:15p	.....
TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA-BNF	Via Connecting Airline	TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA
.....	10:40a	9:05p	3:45p	12:55p	Ar..... CHICAGO Lv	3:30a	9:25a	11:40a	4:09p	7:45p
.....	10:40a	5:35p	3:50p	12:25p	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	6:00a	10:10a	2:07p	6:15p	8:35p
9:22a	3:20p	.....	7:07p	4:40p	Ar..... PITTSBURGH (ET)Lv	11:55p	4:14a	11:30a	2:34p	6:00p
.....	5:00p	.....	8:55p	.....	Ar..... WASHINGTON Lv	.....	7:30a	7:30a	12:10p	4:00p
6:55a	2:55p	10:50p	7:55p	6:39p	Ar..... NEW YORK Lv	8:00p	1:30a	9:20a	11:50a	5:00p

OKLAHOMA CITY—TULSA—WICHITA—SAN FRANCISCO—SEATTLE

READ DOWN					All Flights Daily	READ UP				
45-43		45-43	41	41		42-46	42-46		40	40
12:19p	.....	12:19p	8:10a	8:10a	Lv.... OKLAHOMA CITY ....Ar	1:11p	1:11p	.....	11:50p	11:50p
1:40p	.....	1:40p	9:05a	9:05a	Lv..... TULSA .....(CT)Ar	11:56a	11:56a	.....	10:54p	10:54p
2:38p	.....	2:38p	10:23a	10:23a	Lv..... WICHITA .....Ar	10:42a	10:42a	.....	9:55p	9:55p
4:40p	.....	4:40p	12:00n	12:00n	Ar..... DENVER ....(MT)Lv	*7:20a	*7:20a	.....	6:00p	6:00p
UAL		UAL	UAL	UAL	Via Connecting Airline	UAL	UAL		UAL	UAL
↓	.....	7:25p	↓	2:38p	Ar..... CASPER (WAL) Lv	↑	.....	.....	3:57p	↑
	.....	10:20p		4:30p	Ar..... SALT LAKE CITY Lv		11:45p	.....	3:30p	
	.....	8:55p		5:10p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv		12:20a	.....	6:20a	
	.....	8:25p		7:15p	Ar..... SAN FRANCISCO Lv		11:15p	.....	8:35a	
9:55p	.....	.....	4:35p	4:35p	Ar..... SEATTLE Lv	9:25p	.....	.....	.....	9:25a

EL PASO—OKLAHOMA CITY—TULSA—CHICAGO—NEW YORK

READ DOWN					All Flights Daily	READ UP				
49		45	47	47		30-26	46	48	48	
1:20p	.....	6:00a	.....	.....	Lv..... EL PASO ....(MT)Ar	11:48a	5:54p	.....	.....	.....
5:03p	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lv..... LUBBOCK ....(CT)Ar	9:56a	.....	.....	.....	.....
6:23p	.....	11:05a	9:20a	9:20a	Lv..... WICHITA FALLS .....Ar	8:24a	2:25p	6:39p	6:39p	.....
7:37p	.....	12:19p	10:34a	10:34a	Lv.... OKLAHOMA CITY ... Ar	7:08a	1:11p	5:23p	5:23p	.....
8:33p	.....	1:05p	11:20a	11:20a	Ar..... TULSA Lv	6:15a	12:18p	4:30p	4:30p	.....
MCA-TWA		BNF-AAL	TWA-AAL	MCA	Via Connecting Airline	BNF-TWA	MCA-TWA	AAL	MCA	
1:01a	.....	3:30p	.....	1:49p	Ar..... KANSAS CITY Lv	4:35a	9:50a	.....	12:30p	.....
4:10a	.....	4:49p	2:14p	.....	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	.....	6:00a	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	5:25p	4:18p	.....	Ar..... CHICAGO Lv	2:25a	3:30a	10:40a	.....	.....
6:55a	.....	12:50a	8:25p	.....	Ar..... NEW YORK ..(ET)Lv	9:55p	9:55p	9:30a	.....	.....

DENVER—PHOENIX—LOS ANGELES—MEXICO CITY

READ DOWN					All Flights Daily	READ UP				
27	23	42	27	27		26	24		24	24
7:40a	3:45p	.....	7:40a	7:40a	Lv..... DENVER ....(MT)Ar	4:00p	11:32p	.....	11:32p	11:32p
10:28a	5:35p	.....	10:28a	10:28a	Ar..... ALBUQUERQUE .....Ar	2:00p	8:55p	.....	8:55p	8:55p
11:53a	7:00p	.....	11:53a	11:53a	Ar..... EL PASO Lv	12:50p	7:45p	.....	7:45p	7:45p
AAL	TWA		LAMSA	TWA	Via Connecting Airline	TWA	TWA		AAL	LAMSA
↓	7:45p	.....	↓	4:00p	Ar..... PHOENIX ....(MT)Lv	11:40a	3:15p	.....	↑	↑
	8:45p	.....		5:00p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv	8:45a	11:50a	.....		
12:20a	.....		12:05a	.....	Ar..... MEXICO CITY (CT)Lv	.....		.....	10:40a	7:00a

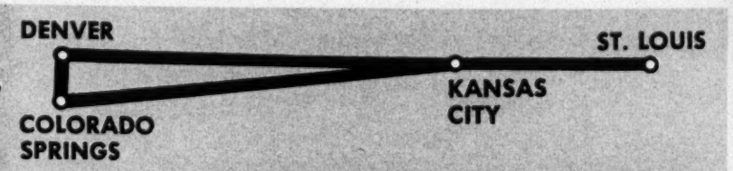
"BE THERE Instead of En route"

To the Nicest People on Earth

We need your help.

YOU want to arrive at YOUR destination ON TIME. We want to get YOU there ON TIME. That means "closing-out" the flight TEN minutes before scheduled departure.

To enable us to do this, will YOU be at our airport ticket counter TWENTY minutes before departure time if your ticket is



SCHEDULES

Flight 968 Eastbound Read Down			Westbound Read Up	Flight 963
12:45 p.m.	Lv.	DENVER (MT)	Ar.	9:57 p.m.
↓		COLO. SPRINGS (MT)	Ar.	9:20 p.m.
4:00 p.m.	Ar.	KANSAS CITY (CT)	Ar.	7:25 p.m.
5:25 p.m.	Ar.	ST. LOUIS (CT)	Lv.	6:15 p.m.

Call YOUR FAVORITE TRAVEL AGENT

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

or CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

City	Information & Reservations	Ticket
ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.	Tel. 3-6621	Hilton Hotel
BARTLESVILLE, Okla.	Tel. 147	Airport
CARLSBAD, N. M.	Tel. 5-2992	Airport
COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo.	Tel. Main 933	Airport
DENVER, Colo.	Tel. DExter 1561	Midland Sav
DODGE CITY, Kansas	Tel. 831	Airport
EL PASO, Texas	Tel. 3-2455	Paso del No
FORT SILL, Okla.	Tel. 4512	Airport
GALVESTON, Texas	Phone Enterprise 215 for reserv	
GARDEN CITY, Kansas	Tel. 5132	Airport
GREAT BEND, Kansas	Tel. 4776	Airport
HOBBS, N. M.	Tel. 3-5414	Airport
HOUSTON, Texas	Tel. FAirfax 7141	Mellie Espen
HUTCHINSON, Kansas	Tel. 7290	Airport
KANSAS CITY, Mo.	Tel. NOrclay 3700	Phillips Hot
LA JUNTA, Colo.	Tel. 725	Airport
LAS CRUCES, N. M.	Tel. 132	Airport
LAS VEGAS, N. M.	Service temporarily suspended du	
LAWTON, Okla.	Tel. 4512	Airport
LOS ANGELES, Calif.	Tel. MAdsn 6-3811	c/o Amer. A
LUBBOCK, Texas	Tel. 5-9348	Hilton Hotel
MEXICO CITY, Mex.	Tel. 35-79-35	c/o Amer. A
MEXICO CITY, Mex.	Tel. 18-00-27	c/o LAMSA
MIDLAND, Texas	Tel. Midland 3-3397	Airport
ODESSA, Texas	Tel. Odessa 6-5811	Airport
OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.	Tel. ME. 24496	Skirvin Tow
*PUEBLO, Colo.	Tel. 1197	Whitman Ho
RATON, N. M.	Tel. 1025	Yucca Hotel
ROSWELL, N. M.	Tel. 1298	Airport
SALINA, Kansas	Tel. 7-1107	Airport
SAN ANGELO, Texas	Tel. 7191	Airport
SAN ANTONIO, Texas	Tel. Univ. 6-3206	Gunter Hote
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.	Tel. GA. 1-8336	c/o Amer. A
SANTA FE, N. M.	Tel. 3-6471	Airport
SOCORRO, N. M.	Tel. 220-W	Airport
ST. LOUIS, Mo.	Tel. GArfield 6280	c/o Mid-Con
TOPEKA, Kansas	Tel. 3-2307	Airport
TRINIDAD, Colo.	Tel. 1940	Airport
TRUTH OR CONSEQ'S, N.M.	Tel. LD7R1	Airport
TULSA, Okla.	Tel. 8-4401	Kennedy Blc
WICHITA, Kansas	Tel. 6-6646	Lassen Hote
WICHITA FALLS, Texas	Tel. 2-3161	Kemp Hotel

*When flights operate to and from the Pueblo Army Air Base, th

OUGH CONNECTING SERVICE

ISAS CITY—SALT LAKE CITY—LOS ANGELES—SAN FRANCISCO—SEATTLE

READ DOWN			All Flights Daily	READ UP				
65	69	67-41		60	42-66	968	62	64
4:30p	*12:05p	8:50a	Lv..... KANSAS CITY (CT)Ar	10:55a	12:09p	4.00p	9:35p	7:39a
7:29p	1:45p	12:00n	Ar..... DENVER ....(MT)Lv	7:00a	*7:20a	*12:45p	*6:20p	2:50a
UAL	UAL	UAL	Via Connecting Airline	UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL	UAL
12:35a	4:30p	4:30p	Ar..... SALT LAKE CITY Lv	11:45p	11:45p	7:25a	3:30p	11:45p
3:40a	5:10p	5:10p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv	12:20a	12:20a	6:20a	.....	8:40p
2:45a	7:15p	7:15p	Ar..... SAN FRANCISCO Lv	11:15p	11:15p	.....	7:50a	8:15p
.....	8:35p	8:25p	Ar..... PORTLAND Lv	7:00p	7:00p	7:20a	10:45a	8:20p
12:45a	9:55p	9:55p	Ar..... SEATTLE Lv	9:25p	9:25p	6:00a	9:25a	9:25p

DENVER—CHICAGO—ST. LOUIS—WASHINGTON—NEW YORK

READ DOWN			All Flights Daily	READ UP				
CM-968	42-66	60		67-41	69	65	CM-963	61
*12:45p	*7:20a	7:00a	Lv..... DENVER ....(MT)Ar	12:00n	1:45p	7:29p	9:57p	12:05a
4:00p	12:09p	10:55a	Ar..... KANSAS CITY (CT)Lv	8:50a	*12:05p	4:30p	7:40p	10:25p
5:25p	.....	.....	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	.....	.....	.....	*6:15p	.....
TWA	TWA	TWA-BNF	Via Connecting Airline	TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA	TWA
9:05p	3:45p	12:55p	Ar..... CHICAGO Lv	3:30a	9:25a	11:40a	4:09p	7:45p
5:35p	3:50p	12:25p	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	6:00a	10:10a	2:07p	6:15p	8:35p
.....	7:07p	4:40p	Ar..... PITTSBURGH (ET)Lv	11:55p	4:14a	11:30a	2:34p	6:00p
.....	8:55p	.....	Ar..... WASHINGTON Lv	.....	7:30a	7:30a	12:10p	4:00p
10:50p	7:55p	6:39p	Ar..... NEW YORK Lv	8:00p	1:30a	9:20a	11:50a	5:00p

OKLAHOMA CITY—TULSA—WICHITA—SAN FRANCISCO—SEATTLE

READ DOWN			All Flights Daily	READ UP				
45-43	41	41		42-46	42-46		40	40
12:19p	8:10a	8:10a	Lv.... OKLAHOMA CITY ....Ar	1:11p	1:11p	.....	11:50p	11:50p
1:40p	9:05a	9:05a	Lv..... TULSA .....(CT)Ar	11:56a	11:56a	.....	10:54p	10:54p
2:38p	10:23a	10:23a	Lv..... WICHITA .....Ar	10:42a	10:42a	.....	9:55p	9:55p
4:40p	12:00n	12:00n	Ar..... DENVER ....(MT)Lv	*7:20a	*7:20a	.....	6:00p	6:00p
UAL	UAL	UAL	Via Connecting Airline	UAL	UAL		UAL	UAL
7:25p	↓	2:38p	Ar..... CASPER (WAL) Lv	↑	.....	.....	3:57p	↑
10:20p		4:30p	Ar..... SALT LAKE CITY Lv		11:45p	.....	3:30p	
8:55p		5:10p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv		12:20a	.....	6:20a	
8:25p		7:15p	Ar..... SAN FRANCISCO Lv		11:15p	.....	8:35a	
.....	4:35p	4:35p	Ar..... SEATTLE Lv	9:25p	.....	.....	.....	9:25a

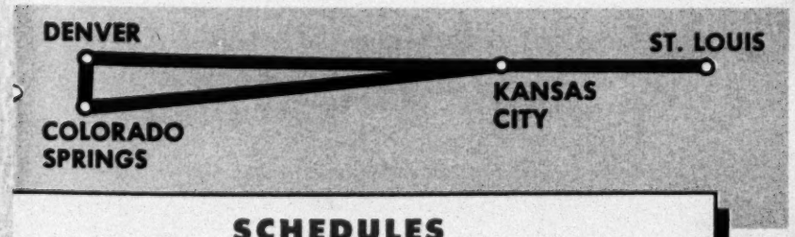
EL PASO—OKLAHOMA CITY—TULSA—CHICAGO—NEW YORK

READ DOWN			All Flights Daily	READ UP				
45	47	47		30-26	46	48	48	
6:00a	.....	.....	Lv..... EL PASO ....(MT)Ar	11:48a	5:54p	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	Lv..... LUBBOCK ....(CT)Ar	9:56a	.....	.....	.....	.....
11:05a	9:20a	9:20a	Lv..... WICHITA FALLS .....Ar	8:24a	2:25p	6:39p	6:39p	.....
12:19p	10:34a	10:34a	Lv.... OKLAHOMA CITY ... Ar	7:08a	1:11p	5:23p	5:23p	.....
1:05p	11:20a	11:20a	Ar..... TULSA Lv	6:15a	12:18p	4:30p	4:30p	.....
BNF-AAL	TWA-AAL	MCA	Via Connecting Airline	BNF-TWA	MCA-TWA	AAL	MCA	
3:30p	.....	1:49p	Ar..... KANSAS CITY Lv	4:35a	9:50a	.....	12:30p	.....
4:49p	2:14p	.....	Ar..... ST. LOUIS Lv	.....	6:00a	.....	.....	.....
5:25p	4:18p	.....	Ar..... CHICAGO Lv	2:25a	3:30a	10:40a	.....	.....
12:50a	8:25p	.....	Ar..... NEW YORK ..(ET)Lv	9:55p	9:55p	9:30a	.....	.....

DENVER—PHOENIX—LOS ANGELES—MEXICO CITY

READ DOWN			All Flights Daily	READ UP				
42	27	27		26	24		24	24
.....	7:40a	7:40a	Lv..... DENVER ....(MT)Ar	4:00p	11:32p	.....	11:32p	11:32p
.....	10:28a	10:28a	Ar..... ALBUQUERQUE .....Ar	2:00p	8:55p	.....	8:55p	8:55p
.....	11:53a	11:53a	Ar..... EL PASO Lv	12:50p	7:45p	.....	7:45p	7:45p
	LAMSA	TWA	Via Connecting Airline	TWA	TWA		AAL	LAMSA
.....	↓	4:00p	Ar..... PHOENIX ....(MT)Lv	11:40a	3:15p	.....	↑	↑
.....		5:00p	Ar..... LOS ANGELES (PT)Lv	8:45a	11:50a	.....		
	12:05a	.....	Ar..... MEXICO CITY (CT)Lv	.....	.....	.....	10:40a	7:00a

"BE THERE Instead of En route"



SCHEDULES

Flight 968	Eastbound Read Down		Westbound Read Up		Flight 963
12:45 p.m.	Lv.	DENVER (MT)	Ar.		9:57 p.m.
↓		COLO. SPRINGS (MT)	Ar.		9:20 p.m.
4:00 p.m.	Ar.	KANSAS CITY (CT)	Ar.		7:25 p.m.
5:25 p.m.	Ar.	ST. LOUIS (CT)	Lv.		6:15 p.m.

COLORADO
Rocky Mountain Lodge
St. Mary's Glacier Lodge
Bear Trap Ranch

NEW MEXICO
Bishop's Lodge
Brush Ranch

ALL-EXPENSE TOURS TO COLORADO - NEW MEXICO

To the Nicest People on Earth

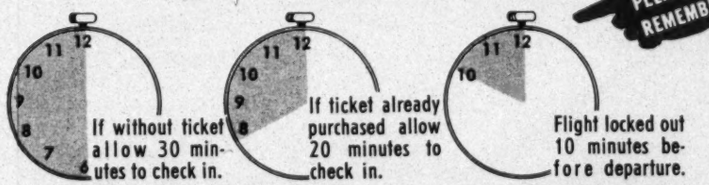
We need your help.

YOU want to arrive at YOUR destination ON TIME. We want to get YOU there ON TIME. That means "closing-out" the flight TEN minutes before scheduled departure.

To enable us to do this, will YOU be at our airport ticket counter TWENTY minutes before departure time if your ticket is already purchased...or THIRTY minutes before departure time if you don't have a ticket.

Your Continental Agent

PLEASE REMEMBER



Call YOUR FAVORITE TRAVEL AGENT *or* CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

City	Information & Reservations	Ticket Office	Airport	Miles from City	Driving Time	Conveyance	Fare
ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.	Tel. 3-6621	Hilton Hotel	Kirtland	4 SE	20	Clifford Taxi	$1.00
BARTLESVILLE, Okla.	Tel. 147	Airport	Municipal	2 NW	10	Cliff's A.P. Limousine	.75
CARLSBAD, N. M.	Tel. 5-2992	Airport	Municipal	6 S	20	Airport Cab	1.00
COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo.	Tel. Main 933	Airport	Peterson Field	7 SE	30	Airlines Cab	1.55
DENVER, Colo.	Tel. DExter 1561	Midland Savings Bldg.	Stapleton	6 E	30	Airport Transit	1.00
DODGE CITY, Kansas	Tel. 831	Airport	Municipal	5 E	20	Mid-Town Cab	1.00
EL PASO, Texas	Tel. 3-2455	Paso del Norte Hotel	International	7 NE	45	Yellow Cab	1.05
FORT SILL, Okla.	Tel. 4512	Airport	Municipal	9 SW	25	Yellow Cab	1.50
GALVESTON, Texas	Phone Enterprise 215 for reservations.						
GARDEN CITY, Kansas	Tel. 5132	Airport	New Municipal	12 E	20	Meng Cab Co.	1.00
GREAT BEND, Kansas	Tel. 4776	Airport	Municipal	4 W	20	City Cab Co.	1.50
HOBBS, N. M.	Tel. 3-5414	Airport	Lea County	5 SW	10	M & M Taxi	1.00
HOUSTON, Texas	Tel. FAirfax 7141	Mellie Esperson Bldg.	Municipal	10 SE	40	Airway Limousine	1.15
HUTCHINSON, Kansas	Tel. 7290	Airport	Municipal	4 E	15	Yellow Cab	1.00
KANSAS CITY, Mo.	Tel. NOrclay 3700	Phillips Hotel	Municipal	1 NW	15	Airline Limousine	.55
LA JUNTA, Colo.	Tel. 725	Airport	Municipal	5 NE	20	La Junta Cab Co.	1.30
LAS CRUCES, N. M.	Tel. 132	Airport	Municipal	9 NW	15	No. Nine Cab	1.00
LAS VEGAS, N. M.	Service temporarily suspended due to Airport conditions.						
LAWTON, Okla.	Tel. 4512	Airport	Municipal	3 SW	10	Yellow Cab	.75
LOS ANGELES, Calif.	Tel. MAdsn 6-3811	c/o Amer. Airlines	International	14 SW	60	Airport Transit	1.25
LUBBOCK, Texas	Tel. 5-9348	Hilton Hotel	Municipal	3 N	15	City Cab Co.	.85
MEXICO CITY, Mex.	Tel. 35-79-35	c/o Amer. Airlines or...					
MEXICO CITY, Mex.	Tel. 18-00-27	c/o LAMSA					
MIDLAND, Texas	Tel. Midland 3-3397	Airport	Midland Air Terminal	10 W	20	Airport Limousine	1.25
ODESSA, Texas	Tel. Odessa 6-5811	Airport	Midland Air Terminal	10 E	20	Odessa Deliv. Service	1.25
OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla.	Tel. ME. 24496	Skirvin Tower Hotel	Will Rogers Field	9 SW	30	Airport Limousine	1.25
*PUEBLO, Colo.	Tel. 1197	Whitman Hotel	Municipal	3 W	15	Royal Cab	.55
RATON, N. M.	Tel. 1025	Yucca Hotel	Crews Field	12 S	20	777 Cab	1.25
ROSWELL, N. M.	Tel. 1298	Airport	Municipal	1 W	15	201 Cab Co.	.65
SALINA, Kansas	Tel. 7-1107	Airport	Municipal	3 SE	10	Radio Cab	.75
SAN ANGELO, Texas	Tel. 7191	Airport	Mathis Field	8 SW	30	Yellow Cab	1.15
SAN ANTONIO, Texas	Tel. Univ. 6-3206	Gunter Hotel	Municipal (Alamo)	9 N	30	Yellow Cab	1.00
SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.	Tel. GA. 1-8336	c/o Amer. Airlines	International	13 SE	60	Airport Limousine	1.25
SANTA FE, N. M.	Tel. 3-6471	Airport	Municipal	10 SW	45	Santa Fe Cab	1.50
SOCORRO, N. M.	Tel. 220-W	Airport	Municipal	3 S	10	Ridge Bros. Cab	.50
ST. LOUIS, Mo.	Tel. GArfield 6280	c/o Mid-Cont. Airlines	Lambert Field	15 NW	45	Airport Limousine	1.25
TOPEKA, Kansas	Tel. 3-2307	Airport	Municipal	3 NE	20	Yellow Cab Co.	.85
TRINIDAD, Colo.	Tel. 1940	Airport	Municipal	12 NE	25	Yellow Cab	1.00
TRUTH OR CONSEQ'S, N.M.	Tel. LD7R1	Airport	Municipal	8 N	15	City Cab	1.00
TULSA, Okla.	Tel. 8-4401	Kennedy Bldg.	Municipal	9 NE	40	Airport Limousine	1.15
WICHITA, Kansas	Tel. 6-6646	Lassen Hotel	Municipal	6 SE	30	Airport Cars, Inc.	1.00
WICHITA FALLS, Texas	Tel. 2-3161	Kemp Hotel	Municipal	5 NE	15	Checker Cab Co.	.75

*When flights operate to and from the Pueblo Army Air Base, the cab fare will be $1.50.

BLISS HOTEL SECOND AND BOSTON TULSA, OKLAHOMA

*NEW and MODERN COFFEE SHOP

*250 GOOD ROOMS WITH BATH

Wichita Falls, Texas'

Completely Summer-Winter Air Conditioned

VERY FINE COFFEE SHOP

PHONE: LD 107
Local: 2-1192

Marchman HOTEL Morgan Gillum, Mgr.

DENVER'S MOST MODERN HOTEL

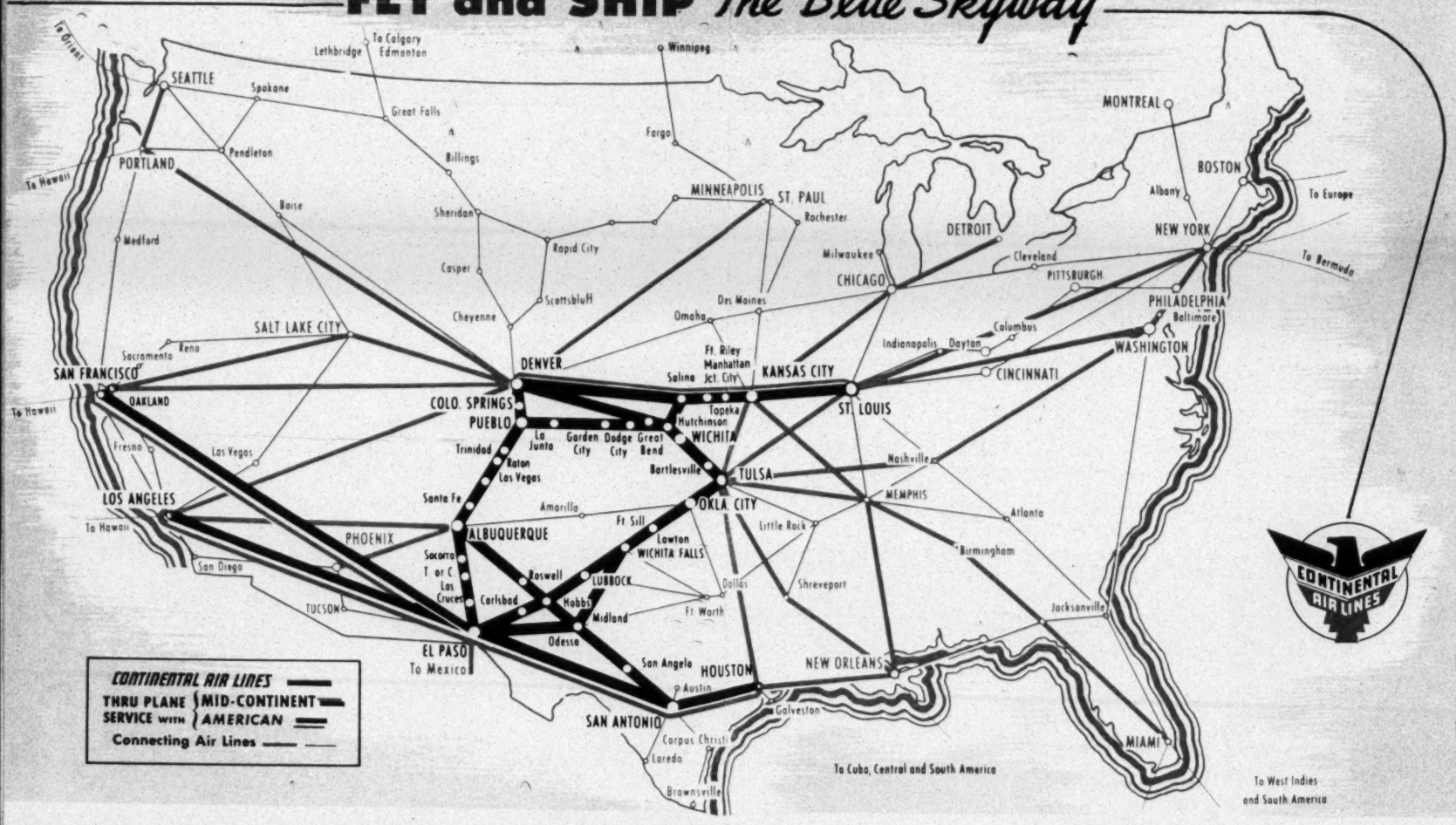
• Air-Conditioned
• Radio In Every Room

The Albany 17TH AT STOUT

John T. McDonough, Mgr.

Nearest Everything in Denver

FLY and SHIP *The Blue Skyway*



ENJOY **SCHIMMEL** HOSPITALITY

HOTEL LASSEN FIRST AND MARKET WICHITA, KANSAS

CORNHUSKER, Lincoln • BLACKSTONE, Omaha • CUSTER, Galesburg, Ill.
TOWN HOUSE, Kansas City, Kans.

RESERVATIONS AND TICKETS FOR ALL AIRLINES (INCLUDING MEXICO) IN LOBBY OF · · · · ·

HOTEL *Paso del Norte*

300 Rooms

In the heart of downtown

EL PASO, TEXAS

Address All Inquiries About Advertising in Continental Air Lines Timetables to Galen E. Broyles Co., Inc. 302 Midland Savings Bldg., Denver, Colorado.

In **Kansas City** *it's*

Bretton's

1215 Baltimore **RESTAURANT & COPPER LOUNGE** HA 5773

☆ K. C. Steaks
☆ Seafood
☆ Roast Duck
☆ Wiener Schnitzel

Enjoy our Gourmet's ***Nasch Table***

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

ENJOY FAMILY ONE-HALF FARE PLAN ON MONDAYS, TUESDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS

1952 *May* 1952

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

1952 *June* 1952

SUN	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

ROBERT F. SIX
President

STANLEY O. HALBERG
VICE PRESIDENT, TRAFFIC AND SALES

CONTINENTAL AIR LINES

General Offices:
Continental Air Lines,
Stapleton Airfield,
Denver 7, Colorado.

Form 3547 requested.

Portland, Org.
Dr. Barney Malbin
8036 E. B. 28th

Ken 1157
Mrs. Cecelia Ball
406 ~~Neh~~ N.E. 80th
Portland Oregon

Dr. Chas Grossman
5605 No. E. Cleveland
Portland, Org.
Beacon 2018 office

Dr. Moe Malbin

Spokane, Wash.
Atty Thomas Lynch
Paulsen Bldg.
Spokane, Wash.

Spokane, Wash.
Seattle
Tacoma
Portland

Passport

A. M. E. Zion List

Letter to Alphas

Oct. dates

Records Conditions

Letter-heads

Mail

Pictures

Leave Cali, Friday

Palo Alto, Cali Aug. 22,

H. Philbert

Rev. Langford

1304 Saratoga Ave,

Davenport 3-0452

Paul Robeson Concert Committee

We would like to lend our names to others on the Paul Robeson Concert Committee

Name	Address	Phone

For listing additional names, use reverse side or additional blank paper.

We would like to purchase _____patrons' tickets at $5.00 each.

Enclosed find our check in the amount of $_____.

We would like to help sell tickets. Please send us -

_____ $5.00 tickets.
number

_____ $2.50 tickets.
number

_____ $1.25 tickets.
number

_____
Name of Organization

_____
Address

_____
Name of officer with whom to communicate

_____
Address and phone.

I shall be happy to serve with other citizens to welcome PAUL ROBESON to Denver, and to sponsor the concert in which he will appear:

NAME	ADDRESS

Terry Les Catlett Garfield 5710

Franklin 9345

Jerry Zyler

Eliot 0272

Earl George

Prospect 4515

Harvey Murphey

Marine 0640 Off

Hasting 4489 L

Home

1. Schedule
   Conc.
   N.Y.
   Chicago
2. Financial
   Reception
3. P.P. Campaign
4. Record
5. Check up.

Louis role
Boston
approach to P.P. on Coast

U.A.L. (N.Y.C) MU 27300

2:50 P.M. N.Y.C.

Airline Bldg Gd Cent

$1.25

DePorres Club Ref. Hermita Hill

Father John Markoe

Creighton University

20th & Chicago Ave

Omaha, Nebr.

WASHINGTON E. GARNER, M.D.
PHYSICIAN and SURGEON
1802 GEARY STREET
Office: JOrdan 7-3245 Home: OVerland 1-0336
HOURS: 11 a.m. to 6 p.m.; Wed. and Sat. 11 a.m. to 2 p.m.

Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

℞

Take To
L & L SUNSET DRUG CO.
PRESCRIPTION SPECIALISTS
Fillmore & Post Streets
WAlnut 1-9493

_____ M.D.
REG. No. 10782

Jim Ford Com Defense Negro Leadership

1660 Fulton St. Rm 21

Pres 8-2057

Manhattan Towers

Commodore Hotel
1000

St George-Brooklyn
1000

Earl B Henderson
Rebecca Stiles Taylor
Irene Gaines
Bishop Wells
Rev Jos. Evans

Parking — Lasley
Oscar Brown, Sr.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS UNITED FREEDOM FUND FINANCIAL 1952-54 11/11

ROYAL INDUSTRIAL BANK

New York, N. Y., OCT. 20 19 50

We charge your account $2.00
to cover additional expense in returning your check of $ 267.58

REASON
Short
Uncollected X
Post Dated
Payment Stopped

TO

FREEDOM FUND
306 LENOX AVE. RM.301
N.Y., N.Y.

No. 1		
May 15 1952		
Balance on R.R.	409	48
fare		
No. 2		
5/21 1952		
Daily Worker		
Ad for N.Y. Concert	22	40
May 8th		
No. 3		
5/21 1952		
Prompt Press		
Collection envelopes		
N.Y. Concert 5/8/52	16	48
	498	36

No. 4		
5/21 1952		
Age Advt. Bureau.		
Ad. for N.Y. Concert	50	—
May 8th		
No. 5		
5/21 1952		
Sun Press		
Tickets for N.Y.		
concert 5/8/52	60	26
No. 6		
5/21 19		
Freiheit		
Ad. N.Y. Concert	15	—
	125	26

5/14	1030	—	
5/19	484	35	
	1514	35	
	498	36	
	1015	99	
Bank charge N.G. check	2	—	
	1013	99	
	125	—	
	888	99	

	~~1013~~	~~99~~	
	888	99	
	925	74	5/26
	1814	73	
	1000	—	5/27
	2814	73	
Bank charge N.G. check 5/28/56	2	—	
	2812	73	
	111	—	5/30
	2923	73	
Favorable rate of exchange of $1,000 Canadian check. →	14	—	
	2937	73	
	1566	09	
	1371	64	

No. 7

5/29/52 19

Loan to

FREEDOM ASSOC. 1,000 —

No. 8

~~Mem~~ 6/2 ~~Trust~~ 1952

Refund of ~~Lease~~ Canadian Smelter

2003 commitment 316 09/xx

No. 9

6/2 1952

~~Re~~ John Gray

a/c 250 —

1,566 09

No. 10

6/3 1952

Dickson Printing Co.

Birthday envelopes used

in L.A. & Denver 103 —

No. 11

6/3 1952

Prompt Press

15,000 envelopes 108 —

No. 12

6/4 19

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES

SHARE OF 5/11/52

TELEPHONE BILL 29 81

240 81

1371	64
240	81
1130	83

1130	83	
162		6/6
1292	83	
200	20	
1092	63	

No. 13
6/6 19
Al Peary (Mun.)
Refund on travel expense — 100 20

No. 14
6/6 19
John Gray.
Expense of Phila concert — 40 —

No. 15
6/6 19
John Gray
a/c — 60 —
200 20

No. 16
6/6 19
John Gray
Balance on salary & expense due — 365 67

No. 17
6/9 19
Bertram Alves.
Additional expenses re Phila. concert — 39 26

No. 18
6/10 19
Coleman Young
Repayment of loan — 5 —
409 93

1092	63	
1259	20	6/10
2351	83	
409	93	
1941	90	

1941	90
580	31
1361	69

No. 19

6/10 19

John Gray

Additional exp.
Phila Concert

5 31

No. 20

6/12 19

Louis Burnham

Trip to Wash. D.C
re cancellation of
concert

25 –

No. 21

6/17 19

Cash

Repayment of loan –
made in connection with
N.Y. concert 5/8/52

550 –

580 31

No. 22

6/19/52 19

Ocean Travel
Transportation Concert
Party N.Y. – PITTS – DETROIT – N.Y.

229 95

No. 23

6/20/52 19

Cash

Expenses for Pittsburgh
Detroit concerts

75 –

No. 24

6/25 19

FREEDOM

U.F.F. share of June
telephone bill

114 49

419 44

1361	69	
63	20	6/17
1424	89	
43	07	6/17
1467	96	
419	44	
1048	52	

1048	52	
682	92	6/15
1828	35	
947	88	
1080	49	

No. 25
6/26 19
FREEDOM

Item incorrectly deposited to U.F.F. 600 —

No. 26
June 27 1952.
Balance
112.24 —
17.76 P.C 130 00

No. 27
June 26 1952
John Gray
Expense —
Travel. 17 88
147 88

No. 28
July 19 ①
Balance
5 6-12 112 24

No. 29
19
Sotable Letter 23 00
135 24

No. 30
July 8 1952 35 00
Expense
P.R.

1080 49
135 24
945 23
35 00
910 23
32 30 7/
947 73

No. _____ 19 _____

Void

No. _____ 19 _____

Void

No. _____ 19 _____

Void

NEW YORK _____ 19 ___ No. _____

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY 1-45 / 210

HARLEM BRANCH 11
311 LENOX AVENUE AT 125TH STREET

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Carl [illegible] $ 15.00

Fifteen & 00/100 Dollars

Hubert Apthiker
Doris S. Bonnher

UNITED FREEDOM FUND

A

NEW YORK _____ 19 ___ No. _____

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY 1-45 / 210

HARLEM BRANCH 11
311 LENOX AVENUE AT 125TH STREET

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Freedom Associates $ 500.00

Five hundred & no/100 Dollars

Hubert Apthiker

UNITED FREEDOM FUND

A

3 mo Rent @ $35 July - Aug - Sept.

NEW YORK _____ 19 ___ No. _____

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY 1-45 / 210

HARLEM BRANCH 11
311 LENOX AVENUE AT 125TH STREET

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Freedom Associates $ 105.00

One hundred five & no/cents Dollars

Hubert Apthiker

UNITED FREEDOM FUND

A

	947	13	
–	187	24	
	760	49	

No. 31

Cash 19 (7)

7/9/52

112.24 Salary

10.00 P.C.

122 24

No. 32

July 11 19 52

Freedom

Associates

Rent

July 1 – July 31

35 00

No. 33

July 15 19 52

N.Y. Telephone

Deposit.

30 00

187 24

		760	49	
	July 15	100	00	
		860	49	
	—	122	24	
		738	25	

No. 34

July 16 1952 — 12

John Gray (3) — 56

Salan

No. 35

July 16 1952 — 12

66

5-6 12 Salan E.R.

10 00 P.C.

122 24

No. 36

July 19 1952

Freedom Assoc. — 45 — 60

NEW YORK _____ 19__ No. _____

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

1-45
210

HARLEM BRANCH
311 LENOX AVENUE AT 125TH STREET

11

PAY TO THE ORDER OF _____ $ 36

_____ Dollars

Hubert Optheker

UNITED FREEDOM FUND

A

	738	25	
July 18	82	41	
	814	66	
	270	17	
	544	49	
Bal June 1, 1952			

No. 37

July 18 1952 ✓

Freedom Assoc. 45

On ~~fed~~ June July
Telephone

No. 38

July 22 1952 ✓

Ocean Trans 220 17
Lease
Adriane Tom
John Gray

No. 39

July 22 1952 ✓

5 00

P.C.

27 0 17

No. P (4)

July 24 1952 ✓

Cash 24

112.24 Salaries 170
50.00 Ex. John Gray
10.00 P.C.

No. 41

July 31 1952 ✓

Freedom 25 00
Repayment of Loan
~~J.D.~~ Jan
J.D.

No. 147 ✓

July 31 1952

Ray Dennis —
Repayment of loan 10

30

	644	49			532	25
—	172	24		—	122	24
	472	25			410	01
July 29	95	00				
	567	25	Bal. July 1, 1952 avg.			
	35		Uncancelled check		378	10
—			25	—	122	24
	532	25	10			
			56.12			
			91.12		255	86
			378.10			
			469.22			
			Bank Bal.			

No. 43 (6)

July 31 1952 ✓

John Gray

Salary 56 12

Ending July 31

No. 44 ✓

July 31 19 40 12

56.12 Salary ER

10.00 P.E. 122 24

No. 45 ✓

Aug 19

112.24 - 2 wk Salary 122 24

ER

10.00 P.E.

No. 46 ✓

Aug 4 1952

Bar Prem

Slaterton 21.77 51 50

P.R.

No. 47 (6) ✓

Aug 7 1952

John Gray 56 12

Salary wk

ending Aug 8 - 107 62

No. 48 (7) ✓

Aug 15 1952

Cash

1 wk Salary 107 23

J. Gray 56.12

Expense: 51.11

107 23

	255	86
—	107	62
	148	24
—	107	23
	41	01

	41	01
—	25	00
	16	01
Dep 8/20/52	800	—
Dep 8/21/52	805	—
	1021	01
—	150	00
	871	01
—	56	12
	814	89

No. 49

19 ✓

Exchange ch. 25 00

No. 50

Aug. 20 1952 ✓

Cash

L. Brown

Concert. 150 00

No. 51

Aug. 20 1952 ✓

Salary.

E. Roberts 56 00

No. 52 (4)

Aug 22 1952

John Gray

Salary. 56 12

No. 53 ✓

Aug. 26 1952

Postage & Clerk Hire 10 00

No. 54 (4)

8/28/52 19

John Gray

Salary. 56 12

122 24

814	89		~~Trial Bal. Sept 1~~	~~692~~	~~65~~
− 122	24			692	65
			−	44	12
692	65		True Balance Sept 1, 1952	624	53
			−	197	26
				429	27

Uncancelled checks

# 52	56.12	
# 54	56.12	
	112.24	
+	626.53	
Bank Bal.	738.77	

No. 56 (56)

19

56.12 Salary ER — V

10 - P.C.

66 12

No. 54

9/3/52 19

Mtl. Telephone Co. 20

49

No. 57

9/3/52 19

Freedom 150 00

Ex.

197 26

No. 58

9/2/52 19

Delta Recording Co.

Rehearsal tape 20 00

Studio Playback

(Canadian Record)

No. 59

9/5/52 19

54.12 Salary EK 12

5.00 P.C. 61

No. 60

9/9/52 19

Freedom

Tel + Telegram 12 87

93 99

	429	27
Encl.	150	00
	579	27
	- 93	99
	485	28

	485	28
—	250	92
	234	36
	80	00
date 7/11/52	314	36

No. 61
Sept 9 1952
Edith Roberts
Exchange
10 00

No. 62
Sept 10 19
Freedom Assoc.
2 mos Rent.
Aug. Sept.
70 00

No. No. ~~62~~ 63
9/11/52 19
Freedom
Exchange.
170 92

250 92

No. 64
Sept. 11 1952.
52.12 Salary 28.
10. P.R.
62 12

NEW YORK
CORN EXCHANGE B
CHARLE
311 LENOX A
PAY TO THE ORDER OF John Gray.
Fifty two and
UNITED FREEDOM FUND

(19) No. 65
Sept 16
1956
John Gray
Salary wk
ending Sept 13
56 12

	314	34
	42	12
	252	24
	170	92
Encl.	200	00
	623	16
	−56	12
−	567	04

	567	04
	194	90
$	372	14
−	100	00
	272	14

Sept 18 1956 No. 66.

ANK TRUST COMPANY 1-45 / 210

M BRANCH 11
ENUE AT 125TH STREET

Received Revenue Stamps $167.60

Dollars

Hubert Optheder

No. 69

Sept 19 1952

Collector Internal Revenue. 90

5 8.80 (First quarter 194
1 365.0 (Second quarter)

No. 68

9/19 1952

Freedom Corse.

100

Exchange. 100

No. 69 (11)

9/19/52 19

Cash 112 24

Salary

No. 70

9/25 1952

Cash Bonin Funeral. 30 60

#20 = Bonin Funeral
10 Refunded
see Receipt # 37

No. 71

9/18/52 19

Robeson Convent. 19 97

Expenses

	272	14	T
—	112	24	
— —	159	90	
	49	97	
	109	93	

	109	93
	70	—
	179	93
Exch.	40	00
	219	93
Dep Oct 6,	182	24
	37	69
	— 2	00
B. Cr	$ 35	69
	194	90
Ret check	230	59
	194	90
—	35	69
	200	00
Dep 9/4/52	$ 35	69
Et		

No. 12

9/24/52 19

Edith Rolch

2 wk Salary. 24

110

No. 13

10/1 19 52

Cash

Payment of Ads for Oct 9th concert & Petty Cash 70 —

172 24

No. 14

19

Director of Internal Revenue 194 90

No. 15

19

Rev. Hanger

100 Ticket Exchange. 100 00

No. 16

Rev. 19

~~Rev. Hanger.~~

20 - ads.

8 - Ticket 28 00

17

No. ~~17~~ Oct

Oct 27 19

Freedom Assoc. Rent Oct 1 - 31 Inc. 35 00

135 69
— 100 00

35 69
-25 00

7 69

22 50

30 19
70 00

100 19
~~25 96~~

35 00

65 19

65 19
— 28 98

36 21
— 5

31 21

No. 78

19

Void

No. 79

Oct 27 19 52

NY Telephone Co. 28 95

No. 80

Oct. 28, 1952

Cash

Cab Fares 5 00

No. 81

Nov 6 19 52

Director Internal Revenue. 14 73

No. 82

Nov 6 19 52

E. Robert 6 80

400 Bal salary

~~400~~. Sept 11

2.80 Ex P.R. Meals 21 53

No. 83

19

Salary 2A 56 12

Back Salary

for week of

Oct 10, 1952

13	31	21
	13	40
	44	67
	42	73
Total Balance Oct 1, 1952		
	21	53
—	21	20
	347	76
Deb 11/17/52		
	368	96
—	56	12
	312	84

28	312	84
—	135	27
	177	57
	78	80
	98	77

No. 84

Cash 19

Postage

Loan Freedom

135 27

135 27

No. 85

Nov. 17 1952

Freedom

Expenses

Conn. Compact.

50 00

No. 86

11/17/52 19

Sunday Wake

Adv.

Loan Salute Fault Capri

28 80

78 80

No. 87

11/20/52 19

Sunday Wake

Loan.

Adv.

Sunday.

25 50

No. 88

11/20/52 19

La Salle Letter Service

30 00

58 80

No. 89

Nov 24 1952

N.Y. Telephone Co.

27 87

18	98	77
	58	80
	39	97
	27	00
11/24/52	66	97
	~~[illegible]~~	
	25	20
11/25 –	92	17
	27	87
–	64	30
$		

	64	30
–	30	00
	34	30
Dep 12/2/52	197	47
	231	97
	300	00
Dep 2/7/53	531	97
–	250	00
	281	97
	50	00
Credit	331	97

No. 90

12/2/52 19

Cash

P.R.

Loan. 30 00

250 00

No. 91

12/5 1952

Cash - for

John Gray - trip

to Montreal - fare -

expenses + salary for one week.

No. 92

19

Void

No. 93

Dec 5 1952

Freedman,

Refund to

Freedman error in 50 00

deposit see ck #

85

No. 94

10/15/52 19

Director of

Internal Revenue 25 50

No. 95

Feb 13 1953 22 92

NY Telephone Co.

(Final Payment)

1	331	97
	50	00
	281	97
	251	50
	30	47

	30	52
	22	92
	7	60
Dep. 2/13/53 from Othello Records Corp.	1500	00
	1507	60

	1507	00
This Check —	1500	00
Balance —	7	00
Deposit 3/31	30	—
Bal	37	—

No. 96 — 1500 00

March 9 1953

Payment of Loan from Othello Recording Corp.

No. 97

March 31 1953

Director of Internal Revenue

3rd Q 1952

Withholding Tax, Penalty & Interest — 28 07

No. 98

11 - 5 1953

Cash

6 Envelopes - mailing for Nov. 21, '53 party — 9 53

3 53 Petty Cash

3 stamps

53 oke supplies

3,53

Budget - Brithday Greeting Campaign

Greetings	550,000		$3,335.00	
Envelopes (Return)	550,000		1,925.00	
Letters to T. U. (~~Orfset~~)	2M		26.00	
" " Org. "	"		26.00	
Letters to Individuals	20M		260.00	
# 10 Envelopes	20M	@ $28 5M	112.00	
Total Printing				$5,684.00
Postage 20M 3¢ (individuals)		$601.20		
" Miscel.		100.00		
" Packages of Greetings		200.00		
Total Postage				901.20
Full time clerical worker 8 weeks @ $50 per wk				400.00
Miscel. volunteer workers - lunches, carfare etc				25.00
Office supplies				50.00
Org. expenses				25.00
TOTAL				$7,085.20

Total Budget raised $11,335

Immediate budget

Greetings	50M	$335.00	
Envelopes - Return	50M	175.00	
Letters to T. U.	2M	26.00	
" " Org	2M	26.00	
Letters to Indiv.	20M	260.00	
#10 Envelopes	20M	212.00	
Total Printing			$934.00
Postage 20M 3¢			601.20
3 weeks guarantee salary clerical worker			150.00
Total			$1685.00

budget expended $11,000

NEW YORK Dec 12 1952 No.

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

HARLEM BRANCH 11
311 LENOX AVENUE AT 125TH STREET

1-45
210

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Fifty & 30/100 $ 50 00

Dollars

Herbert Apthekar

UNITED FREEDOM FUND

DO NOT STAPLE

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT FORM 450 (REV. AUG. 1951)
FISCAL SERVICE—BUREAU OF ACCOUNTS

SERIAL NUMBER

FEDERAL DEPOSITARY RECEIPT

FOR INCOME TAX WITHHELD ON WAGES AND FOR TAXES UNDER FEDERAL INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS ACT

NOTICE TO EMPLOYER

FILL IN ALL ITEMS BELOW BEFORE MAKING DEPOSIT: SEE INSTRUCTION NUMBER ONE ON REVERSE.

TOTAL TAXES — DOLLARS | CENTS

← ENTER THE COMBINED AMOUNT OF INCOME TAX WITHHELD AND TAXES UNDER FEDERAL INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS ACT.

EMPLOYER'S IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

← ENTER YOUR NINE DIGIT EMPLOYER'S IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

↓ TYPE OR PRINT NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER ↓

13-1672007
UNITED FREEDOM FUND
53 WEST 125 ST
N Y C 27

FOR USE BY COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

FOR USE BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANK
RECEIPT VALIDATED AND DEPOSIT CREDITED IN ACCOUNT OF TREASURER OF U.S.:

DO NOT FOLD, STAPLE, SPINDLE, OR MUTILATE

AFTER YOUR VALIDATED RECEIPT IS RETURNED BY FEDERAL RESERVE BANK, YOU MUST SEND IT TO THE COLLECTOR RETURN - FORM 941.

RECEIPTS ISSUED FOR CHECKS VALID ONLY WHEN FUNDS ARE COLLECTED

F.R.B. | SERIAL NUMBER | COLL. CODE | T.L. NO. | TOTAL TAXES | CREDIT DATE MO. DAY YR. | EMPLOYER NUMBER

AN 38-51

DEPOSITED TO THE CREDIT OF

United Freedom Fund

February 13 1953
IN

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

PLEASE OMIT ALL DOLLAR SIGNS.

		DOLLARS	CENTS
SILVER			
BILLS			
CHECKS (LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY)	1	500	00
		1	500	00

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST CO.
HARLEM BRANCH
DUPLICATE FEB 13 1953
TELLER

1500

CHECKS CREDITED SUBJECT TO PAYMENT

AN 37-52

DEPOSITED TO THE CREDIT OF

UNITED FREEDOM FUND
53 W 125

Dec. 8 1952
IN

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

PLEASE OMIT ALL DOLLAR SIGNS.

		DOLLARS	CENTS
SILVER			
BILLS		50	00
CHECKS (LIST EACH CHECK SEPARATELY)		250	00
		300	00

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST CO.
HARLEM BRANCH
DUPLICATE DEC 8 1952

CHECKS CREDITED SUBJECT TO PAYMENT

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES SPECIAL ACCOUNT -- Statement Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, 1954

INCOME

For Concert Experiences	4453.00	
Planning Comm. Salute--Services JG	450.00	
Sale of Pix	114.00	
Contribution	100.00	
Miscellaneous	60.34	
Total Income for 1954		5177.34
Bank Balance 1/1/54		1631.34
Total		6808.68

DISBURSEMENTS

Wages		1216.20	
Expense Account (JG)		700.00	
Fees to Artists:			
Alan Booth	908.57		
Paul Robeson	500.00	1408.57	
Travel Expenses		1591.48	
Negro History Greeting Card		65.00	
Robeson Birthday Party		75.14	
Withholding and SS		163.54	
Telephone		33.93	
Clerical, Misc. and Petty Cash Expense		445.31	
Loans to Freedom		1100.00	
Total Disbursements			6799.17
Balance on hand 9/30			9.51

Outstanding expenses and expenses

Wages/July 16 through Sept. 30 (10 wks.)	750.00	
Withholding and SS (2 quarters)	270.92	1020.92
Net Operating deficit		$1011.41

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FINANCIAL REPORT OF BORDER CONCERT TRIP

August 18, 1954

INCOME:

Canadian Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union		
Advance payment	$511.25	
Payment after concert	306.75	$818.00
Seattle Concert payment		200.00
Sale of prints		43.00
TOTAL INCOME		$1061.00

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transportation (3 round trip tix to Seattle)	$996.27	
Miscellaneous travelling expenses	103.29	
Rental of piano (Seattle)	35.00	
Artist Fee (Alan Booth)	90.00	
John Gray (1 week's wages and expenses)	67.20	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$1291.76
DEFICIT		$ 230.76
Contribution of Planning Committee for Salute for promotional expenses furthering passport campaign		230.76
		--- --

APPEARANCES 1954

Jan.	24	-- Attended Church Services, Galilee Baptist Church, Newark
	31	-- Concert - Galilee Baptist Church, Newark
Feb.	12	--- New York, NNLC Negro History Program
	19	-- Youth Rally, LYL Convention, New York
	22	-- Anti-McCarthy Meeting, Chauteau Gardens, New York
	24	-- ALP, Garment Center, Negro History Week Program, New York
	28	-- Newark Negro Labor Council Conference
Mar.	5	-- Jefferson School Dinner, New York
	7	-- Honored Guest, Rendall Memorial Church, New York
	12	-- Guatemala Meeting, New York
	19	-- ALP, Parkchester Rally against Jim Crow, Bronx
Apr.	3	-- Philadelphia Freiheit Concert, Town Hall
	4	-- Attend AME Zion Church, Philadelphia
	10	-- Freiheit, Carnegie Hall, New York
	8	-- Paul's Birthday Party, New York
	16	-- ASP Dance Savoy Ballroom, New York
	22	-- Howard Fast Peace Prize Affair, New York
	23	-- Meeting with Quaker Peace forces, Philadelphia
	24	-- Council on African Affairs Conference, New York
	28	-- John Abt Dinner by PP, New York
	30	-- Private Concert Westchester to help NNLC
May	1	-- May Day appearance, New York
	8	-- University of Chicago Concert
	21	-- Concert at AME Zion Conference to help school in Africa, Washington
	26	-- Salute to Paul Robeson, New York
June	6	-- Mother Zion concert, New York
	10	-- Amnesty Comm. Rally, New York
	29	-- Tribute to Ben Davis, New York

July vacation

Aug.	1	-- Border concert
	6	-- Seattle concert
Sept.	19	-- Attended Church, Antioch Baptist, Corona, LI
	23	-- ALP State Convention
	24	-- Street corner meeting, NNLC - RR Drive -- New York
	25-26	-- Attended and spoke to National Convention, NNLC

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT--Salute (10/1/54)

INCOME (Receipts 216-235)			
Ticket Sales	76.30		
Box Holders	20.00		
Patrons	14.50		
Total Additional Income		110.80	
Balance on Hand 6/29/54		2178.52	
Total			2289.32
DISBURSEMENTS (Vouchers 1-21)			
Postage	34.71		
Transportation	4.75		
Office Supplies	38.92		
Clerical	325.00		
Travel Expense	112.05		
Telephone	77.37		
Miscellaneous	31.30		
Electric Fan	19.31		
Coast Promotion	230.76		
Sept. 15 Luncheon	16.75		
Photo Stats	3.61		
Film	16.50		
Total Disbursements			911.03
Balance on Hand 10/1/54			$1378.29

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF INCOME AND DISBURSEMENTS

SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON -- May 26 (As of 6/29/54)

INCOME

Ticket Sales:				
Advance	1372.70			
Box Office	548.45	$1921.15		
Less:				
Refund on tix	8.80			
Admission Tax	149.10	157.90		
Total income to date on Tix			$1763.25	
Contributions:				
Box Holders	1728.10			
Patrons	403.30			
Collection	1512.20			
Total Income to date on Contributions			3643.60	
Sale of Pictures			4.00	
Total Gross Income to Date				$5410.85

DISBURSEMENTS

Office Supplies	63.37	
Advertising	288.98	
Postage	302.01	
Transportation	65.75	
Stat. & Printing	121.99	
Promotion	1011.55	
Renaissance rental	145.50	
Church rental	302.50	
Telephone	53.53	
Production	327.90	
Clerical expense	223.12	
Photostats	24.72	
Pictures	170.00	(500 Pix on hand)
Thank You Party	39.12	
Misc.	68.75	
Passport expenses	24.04	
Total Disbursements to Date		3232.83
Net income to Date		$2178.02
Amt. in bank (50¢ over)		2178.02

31-50M-2-53

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

Harlem BRANCH

New York, N.Y.C.

We were obliged to change the amount of your deposit which was entered today in your pass book as $ 141.15 *to* $ 142.15 *for the reasons noted on reverse side.*

Yours respectfully,

Manager

Freedom Associates Inc
53 W. 125th St.
N.Y.C.

31-50M-10-52

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

Harlem BRANCH

New York, 7-27-53

We were obliged to change the amount of your deposit which was entered today in your pass book as $ 70.80 *to* $ 70.87 *for the reasons noted on reverse side.*

Yours respectfully,

Manager

Freedom Associates Inc
53 West 125th St
N.Y.C.

452.10
208.25
244.05
-105.00
139.05

Bert

error in addition

80.55
59.85
44.25
184.65

Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

53 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • ENRIGHT 9-3980

Edit 845 100.40

Jul 715 — 85.50

Oct 3 65 7.80

10 65 7.80

130 15.60

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

IN ACCOUNT WITH

UNITED FREEDOM FUND
% Edith Roberts
53 W. 125th St.
NYC

311 LENOX AVENUE

LST - List
CC - Certified Check
CM - Credit Memo
DM - Debit Memo
EX - Exchange
SC - Service Charge

DATE	CHECKS CHARGED TO YOUR ACCOUNT—READ ACROSS	DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
	YOUR FORMER BALANCE →		SEP 30'53	9.53

withdrawn
11/3/53
acct. closed

THIS STATEMENT IS RENDERED UPON CUSTOMERS REQUEST, AND WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY THE SECOND FOLLOWING BUSINESS DAY.

IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED WITHIN TEN DAYS, THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT.

AN 60-B-52

THE LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE.

CHECKS CHARGED ON STATEMENT AND VOUCHERS COMPARED

CORN EXCHANGE BANK TRUST COMPANY

IN ACCOUNT WITH

UNITED FREEDOM FUND
% Edith Roberts
53 W. 125th St.
N

311 LENOX AVENUE

LST - List
CC - Certified Check
CM - Credit Memo
DM - Debit Memo
EX - Exchange
SC - Service Charge

DATE	CHECKS CHARGED TO YOUR ACCOUNT—READ ACROSS	DEPOSITS	DATE	BALANCE
	YOUR FORMER BALANCE →		DEC 31 '52	30.52

THIS STATEMENT IS RENDERED UPON CUSTOMERS REQUEST, AND WILL BE READY FOR DELIVERY THE SECOND FOLLOWING BUSINESS DAY.

IF NO ERROR IS REPORTED WITHIN TEN DAYS, THE ACCOUNT WILL BE CONSIDERED CORRECT.

AN 60-B-52

THE LAST AMOUNT IN THIS COLUMN IS YOUR BALANCE.

CHECKS CHARGED ON STATEMENT AND VOUCHERS COMPARED

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE 1950-1952 12/1

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
COMITATO DEL CONGRESSO DEI PARTIGIANI DELLA PACE
COMITE DEL CONGRESO MUNDIAL DE LOS PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
世界保衛和平大會委員會

PRESIDENT :
M. F. JOLIOT-CURIE, France

VICE-PRESIDENTS :
Mme Eugénie COTTON, *Présidente de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
J.-D. BERNAL, Grande-Bretagne
G. de BOYSSON, *Président de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique*
Général L. CARDENAS, Mexique
A. FADEEV, U.R.S.S.
KUO MO JO, Chine
P. NENNI, Italie
O.-J. ROGGE, Etats-Unis
L. SAILLANT, *Président de la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale*

SECRETAIRE GENERAL :
J. LAFFITTE, France

*

SECRETARIAT GENERAL :
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE
PARIS - VIIIe
TÉLÉPHONE : ANJou 16-06 16-29
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT 7172-60 PARIS
Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale
des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8e
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le 28 mars 1950 19

Monsieur Paul Robeson

Cher Ami,

Nous venons de recevoir un télégramme du Secrétariat

"ALL INDIA PEACE COMMITTE R.L.
TRUST BUILDING 55 GIRGOAN-ROAD
BOMBAY 4

.. nous informant qu'une semaine de la Paix sera organisée aux Indes du 23 au 30 avril.

Cette action pour la Paix dans ce pays est d'une grande importance, elle fait suite à de multiples autres actions déja réalisées par ce comité et les organisations démocratiques.

Nos amis seraient désireux de recevoir avant le 10 avril de vous-même un message à cette occasion et ils nous demandent de bien vouloir vous pressentir en leur nom.

En vous transmettant cette requête, nous vous prions de croire cher ami, à l'assurance de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Pour le Secrétaire du Comité
Mondial de Partisans
de la Paix

COMITÉ DU CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX
COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE
КОМИТЕТ ВСЕМИРНОГО КОНГРЕССА СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА
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HODINOVA-SPURNA, *Vice-Présidente de l'Assemblée Nationale Tchécoslovaque*
MM. L. ARAGON, *Secrétaire du Bureau International de Liaison des Intellectuels*
G. D'ARBOUSSIER, Afrique Noire
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Adresse télégraphique :
Paixmonde - Paris

Banque Commerciale des Pays de l'Europe du Nord
21, rue de l'Arcade, Paris-8e
Compte N° 2288

Paris, le 30 Mars 1950

Cher Ami,

Le Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix vient de terminer les travaux de sa 3ème session à Stockholm les 15-19 mars, et nous vous transmettons sous ce pli les appels adoptés à l'unanimité.

Les Assises de notre Comité firent l'objet d'une discussion fructueuse sur le développement du mouvement de lutte pour la paix et le caractère concret et plus efficace qu'en un certain nombre de pays cette lutte a pris, tant du côté de la classe ouvrière que du côté de l'opinion libérale ou religieuse et du monde scientifique.

Partant de ces faits, notre session plénière a eu pour préoccupation d'entraîner dans l'action pour la paix d'autres forces populaires, d'autres forces politiques et d'autres personnalités de manière à donner à l'action générale une efficacité plus grande.

C'est la raison pour laquelle l'objectif retenu comme le mieux adapté a été celui d'un pétitionnement de masse à propos de l'interdiction des armes atomiques, car c'est en même temps le point faible des fauteurs de guerre, ainsi qu'en témoignent les mouvements de l'opinion publique et les déclarations de personnalités éminentes du monde politique et scientifique dans les dernières semaines et en divers pays.

A cet effet, un appel a été lancé qui comporte entre autres, l'idée nouvelle de faire considérer comme "criminel de guerre" par les peuples le gouvernement qui, le premier, se sera servi de l'arme atomique.

.....

Compte-tenu des expériences déjà réalisées dans différents pays, nous pensons qu'il est possible de rassembler des centaines de millions de signatures dans une grande campagne internationale qui embrasserait tous les pays du monde.

Cet appel a été publié, après avoir été adopté à l'unanimité par tous les membres du Comité Mondial présents à Stockholm revêtu de la signature de chacun d'eux.

Dans le cadre des décisions prises ensemble lors du Congrès Mondial de Paris et de Prague et, tenant compte de la nécessité présente d'entraîner, dès maintenant de nouvelles couches des populations pacifiques dans une action très vaste, sur des points bien déterminés qui sont ceux de l'appel, notre secrétariat a pensé être l'interprète de chacun des membres du Comité Mondial qui n'ont pu assister aux travaux de cette session, en joignant leur nom à ceux des signatures de l'appel publié dès la fin des travaux du Comité.

D'autres décisions, non moins importantes, ont été prises lors de cette session, dont tous les détails vous seront fournis dans le prochain numéro de notre revue "Les Partisans de la Paix" spécialement consacré aux travaux de la dernière session de Stockholm.

Notre secrétariat vous tiendra informé, par son bulletin d'information et la revue, du développement de cette vaste campagne engagée, et vous adresse ses salutations les meilleures.

Pour le Secrétariat du Comité
du Congrès Mondial des Partisans
de la Paix

Jean LAFFITTE
Secrétaire Général

CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX

PRÉSIDENT : FRÉDÉRIC JOLIOT-CURIE

SECRÉTARIAT : 2, rue de l'Elysée — PARIS (8e)
Téléphone : ANJou 16-29

PARIS, le 11 Décembre 1950.

Monsieur,

En vue de répondre aux demandes que nous adressent de nombreux journaux et de nombreux Partisans de la Paix, nous vous saurions gré de nous faire parvenir, dès qu'il vous sera possible, quelques notes biographiques ainsi qu'une photographie.

En vous remerciant par avance, nous vous prions de croire à l'assurance de nos sentiments les meilleurs.

Le Service de Propagande :
Jean CHAINTRON

Chaintron

CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX

PRÉSIDENT : FRÉDÉRIC JOLIOT-CURIE

SECRÉTARIAT : 2, rue de l'Elysée — PARIS (8e)
Téléphone : ANJou 16-29

PARIS, JANUARY 17, 1951.

Monsieur Paul REBESON
23 W. 26 Street
NEW YORK (N.Y.)
(Etats-Unis)

RP/JP/M.
N° 25

Dear Friend,

Last week we sent you the statement issued by the Bureau of the World Peace Council after its meeting at Geneva on the 10th and 11th January. You may have noticed from this that the meeting of the World Council, which had previously been intended to take place in March, has now been fixed for the 21st to the 24 Th February in view of the pressing nature of international events.

This is to advise you that the agenda will comprise the following points :

1) The application of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress;

2) Peaceful solutions of the German and Japanese problems.

We hope that you will be making the necessary arrangements forthwith to enable you to attend this forthcoming meeting.

As soon as we know ourselves in which European country it will be held, we shall not fail to advise you immediately.

Yours very sincerely.

For the World Peace Council.

JEAN LAFFITTE
Secrétary - Général

P.S. In any case, we think it would be advisable to apply at once for your visa for France.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

RP/M/GC. N° 27

PRÉSIDENT : F. JOLIOT-CURIE

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
2, RUE DE L'ÉLYSÉE
PARIS (8e)

TÉLÉPH. ANJOU 16-06 - 16-29
TÉLÉGR. PAIXMONDE-PARIS
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT-PARIS 7172-60

BANQUE COMMERCIALE
DES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DU NORD
21, RUE DE L'ARCADE - PARIS (8e)
COMPTE N° 2288

PARIS, le January 24th 1951.

Monsieur Paul ROBESON
23, W. 26 Street
NEW-YORK N.Y.
(Etats-Unis)

Dear Friend,

We enclose for your information the report and analysis of the work of the Bureau of the World Council at Geneva on the 10th and 11th January.

As we mentioned in our letter of the 17th instant, the deterioration of the international situation and the development of important currents of opinion in the spirit of the peace proposals formulated by the Second World Congress caused the Bureau to take the step of advancing the date of the next session of the World Peace Council, which will meet from the 21st to 24th February.

In our last letter we also mentioned that the place for this meeting had not yet been fixed. We have actually asked permission to hold it in Switzerland, and are awaiting the reply of the Swiss Federal Council.

In the circumstances, we would suggest that you make your applications for ordinary "tourist" visas for Switzerland and France.

We would again mention the two points of the agenda, namely,

1°) Application of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress.

2°) Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problems.

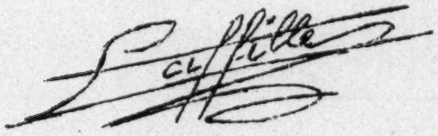
../..

../..

We should be very interested if, at the World Council meeting, you could outline the steps that your country has taken in terms of the nine points of the Address to the United Nations, as well as the different subjects upon which you may wish to make your personal contribution to the discussion. We should very much like to receive your opinion and to know your plans in connection with these different questions.

Yours very sincerely,

For the World Peace Council



Jean LAFFITTE
Secrétary-general.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

PRÉSIDENT : F. JOLIOT-CURIE
SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
2, RUE DE L'ELYSÉE
PARIS (8e)

TÉLÉPH. ANJOU 16-06 - 16-29
TÉLÉGR. PAIXMONDE - PARIS
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT - PARIS 7172-60

BANQUE COMMERCIALE
DES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DU NORD
21, RUE DE L'ARCADE - PARIS (8e)
COMPTE Nº 2288

PARIS, ~~xx~~ January 26, 1951

Mr Paul ROBESON
23 W. 26 Street,
New York, N.Y.,
UNITED STATESOOF AMERICA=

Dear Friend,

A committee set up on the initiative of the "House of French Thought" in Paris is organising a ceremony, to take place on the 9th February, at which the "Peace Prizes" will be awarded to our very great friends PICASSO, DAQUIN and the late lamented Jean Richard BLOCH. Professor Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE will preside.

We are advising you of this ceremony in case you should desire to associate yourself with it. We are confident that a telegram from you would be welcomed with the greatest enthusiasm, not only by our friends themselves, but also by the large audience which is expected to be present.

If you decide to send such a message, we would suggest that you address it to us, and we shall send it on to the meeting, provided that it is received in due time.

Yours very sincerely,
For the World Peace Council

Pour le secrétariat.
Le directeur de la propagande.

RP/M/GC.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

PRÉSIDENT : F. JOLIOT-CURIE

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
2, RUE DE L'ELYSÉE
PARIS (8e)

TÉLÉPH. ANJOU 16-06 _ 16-29
TÉLÉGR. PAIXMONDE PARIS
C.C.P. : F. GUYOT _ PARIS 7172 _ 60

BANQUE COMMERCIALE
DES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DU NORD
21, RUE DE L'ARCADE _ PARIS (8e)
COMPTE Nº 22'88

PARIS, le January 27th, 1951.

Dear Friend,

By an earlier letter, we informed you of the World Council meeting to be held from the 21st to 24th February, mentioning that a request had been made to the Swiss Federal Council for permission to hold the meeting in Switzerland. In reply which we have received from them today, they have refused permission.

In case it proved impossible to hold this meeting in Switzerland, the Bureau of the World Council had contemplated holding it in Austria, but the Austrian Government is not prepared to let us have its reply for twenty days. It will therefore be impossible to proceed with the plans to hold the meeting there.

The Third possibility was the German Democratic Republic, and the meeting will accordingly be held in Berlin from the 21st to 24th February. We would ask you to apply for your visa at the Soviet Legation, Consulate or Embassy in your country.

As soon as you have made the necessary arrangements we should be glad if you would inform both the Secretariat in Paris and the German Peace Committee in Berlin. The address of the latter is :

Mr. Heinz WILLMANN
Taubenst. I-2. BERLIN W.8.

Yours very sincerely,

For the World Peace Council

G. FENOALTEA
Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

PRÉSIDENT : F. JOLIOT-CURIE

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
2, RUE DE L'ELYSÉE
PARIS (8e)

TÉLÉPH. ANJOU 16-06_16-29
TÉLÉGR. PAIXMONDE_PARIS
C.C.P.: F. GUYOT_PARIS 7172-60

BANQUE COMMERCIALE
DES PAYS DE L'EUROPE DU NORD
21, RUE DE L'ARCADE _ PARIS (8e)
COMPTE Nº 2288

PARIS, le 28th of March 1951

Mr Paul ROBESON
23 West, 26th Street
NEW YORK. (NY)

Dear Friend,

Following action taken on the decisions of the Berlin session of the World Council of Peace, held from February 21st to February 26th, we have the pleasure to inform you that our President, F. Joliot-Curie has received from the United Nations Organisation the following cable :

"SECRETARY GENERAL HAS ASKED ME TO STATE THAT IN RESPONSE YOUR LETTER MARCH EIGHTH HE HOPES TO MEET YOUR DELEGATION AT SOME POINT IN EUROPE PERHAPS PARIS GENEVA ROME IN THE COURSE OF THE TRIP HE PLANS TO TAKE IN VERY NEAR FUTURE STOP I WILL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU AGAIN SOON WITH REGARD TO EXACT TIME AND PLACE : ANDREW CORDIER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS".

To this cable we have sent the following reply :

"PRESIDENT JOLIOT-CURIE THANKS YOU FOR YOUR CABLE OF MARCH 15. STOP HOPES TO BE INFORMED BY YOU OF DATE AND PLACE FOR THIS MEETING IN SUFFICIENT TIME TO ALLOW HIM TO CONVEY INFORMATION TO MEMBERS OF DELEGATION CERTAIN OF WHICH WILL COME FROM DISTANT COUNTRIES - SIGNED : JEAN LAFFITTE SECRETARY GENERAL".

We wanted to let you know at once about this exchange of cables and we will of course not fail to keep you informed as to next developments.

With all best wishes
Yours sincerely

For the World Council of Peace

p. G. FENOALTEA
Secretary

UNITED NATIONS - NATIONS UNIES

Paris, le 11 Avril 1951

Cher Monsieur Joliot-Curie,

Votre lettre du 10 avril, disant qu'il ne serait pas possible à la Délégation du Conseil Mondial de me rencontrer comme prévu, me fut remise alors que je me préparais à rencontrer cette délégation. Je regrette que vous n'ayez pas pu me rencontrer à Paris, d'autant plus que mon emploi du temps très chargé dans les mois à venir, qui me forcera à m'éloigner souvent de New York, me met dans l'impossibilité pour l'instant de fixer une date précise pour recevoir la délégation au Siège des Nations Unies.

J'ai étudié avec grand soin les diverses résolutions adoptées par votre organisation, et j'avais préparé une Déclaration que j'avais l'intention de présenter hier à la Délégation. J'ai le plaisir de vous joindre cette Déclaration et je vous demande de bien vouloir la communiquer aux autres membres de votre Délégation.

Sincèrement Votre

Trygve Lie
Secrétaire Général des
Nations Unies

Paris, le 10 Avril 1951

Monsieur TRYGVE LIE
Secrétaire Général de
l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Monsieur le Secrétaire Général,

Le 8 mars dernier, je me suis adressé à vous pour vous informer de la décision du Conseil Mondial de la Paix d'envoyer une délégation auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Je vous ai également avisé de l'objet de cette délégation.

Vous avez bien voulu me faire savoir, par l'intermédiaire de Mr. Cordier, que vous étiez disposé à recevoir cette délégation ce dont je vous remercie et nous informer par la suite que vous la recevriez le 9 avril lors de votre passage à Paris.

Toutefois cette dernière précision ne m'est parvenue qu'à dix jours de la date proposée.

La délégation étant composée de personnalités appartenant à treize pays dont l'Inde et la Chine, il n'a pas été matériellement possible de la réunir en temps utile.

D'autre part, les membres de cette délégation ont reçu du Conseil Mondial de la Paix le mandat de se rendre à l'O.N.U.

Je vous serais donc très obligé de bien vouloir m'indiquer dans les délais les plus rapides la date à laquelle il vous sera possible de recevoir, au siège de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, la délégation du Conseil Mondial de la Paix.

Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Secrétaire Général, à ma haute considération.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

Président
du Conseil Mondial de la Paix

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

UNITED NATIONS - NATIONS UNIES

DECLARATION DE M. TRYGVE LIE , SECRETAIRE GENERAL DES NATIONS UNIES

A LA DELEGATION DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

J'ai lu vos propositions et vos résolutions avec intérêt. Je ne ferai aucun commentaire à l'heure présente en ce qui concerne le fond de celles-ci.

Aujourd'hui, je désire seulement vous exprimer personnellement ma conviction la plus profonde que les Nations Unies représentent l'espoir le plus sérieux pour tous les peuples vraiment épris de paix.

Les Nations Unies travaillent pour la sécurité collective, contre l'agression armée.

Les Nations Unies travaillent pour le règlement pacifique des différends internationaux par la négociation, la médiation et la conciliation.

Les Nations Unies travaillent pour le contrôle et la réduction des armements ainsi que pour l'élimination des armes de destruction massive en les plaçant sous un contrôle international qui protégera toutes les nations en empêchant toute violation ou fraude.

Les Nations Unies travaillent à donner la liberté, le pain, la sécurité et la possibilité d'améliorer leur sort à tous ceux qui sont dans le monde les victimes de la faim, de la misère, de l'oppression et de la crainte.

Enfin, les Nations Unies affirment le principe de l'universalité et s'efforcent de faire appliquer la doctrine de la co-existence pacifique de tous les systèmes et de toutes les cultures, doctrine dont on parle tant, mais qui est si peu mise en pratique en dehors des Nations.

Dans le monde, tout homme et toute femme épris de paix ont donc pour premier devoir d'accorder leur appui aux Nations Unies, de s'efforcer de persuader tous les gouvernements de respecter toutes les décisions et recommandations de l'Organisation et de s'y soumettre, en-fin de profiter de toute occasion pour étendre et renforcer l'influence des Nations Unies en faveur de la Paix.

En revanche, tous ceux dont les actes visent à affaiblir les Nations Unies, à saper leur autorité, à attiser les discordes, dont la présence est inévitable dans une organisation mondiale à l'heure actuelle, ceux-là ne sont pas les vrais amis de la paix, quoi qu'ils en disent.

J'attire votre attention sur le fait que pour le moment les Nations Unies s'intéressent tout spécialement au programme de vingt ans en vue de l'établissement d'une paix certaine et durable.

Les dix points de ce programme comprennent l'intervention du Conseil de Sécurité en faveur d'une solution pacifique des problèmes mondiaux à l'échelon gouvernemental le plus élevé ; le contrôle de la réduction des armements et des forces armées ; la mise au point d'un système de contrôle international de l'énergie atomique ayant pour conséquence l'élimination de la bombe atomique et de toute arme de destruction massive ; la création de forces armées des Nations Unies pour s'opposer à toute agression ainsi que l'a prévu la Charte ; une assitance technique et financière pour le développement économique dans le cadre des Institutions spécialisées des Nations Unies ; un recours plus fréquent aux Nations Unies dans toutes les sphères de la coopération internationale en faveur du progrès social ; la mise en application pro

sive à l'égalité politique, économique et sociale de tous les peuples non autonomes et des anciennes colonies ; un développement rapide du droit international applicable comme règle universelle.

Tels sont les buts auxquels peuvent et devraient s'attabber dans le monde tout homme et toute femme vraiment épris de paix, au dessus de toute considération idéologique ou nationale.

Si tous les peuples de l'univers accordaient leur constant appui au programme des Nations Unies, nous pourrions être certains qu'il n'y aurait pas de troisième guerre mondiale et que nous serions capables de bâtir dans les vingt à venir un édifice de paix tellement solide qu'il ne pourrait jamais plus être abattu.

Soutenez les Nations Unies avec compréhension et loyauté et vous aurez la Paix.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

GC.

PRÉSIDENT :
F. JOLIOT-CURIE

ADMINISTRATION
2 RUE DE L'ELYSÉE
PARIS

PARIS, LE 20th April 1951.

Dear Friends,

In our communication of April 7th, you were informed of the action taken by the French Government against the permanent organism of the World Council of Peace, located until now at 2 rue de l'Elysée, Paris.

The Bureau of the World Council at its coming meeting May 5-7, has the jurisdiction to decide where World Peace Headquarters will be established. However, in order not to retard the rapid accomplishment of many current activities, the Secretariat has decided, in the meantime, to transfer its affairs to Prague. This provisional measure is authorized by a decision taken at Geneva, January 10-11, by the World Council Bureau, calling for a functioning organization at Prague, where Secretaries unable to acquire French visas have maintained organized liaison with us.

We can therefore assure you that the Secretariat will continue to function with maximum efficiency. To this end, we ask that all communications and information be sent, until further notice, to : Mr. Jean LAFFITTE, General Secretary
World Council of Peace.
Palais S.I.A. - Janska 100
PRAGUE (Czechoslovakia)

In the event that you desire to correspond directly with our Président, you may write to his personal address :
Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE
76, avenue Lenôtre
ANTONY (Seine) -FRANCE-

In the expectation of hearing from you, I take this occasion to express my warmest greetings

For the World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

NOTICE

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Please acknowledge receipt of correspondence without delay and notify us of missing numbers.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
МИРОВОЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRETARIAT GENERAL
PALAIS S.I.A
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHECOSLOVAQUIE)
TELEPHONE PRAHA 615-90

No. 1

Note acknowledging receipt

Prague, 30th of April 1951

Mr. Paul ROBESON
23 W. 26th Street
NEW YORK N.Y.
(U.S.A.)

Dear Mr. Robeson,

At its meeting in Prague from April 10th to 13th, the Secretariat made two decisions relating to the delegation of the World Council of Peace to the United Nations.

It was decided to pursue the matter no further with Mr. Trygve Lie.

It was also decided to ask Mr. Joliot-Curie to send a letter to the members of the Security Council asking them to discuss the Address to the United Nations and the World Council resolutions of Berlin and to receive the delegation of the World Council.

These decisions of the Secretariat followed the refusal Mr. Lie, in reply to a letter from Mr. Joliot-Curie, to set a date to receive the delegation of the World Council at the United Nations.

Enclosed, you will find copies of Mr. Joliot-Curie's letter to Mr. Lie, Mr. Lie's reply to this letter and the declaration which Mr. Lie had prepared to give in Paris to the delegation of the World Council and which he released to the press after receiving Mr. Joliot-Curie's letter explaining why the delegation could not meet Mr. Lie in Paris and requesting that a date be fixed for the delegation to be received by Mr. Lie at the United Nations.

I shall inform you of any new developments in this matter.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely.

For the World Peace Council,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Secretary.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

N° / JD/GL

SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S.I.A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE : PRAHA 615-90

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With best wishes

Yours sincerely,

For the World Peace Council,

John W. Darr, Jr.

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Secretary.

COMMISSION D'ORGANISATION DE LA CONFERENCE INTERNATIONALE
POUR LA SOLUTION PACIFIQUE DU PROBLEME ALLEMAND
3, rue des Pyramides - PARIS I°

EH.

PARIS le 2 mai 1951

Monsieur Paul ROBESON
23 West 26 Street
NEW YORK CITY U.S.A.

Cher Ami,

Les 12, 13 et 14 mai se tiendra à Paris une grande Conférence internationale sur la solution pacifique du problème allemand.

Cette Conférence est dûe à une initiative de l'Entente franco-belge contre le Réarmement allemand, initiative chaleureusement approuvée par le Conseil Mondial de la Paix lors de sa session de Berlin. Ce dernier a souligné qu'une telle Conférence, plus spécialement destinée aux pays dont les gouvernements ont souscrit au Pacte de l'Atlantique, devrait contribuer à l'élargissement de la discussion et de l'action en faveur de la paix.

Il est prévu que la France, la Belgique, le Luxembourg, les Pays-Bas, le Danemark, la Suède, la Norvège, la Finlande, la Suisse, l'Italie, Trieste, l'Espagne, l'Autriche, la Grande-Bretagne et l'Allemagne elle-même y enverront des délégués.

Nous avons l'honneur, au nom de la Commission d'Organisation, de vous demander de bien vouloir y envoyer de votre côté des observateurs, étant bien entendu que ceux-ci pourront participer aux travaux des Commissions et exprimer leur point de vue au cours des débats.

Nous nous permettons de joindre à la présente lettre le texte de l'invitation que nous avons adressée à de nombreuses personnalités et aux représentants des divers mouvements ou courants d'opinions qui, dans les pays intéressés, placent la sauvegarde de la Paix au centre de leurs préoccupations, ainsi que la liste des premières adhésions que nous avons enregistrées et qui témoignent déjà de l'intérêt profond suscité par notre initiative.

Nous souhaitons vivement que vous répondrez favorablement à notre invitation et nous vous prions donc de prendre toutes dispositions pour que vos délégués puissent effectuer, à l'époque prévue, le voyage et le séjour nécessités par notre Conférence.

Dans l'attente de votre réponse, nous vous assurons, Chers Amis, de nos bien cordiaux sentiments.

Pour la Commission d'Organisation

Michel Bruguier

Michel BRUGUIER

PAIX PEACE PAZ МИР 和平 POKÓJ PACE FRIEDEN
FRED آلسلام BÉKE VREDE MIR PAQA سلام PAZ
RAUHA ΕΙΡΗΝΗ صلح BARIŞ שלום FRIÐUR PAIX
शान्ति HÒA-BÌNH PAIX PEACE МИР PAZ PACE 平和
REVUE MONDIALE EDITÉE EN 12 LANGUES

15, rue Feydeau, PARIS (2e). — Adr. télég. : PARTISAPAX PARIS
Tél. : CEN 82-35, 82-36 — R.C. Seine 349.395 — C.C. POSTAUX 7272-21
Abonnements : 6 nos, 250 fr.; 12 nos, 450 fr.

Directeur : JEAN LAFFITTE

Rédacteur en chef : CLAUDE MORGAN

[TO PAUL ROBESON]

N/Réf. :
V/Réf. :
Abonné N° .....

- 5 MAI 1951

Dear Friends,

We wish to bring to your attention the decisions taken by the Secretariat of the World Peace Council at its meeting in Prague on April 14.

As you will remember, the World Council passed a resolution on the Review at its Berlin meeting, with the aim of widening the scope of the Review under the directorship of our friend M.Pierre Cot, who had accepted to take on this task.

The Secretariat's decision follows up at the same time as it puts into effect the Berlin resolution. The latter specified that "The character of the Review will itself be the object of modifications to permit the widening of its appeal and to make it into a great review for the spreading of ideas of peace." The better to achive this aim, it has been decided to found an entirely new review, to appear monthly, with Pierre Cot as director and Claude Morgan as editor.

1) We enclose herewith the appeal put out on the creation of the new Review, whose title (in French) will be Défense de la Paix. This appeal defines the character of the new Review, and gives also a list of the international figures who will assist M.Pierre Cot. You will see that this new Review aims at treating all fields of man's activity in a living and journalistic fashion, at presenting a picture of life in the different countries, and that it will employ the services of a large number of correspondents.

.../...

N.B. — Vous nous éviterez toute erreur et tout retard en indiquant dans votre correspondance et vos mandats de versement, vos nom, prénoms, adresse complète en majuscules d'imprimerie.

2) We urge you to help us by appointing without delay a responsible and qualified correspondent - if possible, a journalist - for your country, whose job will be to edit or gather together articles, interviews, reportages, photos, drawings, quotes from writers or significant press cuttings, which could be of interest to the Review.

We would be glad if you would indicate the name of this responsible correspondent, as soon as your choice is made, directly to Claude Morgan, 2 rue du Cèdre, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, (Seine-et-Oise), France. We emphasize again the urgency of this matter for the Review.

3) The Secretariat has further decided that Défense de la Paix should be published in the greatest possible number of countries, in the language of these countries. Where the Review Peace is at present published, this means that we are asking for the new Review to be brought out in its place.

Each national edition will receive the full text of the Review from the central Review in Paris. Certain of the texts in each number will be "musts" for publication, and will be marked accordingly.

For the rest, each national edition will have the option of replacing one or more texts, considered non-essential, by texts of a more national content, the proportion of texts replaced in this way being at most a quarter of the central Review published in Paris.

4) The Secretariat wishes the new Review Défense de la Paix to maintain a very high standard throughout its editions, and to be of topical, living interest. It draws the attention of all national editions on an error which must at all costs be avoided - that of making of the section of the Review reserved for local material a bulletin of activity of the Peace Committee. This section should in fact consist of articles, studies and reportages on the problems of war and peace, and should maintain the same "living" character as the rest.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

John W. Dancy Jr.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

A NEW REVIEW

- "Défense de la Paix"

A great international monthly of a kind until now unknown will be born on June 1, inspired and directed by M.Pierre Cot, French Progressive Deputy and Former Minister.

Grouped around M.Pierre Cot as members of an advisory board will be personalities from all parts of the world, such as :-

the British journalist Gordon SCHAFFER, of Reynold's News;
the well-known German novelist Arnold ZWEIG;
Reverend Father CHENU, Professor at the School of Advanced Studies of the University of Paris;
Pietro NENNI, President of the Italian Socialist Party;
the Spanish Catholic writer José BERGAMIN;
the Soviet writer Ilya EHRENBURG;
General JARA, one of the most outstanding figures of Mexico;
Madame Rosé Maria OLIVER, Argentine writer, one of the best-known of Latin-American authors;
Madame Isabelle BLUME, Belgian Socialist Deputy;
MAO DUN, Chairman of Association of Chinese Writers;
Leon KRUCZKOWSKI, writer and dramatist, Chairman of the Association of Polish Writers;
Luigi RUSSO, well-known Italian critic;
Dr. ATAL, eminent figure of India;
etc...

The object of this Review is bolder and more ambitious than that of any existing publication. Basing itself on the possibilities for peaceful coexistence, it aims at ensuring expression and confrontation of opposing ideas, at promoting all human exchanges of an economic, scientific or cultural nature, and at dispelling misunderstanding by creating a bridge between West and East.

To attain this object, the new Review will deal with all fields of human activity : politics, social life, science, techniques, literature, art, sport. It will use all forms of expression from scientific studies to reportages, interviews, surveys and even impromptu discussions. Correspondents in every country will enable it to give a faithful picture of life in its most varied and complex aspects.

A deliberate intention lies behind the choice of title. The precarious situation of mankind, the anxiety born of incertitude as to the future, make it necessary to give thought again to the most elementary concepts, to restore their original meaning to words. The Review which will help men to understand one another, to be tolerant, to live together, unite and act together to prevent the catastrophe of a new world war fully deserves to bear in its title the idea of the defence of peace.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

JR/GL

SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S.I.A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)

TÉLÉPHONE : PRAHA 615-90

Prague, 16th of May 1951

Mr. Paul ROBESON
23 W. 26th Street
NEW YORK
(U.S.A.)

Dear Friend,

Within the framework of the world campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact and on the basis of positive results achieved to date, the Secretariat is of the opinion that certain outstanding community leaders in your country should be contacted directly for their endorsement of the Appeal adopted by the Berlin meeting of the World Council. It is the feeling of the Secretariat that the individuals whose names appear on the enclosed list, could by their endorsement, give considerable impetus to the successful development of the world campaign.

We believe that this action by the Secretariat will also be of assistance to you in your relations with these personnalities.

It is obvious however, that this list which was compiled on the basis of various information in our possession (some of which is already dated), no longer corresponds perhaps partly or entirely to the present situation. We would greatly appreciate your advice in this matter. The list is no respect restricted as to number and you are urged to submit a complimentary list of outstanding figures with whom we can communicate directly. Please submit with names recommended, the following information : address, profession, brief personal appraisal.

Permit us to add that in our opinion, the selection of names should be a judicious one, so that the Secretariat does not become too involved in direct correspondance while at the same time your national organisations retain the fullest liberty of action in this domain.

.../...

In addition, we would further appreciate receiving the material needed for our collection of biographic information of outstanding leaders of the world peace movement. Please forward such information on the following members of the World Council (if possible with photo) :

M. W. DUBOIS
Howard FAST
Charles HOWARD
Rev. Massie KENNARD
Rev. Robert MUIR
Mme Clementina PAOLONE
Mme Theresa ROBINSON
M. Fred STOVER

With the expectation of hearing from you soon, we extend our best wishes.

For the World Peace Council,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

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N° 2

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
МИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

PRAHA (TCHECOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE : PRAHA 615-90

N° 2

17th/5/51

Dear Friend

Since the 1rst of May 1951, we have sent you the following propaganda material :

- copies of Information Bulletin n. 10,
- copies of Bulletin including the speech of the Right Rev. Hromadka, at the Berlin session of the World Council,
- copies of Bulletin including extracts of speeches delivered in Berlin by religious personnalities,
- leaflets on the International Peace Prizes.

We would be very grateful and it would facilitate our work if you would kindly let us know if and when this material has reached you.

In the meantime, believe us, dear Friends,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat
The Propaganda Department

Acknowledge

Call on ALP Dunner

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
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SECRETARIAT GÉNÉRAL
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In the meantime, believe us, dear Friends,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat
The Propaganda Department

acknowledge

Call on
ALP Dinner

June 12, 1951

Honorable Warren Austin
Chief United States Delegate
The United Nations
2 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I address this letter to you as an American member of the committee of the World Council of Peace which plans to present specific proposals on ways to peace before the United Nations at an early date. Your summary and discourteous dismissal of the request for support of this committee's proposals constitutes a distinct disservice to the peace-loving people of the United States and the world.

Dr. Frederic Joliot-Curie, chairman of the Council, in directing a request to the United Nations for a conference, carries out the mandate of literally hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world. And included in these millions are great sections of the American people, especially women and youth, who today are finding new courage and strength to sign petitions for peace, participate in the various peace polls, attend peace conferences, and march in magnificent peace parades and caravans. They are making it clear that they, as well as the peoples of Europe and Asia, want peace and not a senseless war of mutual destruction.

The governments of the United States, Western Europe, Latin America, England and India must hearken to the voices of their peoples. These population majorities say: negotiate a five-power peace pact and give the new Chinese Republic of 475 million people its rightful seat in the United Nations, if the world is to have a United Nations that bears any resemblance to the intent of its founding charter.

You may recall that M. Joliot-Curie has received the respectful and seriously-considered replies of many world organizations devoted to peace, including the world organization of Quakers and the Vatican, agreeing with the eminent scientist on the basic need for peace.

You seem to forget that you are presumed to be a servant of the United Nations, of many nations, not one. Your reply to M. Joliot-Curie has a familiar ring. You seem to think that the United Nations, far from representing the hopes and aspirations of the greater portion of mankind, just remains what it has tended recently to become - the parroting whisper of powerful American corporate interests which many officials in positions of public trust happen to represent.

The people of the United States have struggled throughout our history with the selfish and greedy powerful few who have ever attempted to silence the voice and will of the majority - indeed, who today arrogantly dare to dictate to all of the so-called "free" Western nations by virtue of the supposedly benevolent Marshall plan.

Jefferson fought such would-be perverters of our democratic traditions in his time. Frederick Douglass, a former slave, the greatest fighter for the emancipation of his people, named his enemies for what they were, travelled the world telling the truth about the slavery and oppression of millions of his colored brothers and sisters in the Southland, and made no pretense of loving or being supinely "grateful" to his oppressors.

In our time, Roosevelt fought the neo-fascists, and today the American people have the deep responsibility of recapturing some part of our honest democratic heritage to hand on to those who follow. Justice Black of the U. S. Supreme Court, in his ringing dissenting opinion in the case of the eleven Communist leaders, gives evidence of this democratic honesty.

For if these military and profit-hungry men had their will, they would bequeath to our children Ku Klux Klan terror and the legal murdering of a long-suffering people. They would hand down the hideous remnants of Hitlerism and Francoism, raised to new levels of barbarousness. They would bequeath wonscempt, hatred and destruction for the working masses, colored and white, all over the world.

These modern conquerors are the spiritual descendants of the robber barons who, a half-century ago, under the banners of Anglo-Saxon superiority and American Manifest Destiny, took

Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, and a half-dentury earlier robbed Mexico of Texas.

It is becoming increasingly clear that this senseless dream of American world domination will reamin a dream. The colonial peoples of the world are not interested in a new serfdom. They will reject all efforts at American domination of their economies and their political institutions, even though such domination is attempted under the benevolent phrases which describe the Point Four program.

No, the peoples of Asia, the Near East, Latim America, the West Indies, Puerto Rico and Africa want independence to govern their own destinies. And they want peace. They signed peace petitions, with their marks where necessary, in the millions.

And so did their true friends and allies, the peace-loving masses of Europe. All of these peoples love and deeply respect Joliot-Curie. These are the hundreds of millions who know that we can and must live in peace and friendly cooperation with our recent friends and allies - the courageous people of Stalingrad and the Soviet Republics, the citizens of the new People's Democracies of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic with the brave folk of the new People's Republics of China and Korea.

The tremendous and heartening world success of the Stockholm Peace Petition is witness to this indisputable fact, and the petition of the World Council of Peace for a five-power conference is being signed daily by tens of millions all over the globe.

And in America today, the Quakers, thousands of intellectuals and clergymen, millions of working people, colored and white, many public servants, such as Senator Johnson of Colorado, all people of good will, ask our leaders in government to act on the understanding that we, the American people, want to join the human race, not destray it. We have a sacred obligation in our time to insist on peace, not peace phrases mouthed by responsible officials while we mount "operations killer" against people struggling for the first time toward new and deeply rewarding ways of life.

As an American of African descent born and raised in these United States of such horrible contradictions, I am

certain that the people of Asia, Latin America, the West Indies and especially Africa, want us to keep our Jim Crow practices as far away from them as possible. They say to us:

"Stop the terror and age-long oppression of 15 million of our brothers and sisters over there, and let us go our own way. We will pick and choose our own friends."

And these colonial peoples cry out to us, their brothers and sisters of African descent: "Why do you come over here to harm us; why don't you root out Jim Crow and Ku Klux Klan terror in the South of James Byrnes, Talmadge and Rankin?"

The struggle today is one for peace, not war with anyone. The people will never lose their courage and strength to shout for peace at the top of their voices, to fight fascist persecution and death, to labor diligently every moment to save themselves and mankind for the constructive building of new and rich cultures for the universal attaining of full equality and full human dignity.

Yours truly,

Paul Robeson

INVITATION LIST

Originally Invited as Observers at the

Reception of the World Peace Council

Delegation by the Hon. Jacob Malik. June 26, 1951.

Church

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City
Chairman - Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches
(Exec. Secy. The Rev. Richard Fageley)

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
170 East 64th Street
New York City.
General Secretary, Church Peace Union
(He is also the General Secretary of the World Alliance for International Friendship Through Religion).

Dr. Ralph W. Sockman
c/o Christ Church (Methodist)
520 Park Avenue
New York City.
Chairman of the Commission on Peace
The Methodist Church
(National organization)
(Exec. Secy. The Rev. Charles F. Boss, Jr.
740 Rush Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

The Rev. Donald B. Cloward
152 Madison Ave.
New York City.
Executive Secretary
Council on Christian Social Progress
American Baptist Convention.
(National Organization)

The Rev. Herman F. Reissig
287 Fourth Ave.
New York City.
International Relations Secretary
The Congregational-Christian Churches
(National Organization)

Church (continued)

The Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes
135 West Upsal St.
Philadelphia 19, Pa.
Executive Chairman
Episcopal League for Social Action
(Unofficial national group)
Protestant Episcopal Church

The Rev. Jack R. McMichael
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City
Executive Secretary
The Federation for Social Action
(Unofficial national group
The Methodist Church).

Bishop Cameron C. Allayne
5861 Haverford Ave.
Philadelphia 31, Pa.
Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Dr. Algernon Black
2 West 64th Street
New York City
Leader, Ethical Culture Society

The Rev. John Howland Lathrop
50 Monroe Place
Brooklyn, New York.
Pastor, Church of the Saviour
(Unitarian)

Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
31-20 56th Street
Long Island City, New York.
Rabbi, Congregation Beth-El of Astoria

Trade Unions

Mr. Ralph Helstein
608 South Dearborn St.
Chicago, Illinois.
President United Packinghouse Workers

Mr. Abram Flaxer
5 Beekman Street
New York City.
President
United Public Workers

Miss Rose Russell
206 West 15th St.
New York City.

Legislative Agent
Teachers Union,
Local 555 United Public Workers

Mr. Ben Gold
251 Fourth Ave.
New York City 10
President
International Fur & Leather
Workers Union

Mr. Albert Fitzgerald
11 East 51st Street
New York City 22
President
United Electrical, Radio &
Machine Workers

Mr. Hugh Bryson
96 Commercial Street
San Francisco, Calif.
President
National Union of Marine Cooks
and Stewards

Mr. Harry Bridges
150 Golden Gate Ave.
San Francisco, California.
President
International Longshoremen's and
Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. Joseph Selly
5 Beekman Street
New York City 7
President
American Communications Association.

Trade Unions (continued)

Mr. John Clark
Tabor Building - Suite 412
16th & Curtis Streets
Denver, Colorado
President
Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union

Mr. Arthur Osman
13 Astor Place
New York City 5
President
Distributive, Processing and Office
Workers

Mr. Carl Stellato
12550 Dix Ave.
Dearborn, Michigan.
President
Ford Local No. 600
United Automobile Workers

Political Parties

Mr. C. B. Baldwin
150 West 46th Street
New York City.
Secretary
The Progressive Party

Mr. Arthur B. Schutzer
17 Murray Street
New York City
Executive Secretary
The American Labor Party.

Mr. Charles A. Collins,
706 Lenox Ave.
New York City.
Director, Harlem Council
The Ame ican Labor Party

Peace Organizations

Mr. Lewis Hoskins
20t South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa.
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee

Mrs. Alexander Stewart
1734 F St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.
Executive Secretary
Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom

Mr. Allan Cranston
7 East 12th Street
New York City 3.
President
United World Federalists

Mr. Brooks Emeny
22 East 38th Street
New York City.
President
Foreign Policy Association

Mr. John Nevin Sayre
21 Audubon Ave.
New York City 32
International Secretary
Fellowship of Reconciliation

Mr. Clark Eichelberger
45 East 65th Street
New York City.
Director
American Association for the
United Nations.

Prof. Robert J. Havighurst
c/o University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois.
Co-Chairman
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives

Dean John B. Thompson
c/o Rockefeller Memorial Chapel
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois.
Executive Committee
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives

Peace Organizations

Dr. Stringfellow Barr
58 Park Avenue
New York City.
President
Foundation for World Government.

Mrs. Helois Moorhead
1186 Broadway
New York City.
Executive Secretary
American Women for Peace.

Individuals

Dr. Corliss Lamont
450 Riverside Drive
New York City 27

AMERICAN MEMBERS

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
c/o World Peace Council
Palais S. I. A.
Janska 100
Prague,
Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Ernest DeMaio
c/o United Electrical,
Radio & Machine Workers
37 South Ashland Blvd.
Chicago 7, Illinois.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.
New York City

Mr. Howard Fast
45 West 94th Street
New York City.

The Rev. Professor Joseph F. Fletcher
6 Phillips Place
Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Charles P. Howard
515 Mulberry Street
P. O. Box 205
Des Moines, Iowa.

The Rev. Massie Kennard
4755 S. Forrestville Ave.
Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Karley Larsen
Route 1
East Stanwood, Washington

The Right Rev. Arthur W. Moulton
171 South Fifth, East
Salt Lake City, Utah

The Rev. Robert Muir
40 Linwood Street
Roxbury, Mass.
Mark: "Please Forward".

Dr. Clementina Paolone
25 West 11th St.
New York City.

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM
55 West 125th St.
New York City

Mrs. Therese Robinson
1725 T Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Fred Stover
Hampton, Iowa.

Dr. Willard Uphaus
66 Edgewood Ave.
New Haven, Connecticut.

53 West 125 St.
New York, N.Y.

June 29, 1951

Mr. Jacob Malik
President, Security Council
United Nations Organization
42nd St. & Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Malik:

Mr. Paul Robeson has asked that the following information be transmitted to you, based on a transatlantic telephone conversation he has held with officers of the World Council of Peace in Prague:

The World Council of Peace wishes to express its appreciation to you, as chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations, for the opportunity given its members, Mr. Robeson and Rev. Uphaus, On June 28 to present the Council's protests regarding the action of the United States State Department in refusing visas to representatives of the Council delegation which seeks to present the Council's proposals for peace to the United Nations.

The World Council of Peace will continue to press for the admission of members of its delegation to the United States, so that formal presentation of its documents and proposals may be made at an early date. Additional information regarding the exclusion of representatives of the Council is being forwarded to you.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham
For Paul Robeson

July 18, 1951

Dear Paul,

There were approximately 15 copies of your statement which remained. This quantity was insufficient to cover your American colleagues in the World Council plus the 35 observers who had been invited. Worse luck, we found that the stencils had been destroyed. So it has taken a couple of days to type fresh stencils and make the mimeograph rerun. Now we are ready for the final operation.

Enclosed a draft memorandum for your associates in the World Peace Council. Also a draft letter to go to observers. The letter would be signed personally by you and Willard. Willard is in town daily and can take care of the matter with dispatch. If you are to be in town on Thursday or Friday we would submit the letters for your signature. It is our intention to mimeograph the letter but to type in individual salutations.

Significantly, Willard reports contact with two different observers who questioned him about the delegation's visit, regarding the matter as "unfinished business" so far as they were concerned. They were hoping they would hear, at least, how it turned out. This confirms my feeling that it is good to get out a letter to observers.

I take it that I am now to dispatch your letter to John and also the statement. These were typed up in your Freedom office from the handwritten copy. I suppose we had better sent at least two, possibly three, copies of each of the statements with your letter to Prague — and that these should go airmail notwithstanding expense.

I await your editing and approval of drafts enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Dick

Richard Morford

RM:be
dpowa 65
encs.

(Draft for Paul Robeson and Willard Uphaus) July 20, 1951

Dear . . . . . (Name to be typed in):

You are due a report from us of the outcome of the projected visit of the delegation of the World Peace Council to the Honorable Jacob Malik, President during June of the Security Council of the United Nations.

A complication of international circumstances stemming from the radio broadcast of Mr. Malik calling for a cease-fire in the Korean war, on Saturday, June 23, combined with the illness of Mr. Malik the first few days of the new week, made necessary a postponement of the delegation's visit.

We were advised of Mr. Malik's continued indisposition only a few hours before the appointment originally scheduled for Tuesday afternoon, June 26. In some instances, we were unable to reach you who had been invited as observers to advise you of the postponement, for which we are sorry. We hope it did not cause serious inconvenience.

Uncertainty as to when Mr. Malik would be well enough to receive the delegation made it impracticable to proceed further with our plan for observers at the occasion.

The delegation was received on Thursday - June 28. Unfortunately the twelve members from abroad were barred from entering the United States for the purpose. Consequently the delegation consisted of two American members of the World Peace Council - Mr. Paul Robeson and Dr. Clementina Paolone. (Mr. Willard Uphaus was compelled to keep a prior engagement in Chicago on this day.)

We presented to Mr. Malik as President of the Security Council the "Address to the United Nations" agreed upon at the meeting of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in November, 1950. Paul Robeson presented a formal statement, Dr. Paolone spoke informally and submitted the formal statement of Willard Uphaus. These statements detailed and reinforced the major pronouncements of the World Council at its Berlin meeting in February, 1951.

We invite your perusal of these statements which we are pleased to enclose.

Subsequently Mr. Malik transmitted his report of the visit of the delegation to all members of the Security Council and other officials of the United Nations, together with the "Address to the United Nations" and the formal statements submitted by Paul Robeson and Willard Uphaus. Mr. Malik also released a statement announcing his reception of the delegation and the transmission of the documents. You may have seen this in the press.

We venture to say that the World Peace Council is the organized conscience and voice of millions of people who have banded themselves together in every country to strive for a peaceful world. The Council is a democratically constituted and powerful coalition of the peace forces meriting the favorable consideration of those persons in every nation who are dedicated to international understanding and amity.

Cordially yours,

Paul Robeson

Willard Uphaus

(Draft for Paul Robeson and Willard Uphaus)

MEMORANDUM

From : Paul Robeson and Willard Uphaus

To : U. S. Members of the World Council for Peace

Rev. John W. Darr, Jr.
Ernest DeMaio
W. E. B. DuBois
Howard Fast
Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Charles P. Howard
Rev. Massie Kennard
Karley Larsen
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton
Rev. Robert M. Muir
Dr. Clementina Paolone
Mrs. Therese Robinson
Fred Stover

Date : Friday - July 20, 1951

You are due a report from us of the outcome of the projected visit of the delegation of the World Peace Council to the Honorable Jacob Malik, President during June of the Security Council of the United Nations.

It became clear finally (subsequent to our memorandum of ~~Tuesday, June 26~~ Saturday, June 23) that the twelve members appointed to the delegation who were to have come from other countries had been denied entrance to the United States. We sought and received advice from M. Frederic Joliot-Curie and the Bureau of the World Council in Prague that they desired the two American appointees to proceed with the fulfillment of the mission.

In line with the plan reported to you we were able to recruit the following of our American colleagues on the World Council to go with us on Tuesday, June 26, according to the original schedule: Fred Stover and Ernest DeMaio (both flew in from the Midwest) and Howard Fast.

A complication of intn national circumstances stemming from the radio broadcast of Mr. Malik calling for a cease-fire in the Korean war on Saturday, June 23, combined with the illness of Mr. Malik the first few days of the new week, made necessary a postponement of the delegation's visit until Thursday - June 28. Meantime, Mr. Malik issued public protest over the barring of the other members of the delegation from abroad.

On Thursday, June 28, Mr. Malik received the delegation in his capacity as President of the Security Council. By this time Willard Uphaus had been compelled to proceed to Chicago to perform duties in connection with the Peace Congress. So the delegation was made up of Paul Robeson and one other member of the World Council, Dr. Clementina Paolone.

In line with the mandate we presented to Mr. Malik the "Address to the United Nations" agreed upon at the World Peace Congress in Warsaw in November, 1950. Paul Robeson presented a formal statement. Dr. Paolone spoke informally and also presented the formal statement of Willard Uphaus. These statements detailed, clarified and reinforced the major pronouncements of the World Council at its Berlin meeting in February, 1951, as the delegation had been asked to do.

Subsequently Mr. Malik transmitted his report of the visit of the delegation to all members of the Security Council and other officials of the United Nations together with the "Address to the United Nations" and the formal statements submitted by Paul Robeson and Willard Uphaus. (Copies of these documents are handed you herewith.) Mr. Malik also made a public statement concerning his acceptance of the delegation and of his transmission of a report and the documents to the United Nations, which received some press attention.

You will wish to know that we have also sent these documents to each of the 36 organizational leaders and key individuals to whom we extended invitation to be present as observers at the original appointment for Tuesday, June 26. When postponement became necessary, it was not considered practicable to attempt to go further with the plan for observers, and there were none. We have made proper explanation to all originally invited.

dpowa/65

Preparatory Committee

WEST BENGAL PEACE CONFERENCE
46, DHARAMTALA STREET, CALCUTTA.

Ref. ..... Date 8.4.1951,

Dear friend,

The peace partisans of West Bengal have decided to assemble in a provincial conference to be held in Calcutta on the 4th. 5th. & 6th. May '51 to devise ways and means to widen the peace movement so that they can take rightful place in the growing struggle for peace which is being conslidated more and more under the effective leadership of the World Peace Congress.

Your presence in the conference will be a great source of inspiration not only to the conference but to the peace movement of the province as a whole.

May we urge on your attending the conference or sending your valuable suggestions and message in case you cannot attend the conference.

With greetings.

Yours fraternally
Promode Sengupta
(Promode Sengupta).
Convenor.

MR. PAUL ROBESON.
(U.S.A)

53 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
May 4, 1951

Mr. Promode Sengupta
Preparatory Committee
West Bengal Peace Conference
46, Dharamtala Street
Calcutta, India

Dear friend:

Your letter of April 3 has come to our attention belatedly during Mr. Robeson's absence from his office here in New York City. I shall bring it to his attention immediately upon his return on May 15.

I am sure that he will deeply regret not having been able to respond to your request for a message to the provincial conference of the peace partisans of West Bengal scheduled for Calcutta for the 4th, 5th and 6th of May.

You may be interested to know that upon his return to New York Mr. Robeson plans to make several recordings of messages and songs dealing with peace, which may be used by the peace partisans in their meetings, conferences and festivals throughout the world. You are probably aware that his right to travel abroad has been denied through an arbitrary ruling of the U. S. State Department. Should you be interested in using one of the recordings in the peace work in West Bengal province, we shall be happy to send it on to you.

Meanwhile, please accept Mr. Robeson's heartiest salutations and best wishes in our continuing common struggle for peace, freedom and well-being for all the world's peoples.

Fraternally yours,

Louis E. Burnham
for PAUL ROBESON

New York, N. Y.

August 7, 1951

Mr. J. Laffitte, General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Palais S. I. A.
Janska 100
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Friend:

This will acknowledge receipt of your communications No. 1 through 10. The documents have been helpful in the conduct of the affairs of the peace movement here in the United States. We are working on guaranteeing adequate representation from the United States to the General Economic Conference and will send you specific information regarding this matter at an early date.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

All America Cables and Radio
Mackay Radio
Commercial Cables
American Cable & Radio System
67 BROAD ST. N.Y. - BOWLING GREEN 9-3800

5

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NSH [redacted] 4-A

HB 366

[redacted]CH2

PEKING 88 1/63 13 2049

PAUL ROBESON

CARE OF COUNCIL FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS

23 WEST 26TH STREET NEWYORK

WE WONDER IF YOU RECEIVED OUR CABLE MAY FOURTEENTH ASKING FOR 1000 WORD AIRMAIL ARTICLE ON AMERICAN PEOPLES AND YOUR PERSONAL ATTITUDE JAPANESE REARMAMENT STOP STILL NEED ARTICLE AS PART OF SERIES FROM LEADERS ALL OVER WORLD WHICH WE ARE PUBLISHING IN INTERESTS WORLD MOVEMENT FOR PEACE AND AGAINST WAR

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DANGER STOP WOULD BE HONOURED TO RECEIVE YOUR VIEWS SINCE YOU HOLD IN HIGH REGARD BY CHINESE PEOPLE STOP PLEASE REPLY SOON PEOPLES CHINA PEKING

All America Cables and Radio Commercial Cables MacKay Radio All America Cables and Radio Commercial Cables Mack Radi
American Cable & Radio System 67 BROAD ST. N.Y. - BOWLING GREEN 9-3800 American Cable & Radio System 67 BROAD ST. N.Y. - BOWLING GREEN 9-38
System 9-3800

PEKING VIA GLOBE, SEPT. 1, 1951

PAUL ROBESON
53 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR AND MRS PAUL ROBESON OCTOBER 1st 1951 BEING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA THE COMMITTEE HEARTILY EXTENDS ITS INVITATION TO YOU PARTISANS OF PEACE RESPECTED AND BELOVED BY THE PEOPLES OF CHINA AND THE WORLD TO ATTEND THIS OCCASION THE COMMITTEE WOULD FEEL EXTREMELY HONOURED IF IT WOULD BE CONVENIENT FOR YOU TO ARRIVE IN PEKING BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 23rd to 29th EARNESTLY AWAITING YOUR REPLY.

KUO MO-JO CHAIRMAN THE CHINESE PEOPLES COMMITTEE
FOR WORLD PEACE.

PRESIDENT
DR. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW
VICE PRESIDENTS
DR. M. ATAL
SHRI PRITHWIRAJ KAPUR
PROF. D. D. KOSAMBI
DR. MULKRAJ ANAND
SARDAR GURUBAKHSH SINGH
GENERAL SECRETARY
KRISHAN CHANDAR
HON. TREASURER
SHRI D. R. D. WADIA

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

KOTHARI MANSION • TOP FLOOR • OPPOSITE G. P. O. FORT, BOMBAY.

September 14, 1951.

To,
Paul Robeson,
53, West 125th Street,
NEW YORK
(United States of America)

Dear Friend,

We are enclosing herewith a letter to the American Peace Committee as we do not know its address. We would appreciate it very much if you kindly forward the letter to the proper address.

We propose to hold an All-India Cultural Conference in November at Calcutta and we request you to make every effort to encourage us by your presence there.

In case you are not able to come, will you suggest any other prominent American who will able to come to Calcutta at the time. Some of the friends to whom we have addressed the appeal will be known to you personally and if you think time will be saved by doing so kindly forward our request to them directly.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

C. Banerjee
for the Cultural Section,
Secretariat, All India Peace Council.

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

no 17

October, 4th, 1951

Dear Friend,

Herewith is enclosed a pamphlet issued by the secretariat of the World Council of Peace entitled "The World Council of Peace and the United Nations /Documents/."

As you will see, the pamphlet, the need for which was expressed at the Helsinki meeting of the Bureau, contains the documents and resolutions of the World Council stating its position and attitude relative to the United Nations. It also contains the letters and cables dealing with the sending of the World Council of Peace delegation to the United Nations.

We would very much appreciate your opinion on this publication and hope that in cooperation with your National Committee you will be able to arrange for the distribution of the pamphlet amongst those people and organisations which are at the moment outside our movement. Should you require further copies for such distribution they will be available from your National Committee or direct from us.

We thank you in anticipation of any help you may be able to give us in this direction.

Yours sincerely
FOR THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

M. Langignon
Director of Administration

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

(DOCUMENTS)

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND THE UNITED NATIONS (DOCUMENTS)

The World Council of Peace, in which is expressed the will of hundreds of millions of men and women of all countries and of all opinions, considered that it was its duty to make known to the United Nations Organisation the will of its Constituents.

Indeed, after the world war, the United Nations Organisation contained the hope of the peoples who had endured the most terrible suffering and who unanimously desired that the repetition of a similar catastrophe be made impossible. It symbolized the unity of the great allied powers which alone had made possible the victory and which alone can make possible the establishment of a lasting peace.

But the Charter of the United Nations was not respected and the people's confidence in the United Nations Organisation became severely shaken.

It is in no way true, as some have claimed, that the World Council of Peace is opposed to the United Nations Organisation and in contradiction to its Charter. Indeed to the contrary; its aim is that the Charter once more be respected and that the United Nations Organisation again become faihful to the principles which guided its creation.

This is why the World Council of Peace considered that it was its duty to express regret to the United Nations Organisation that it disregarded the mission which it took upon itself to seek agreement between the nations, and to make it take account of its proposals for the re-establishment of peace. This act was expressed in the adoption by the II World Peace Congress of a solemn Address to the United Nations Organisation.

It would have been normal for the great organisation of the United Nations to examine these important proposals. But it did nothing, and that is why the World Council of Peace, at its meeting in Berlin, decided to send a delegation to the United Nations Organisation to present this document and to submit its nine points, all of which are entirely conceived in the spirit of the Charter.

Would it not have been normal that this delegation be received?

Yet, even though the acting President of the Security Council of the U. N. O. agreed to receive the delegation and himself set the date to meet them, the members of the delegation found themselves refused by the government of the United States the visas necessary to go to the U. S. A. By this act, the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation has been made inaccessible to those who have been mandated to make known there the will of hundreds of millions of persons.

The refusal of visas by the American authorities adds a new difficulty to that created by the silence of the United Nations Organisation on the Address which had been sent to it. Nevertheless, the World Council of Peace will ceaselessly pursue its effort to make the United Nations Organisation hear the will of the peoples.

The very complete documentation contained in this brochure includes notably the texts of the Address to the United Nations Organisation, the resolution of the World Council of Peace, the correspondence exchanged between Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the World Council of Peace, and the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation, the letter sent by Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE to the members of the Security Council, the reply of Mr. Warren AUSTIN, United States delegate, and Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE's reply to Mr. AUSTIN. Finally, there is the letter and telegram of Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE to Mr. MALIK, acting President of the Security Council of the U. N. O., and Mr. MALIK's reply.

We submit these documents to the judgment of the people. Each, on studying them objectively, will be able to form a just opinion on this question.

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADOPTED BY THE SECOND WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE (WARSAW 16—22 NOVEMBER 1950)

When the peoples of the world created the United Nations, they endowed it with their hopes. The greatest of these was the hope for peace.

Today, however, war upsets the peaceful life of many peoples and threatens tomorrow to upset the peace of all mankind.

If the United Nations is not fulfilling that great hope reposed in it by all the peoples of the world, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented therein—if the United Nations is not guaranteeing mankind security and peace, this is because it is being influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace: the search for general agreement.

If the United Nations is to realise the hopes that the peoples have reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible the calling together of a meeting of the five great powers: the Chinese People's Republic, France, Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences.

The Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, comprising delegates of eighty countries and expressing the true voice of a humanity longing for peace, demands that immediate consideration be given by the United Nations, and by the parliaments to which the governments of the various countries are responsible, to the following proposals designed to restore confidence among all countries, regardless of their respective systems, and to maintain and re-establish peace:

1.—In view of the fact that the war now raging in Korea is not only bringing incalculable disaster upon the people of Korea, but also threatens to become a general war, we demand the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies, and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of

the representatives of the Korean people. We demand that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council in its full composition—that is, including the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.

We call for the termination of the intervention by American armed forces on the Chinese island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Viet Nam, military operations which also carry the threat of world war.

2.—We categorically condemn every move made and measure taken, violating the international agreements which forbid the rearmament of Germany and Japan. These moves and measures constitute a grave threat to peace. We urgently demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united and demilitarized Germany, as well as with Japan, and the withdrawal from both these countries of the forces of occupation.

3.—We consider the violence employed to hold peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection as a powerful menace to the cause of peace and we proclaim the right of those peoples to freedom and independence. At the same time we raise our voices against every form of racial discrimination, for it promotes hatred between peoples and endangers peace.

4.—We consider it necessary to expose the attempts made by the supporters of agression to confuse the very meaning of what constitutes aggression and to intervene, under one pretext or another, in the internal affairs of other nations.

We declare that no political, strategic or economic considerations, no ground deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state, can justify armed intervention by any other state. That state commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force under any pretext whatever, against another state.

5.—We hold that propaganda for a new war constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful co-operation of the peoples, and we therefore hold it to be a crime of the deepest gravity against humanity.

We appeal to the parliaments of all countries to enact a «Law for the Protection of Peace,» which shall render all propaganda for a new war, in any form whatsoever, liable to criminal prosecution.

6.—In view of the fact that all decent persons, regardless of their political views, regard the ruthless mass destruction of civilian populations in Korea as a crime against humanity, we demand that a competent International Court be appointed to examine the crimes committed during the war in Korea, and in particular the question of the responsibility of General MacArthur.

7.—Voicing the demands of peoples who bear upon their shoulders the heavy burdens of military budgets, and firmly resolved to guarantee humanity a firm and stable peace, we present for the consideration of the United Nations, of all parliaments and of all peoples the following proposals:

— Unconditional prohibition of all manner of atomic weapons, and of bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive and all other devices of mass destruction;
— Denunciation as a war criminal of that government which henceforth is the first to use these weapons.

The Second World Peace Congress, mindful of its responsibility to the people, appeals, with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during the years 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportioned reduction of all their land, sea and air armed forces of from one third to one half of their present size. Such a step, by putting a definite end to the armaments race, will diminish the risks of aggression. It will allow the lightening of the costs which burden the budgets of States and weigh heavily on all sections of the people. It will allow also the re-establishment of international confidence and the necessary co-operation between all nations, regardless of their social system.

The Congress declares that the controls for prohibiting atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, as well as all conventional arms, are technically possible. An international body, staffed by qualified inspectors, should be set up within the framework of the Security Council and should be made responsible for the control of the reduction of conventional arms as well as the prohibition of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons. These controls, to be effective, must apply not only to military forces, existing armaments and arms production as declared by each nation, but also, on the demand of the international control commission, must be extended to include the inspection of military forces, existing armaments and arms production which is suspected beyond what has been declared. These proposals for the reduction of armed forces constitute a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament, the final goal of all defenders of peace.

The Second World Congress, convinced that peace cannot be secured through an armaments race seeking a balance of forces, holds that these proposals give no military advantage to any country, but that they would result in halting the drive to war and in advancing the well-being and security of all the peoples of the world.

8.—We emphasise that, in certain countries, the passage from a peace economy to a war economy is increasingly disturbing normal economic relations and the interchange between countries both of raw materials and industrial goods. It is our view that this exerts a harmful influence on the standards of living of many peoples, that it raises obstacles to economic progress and business relations, and that this situation is a source of conflicts endangering the peace of the world.

Taking into consideration the vital interests of the populations of all countries, and with the desire to improve conditions throughout the world, we urge the restoration of normal trading relations between the countries on the basis of mutual advantage, satisfying requirements of the peoples concerned, excluding economic discrimination in any form and safeguarding the development of each national economy and the economic independence of states, both, large and small.

9.—We hold that obstructions of cultural relations among the peoples tends to quarrelling and loss of mutual understanding and creates a climate of distrust, favourable to propaganda for war.

We consider that on the other hand, the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples creates conditions favourable to mutual understanding and strengthens their trust in the general struggle for peace.

Accordingly, we appeal to all governments, urging them to contribute towards bettering cultural relations among the peoples, in order to enable them to become better acquainted with each other's treasures in the field of culture. We appeal to them to facilitate the organisation of international conferences of persons active in the field of culture, the mutual exchange of visits and the publication and wide diffusion of the literature and art of other countries.

We draw the attention of the United Nations to the fact that, while calling upon it to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we are at the same time undertaking the establishment of a World Council of Peace.

The World Council of Peace shall be a body embracing representatives of all the peoples of the world, those within the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, and also countries still dependent and colonial.

It shall call upon the United Nations to fulfil its duty to strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation between all countries.

It shall assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace that shall respond to the vital interests of all nations.

The World Council of Peace will, in short, prove before mankind that, despite all present difficulties, which must in no wise be minimised, we shall accomplish the great mission of peace upon which we have embarked.

THIS TEXT WAS COMMUNICATED BY TELEGRAM ON DECEMBER 1st, 1950, TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATION BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADOPTED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AT ITS MEETING IN BERLIN (21—26 FEBRUARY 1951)

The World Council of Peace has taken note that the United Nations has failed to reply to the Address of the 2nd World Congress, as though proposals for the maintenance of peace advocated by the representatives of hundreds of millions of human beings did not concern it.

Since the adoption of that Address, the United Nations has still further disappointed the hopes the peoples had placed in it and has raised this disappointment to a climax by the resolution condemning China as an «aggressor.»

It has sanctioned, and covered by its authority, the systematic destruction in Korea, by the American armed forces, of almost a million human beings, including old people, women and children, crushed or burnt in the debris of their towns and villages.

The World Council of Peace resolves to dispatch to the United Nations a delegation comprising:

Signor NENNI (Italy), Mrs. Isabelle BLUME (Belgium), Mrs. S. O. DAVIES (Great Britain), Mrs. J. STREET (Australia), Mr. d'ASTIER de la VIGERIE (France), Mr. TIKHONOV (U. S. S. R.), Mr. Y. T. WU (China), Mr. HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia), Mr. G. d'ARBOUSSIER (Africa), Senor P. NERUDA (Chile), General JARA (Mexico), Mr. Paul ROBESON, Rev. UPHAUS (U. S. A.), Dr. ATAL (India).

This delegation shall be charged to demand of the United Nations:

1. that it considers the various points of the Address of the World Congress and the various resolutions of the World Council of Peace and express an opinion on each;
2. that it retuns to the role assigned it by the Charter, namely that it should serve as an area of agreement between the Governments and not as the instrument of any dominant group.

This decision of the World Council will have the support of hundreds of millions of men and women who bave a right to maintain a vigilant watch to ensure that high international organs do not betray their mission of safeguarding peace.

LETTER SENT MARCH 8th, 1951
TO Mr. TRYGVE LIE BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

to Mr. TRYGVE LIE
Secretary general of the
United Nations Organisation
LAKE SUCCESS (United States)

Mr. Secretary General:

The Second Congress of Peace approved an Address to the United Nations Organisation containing concrete proposals for maintaining peace in the world.

The text of this Address has been sent you by telegram and your secretariat kindly acknowledged its receipt on December 5th, 1950.

The World Council of Peace, elected by this Congress, has just held its first session at Berlin, from the 21st to 26th February.

It has resolved to dispatch a delegation to the United Nations Organization to discuss the different points of this Address and the decisions of the Council relating to it.

This delegation will comprise the following personalities:

Mr. Pietro NENNI (Italy). Member of Parliament, former Minister, former vice-President of the Council of Ministers.

Mrs. Isabelle BLUME (Belgium). Teacher of history and literature, Member of the Belgium Parliament.

Mrs. S. O. DAVIES (Great Britain) Teacher.

Mrs. Jessie STREET (Australia) Member of the Australian Delegation to the Conference of San-Francisco for the drafting of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Emmanuel d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE (France) Deputy to the National Assembly, former Minister.

Mr. Nikolai TIKHONOV (USSR) Writer, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Mr. Y. T. WU (China) Professor.

The Reverend Dr. HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia) clergyman, member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Mr. Gabriel D'ARBOUSSIER (Black Africa), Councillor of the French Union.

Mr. Pablo NERUDA (Chile) Poet, Senator of the Chilean Parliament.

Mr. Heriberto JARA (Mexico) Brigadier General, former Minister, Senator.

Mr. Paul Robeson (USA) Singer

The Reverend Mr. UPHAUS (USA) Professor.

Dr. Madan ATAL (India) Doctor of Medicine.

The gravity of the international situation and the supreme necessity of joining all efforts to avoid a new conflict compel me to ask you to receive this delegation in as short a time as possible and I beg you to make known to me the date on which this interview will take place.

Awaiting your reply, I beg you, Mr. Secretary-General, to accept my respects.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE,

President of the World Council of Peace

(Translation)

TELEGRAM SENT MARCH 16th, 1951 TO Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE BY THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS

TO PROFESSOR JOLIOT-CURIE,
Président of the World Council of Peace

SECRETARY GENERAL HAS ASKED ME TO STATE THAT IN RESPONSE YOUR LETTER MARCH EIGHTH HE HOPES TO MEET YOUR DELEGATION AT SOME POINT IN EUROPE PERHAPS PARIS GENEVA ROME IN THE COURSE OF THE TRIP HE PLANS TO TAKE IN VERY NEAR FUTURE STOP I WILL COMMUNICATE WITH YOU AGAIN SOON WITH REGARD TO EXACT TIME AND PLACE ANDREW CORDIER EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY GENERAL UNITED NATIONS.

LETTER SENT APRIL 10th, 1951 TO Mr. TRYGVE LIE BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

Paris, April 10th, 1951.

Mr. TRYGVE LIE
Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation.

Mr. Secretary-General;

Last March 8th, I wrote you to inform you of the decision of the World Council of Peace to send a delegation to the United Nations Organisation.

I also informed you of the object of this delegation.

You kindly let me know, through Mr. CORDIER, that you were willing to receive this delegation, for which I thank you, and you informed us subsequently that you would receive it on April 9th at the time of your sojourn in Paris.

This last information however, reached me only 10 days before the proposed date.

The delegation being composed of personalities from thirteen countries, including India and China, it has not been materially possible to assemble the delegation in due time.

On the other hand, the members of this delegation were mandated by the World Council of Peace to go to the United Nations.

I would be very grateful, therefore, if you would kindly let me know as soon as possible the date on which you will be able to receive the delegation of the World Council of Peace at the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation.

I beg you to accept, Mr. Secretary-General, my respects.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE
President
of the World Council of Peace

(Translation)

LETTER SENT APRIL 24th, 1951 TO EVERY MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

Your Excellency,

In view of the gravity of the international situation, I feel it my duty to address you, speaking on behalf of millons of men and women all the world over who see with anxiety a new war threatening their lives and their possessions.

The 2nd World Congress of Peace which took place in November 1950 expressed the desire for peace of these millions of men and women in an Address to the United Nations Organisation which I have already had the honour of sending to you and which you will find enclosed.

Moreover, the World Council of Peace of which I am president and which was elected at the 2nd Congress adopted the text of an Appeal for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. This appeal seeks to answer the aspirations of millions of people in the world, whatever their opinion as to the causes which give rise to the danger of a world war.

Finally, this same World Council of Peace decided to charge a delegation to the United Nations Organisation with the mission of discussing with this high international body the various points of the Address to the U.N.O. and the decisions of the Council relating to it.

The delegation is composed of the following personalities:

Mr. Pietro NENNI (Italy) member of Parliament, former vice-President of the Council of Ministers,

Mrs. Isabelle BLUME (Belgium) professor of history and literature, member of the Belgium Parliament,

Mrs. S.O. DAVIES (Great-Britain), teacher,

Mrs. Jessie STREET (Australia) member of the Australian delegation to the Conference of San Francisco, for the drafting of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Emmanuel d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE (France) deputy to the National Assembly,

Mr. Nicolai TIKHONOV (USSR), Writer, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of USSR,

Mr. Y. T. WU (China) professor,

The Reverend Dr. HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia) clergyman, member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches,

Mr. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (Black Africa) Councillor of the French Union,

Mr. Pablo NERUDA (Chile) Poet, Senator of the Chilean Parliament,

Mr. Heriberto JARA (Mexico) Brigadier General, former Minister, sénator,

Mr. Paul ROBESON (U.S.A.) singer,

The Reverend Mr. UPHAUS (U.S.A.) professor,

Dr. Madan ATAL (India) Doctor of Medicine.

Permit me to ask you, Excellency, to give the support of your high authority to the démarche of this delegation.

The men and women, who compose it are inspired by the only concern of saving peace. They are elected by the representatives of all currents of peace — loving opinion.

They want the triumph of reason and humany dignity over the barbarity of war. I am convinced you will help them to fulfill a misson which embodies the hopes of millions of human beings.

I am convinced that it is possible to avoid a world war and that we can silence the guns if the representatives of the peoples negotiate.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my respects.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE
President of the World Council of Peace

(Translation)

THIS LETTER HAS BEEN SENT TO:

Mr. Joao Carlos MUNIZ
Ambassador, Permanent delegation of Brazil to U. N. O.

Dr. TINGFU F. TSIANG
Ambassador, Permanent delegation of China to U. N. O.

Mr. Jean CHAUVEL
Ambassador, Permanent delegation of France to U. N. O.

Mr. D. J. Von BALLUSECK
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
Permanent delegation of Holland to U. N. O.

Sir Benegal Narsing RAU
Ambassador, Permanent delegation of India to U. N. O.

Mr. Selim SARPER
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
Permanent delegation of Turkey to U. N. O.

Sir Gladwyn JEBB
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary.
Permanent delegation of the United Kingdom to U. N. O.

Mr. Jacob MALIK
Ambassador. Permanent delegation of the U. S. S. R.
to U. N. O.

Mr. Warren R. AUSTIN
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
Permanent delegation of the United States
to the Security Council

Dr. Ales BEBLER
Ambassador, Permanent delegation of Yugoslavia
to U. N. O.

Dr. Antonio QUEVEDA
Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary
of Ecuador to U. N. O.

LETTER SENT MARCH 8th, 1951 TO MR. JOLIOT-CURIE BY Mr. AUSTIN

Two Park Avenue
New York 16 N. Y.
May 25, 1951

Dear Professor JOLIOT-CURIE,

Your letter asking me to lend my support to a delegation appointed by your World Peace Council to explain its view at the United Nations deserves a frank reply.

You say in your letter: «... *millions of men and women all over the world... see with anxiety that a new war is threatening their lives and property.*» I would add: Free people, with access to the facts, know who started the aggression in Korea, who supports it in the United Nations against all the rest of the membership, and who would be responsible for spreading war. They know that most of the members of the United Nations are faithful to their commitments under the Charter and are cooperating to prevent general war, to resist aggression collectively, and to restore peace where it has been broken.

On September 6. 1950, the Security Council voted on the following resolution:

«*The Security Council,*

«*Condemns the North Korean authorities for their continued defiance of the United Nations;*

«*Calls upon all States to use their influence to prevail upon the authorities of North Korea to cease this defiance;*

«*Calls upon all States to refrain from assisting or encouraging the North Korean authorities and to refrain from action which might lead to the spread of the Korean conflict to other areas and thereby further endanger international peace and security.*»

The Soviet Union cast the only negative vote which was a veto.

If your delegation honestly desires to make a contribution to peace, I suggest that it visit Moscow and urge the Soviet ruling circle to abide by the Charter and the other International agreements to which it is pledged.

Your delegation could then procede to Peiping, and urge the ruling circle there to end the aggression in Korea, withdraw its forces, and let the Korean people organize the independent, unified and democratic nation the United Nations seeks for them.

This would certainly reduce the present anxiety.

In Moscow you could urge the leaders of world communism to abandon their declared aims of taking over other people's countries by the well-known totalitarian tactics which led Hitler to disaster. You could assure them that the governments and peoples of the free world are determined to resist these tactics by collective measures wherever they are tried. Tell them there will not be a war unless they decide to precipitate it; that the peoples of the world want real peace with freedom as defined in the United Nations Charter; but that they will not pay blackmail to aggressors.

In Peiping you could tell the leaders that they cannot shoot their way into the United Nations. Remind them that it was only the Soviet Union that blocked a Security Council resolution giving formal guarantees on the security of China's borders. Assure them that the propaganda campaign advocating withdrawal of United Nations support from the Republic of Korea and thus give the aggressor his way is doomed to failure; that with every new onslaught they are strengthening the determination of the United Nations to repulse aggression in Korea and elsewere.

You indicate that your Council consider it necessary to have a delegation come here to explain «various points of its Address to the UNO». Being familiar with the proposals adopted by the World Peace Council which met in the Soviet zone of Berlin last February, I can assure you that all the UN delegations have already debated them at length with the Soviet spokesmen who originally put them forward in the General Assembly.

After exhaustive debate the United Nations rejected these proposals. Are you suggesting that Mr. VISHINSKY and Mr. MALIK have not adequately argued the cases for the proposals you have borrowed from them?

Your Number One proposal, for which you announce a new signature-collection campaign, was put forward in the General Assembly by the Soviet Union twice, in 1949 and in 1950. This vague demand for «*the conclusion of a pact of peace among the five Great Powers*» including Communist China now engaged in aggression against UN forces, was rejected by the General Assembly on both occasions by overwhelming vote.

In opposing this Soviet proposal, most delegates agreed on these points during the exhaustive debates in the General Assembly:

1. The Charter of the United Nations itself is «*the most solemn pact of peace in history*».

2. The Charter lays down the basic principles essential to peace.

3. The causes of the present international tension are traceable to the Soviet Union's disregard of these principles.

4. The remedy lies not in negotiating new pacts, but in the performance by the Soviet Union of the obligation already undertaken.

5. Peace would be strengthened if the Soviet Union and the states under its control abandoned policies of obstruction and honestly cooperated with the rest of the members of the UN to solve common problems.

6. If the Soviet Union is prepared to take such action, the proposed new pact is unnecessary; if it is not prepared to do so, then the pact is a fraud.

Both in 1949 and 1950, the great majority of members of the United Nations supported plans of action for a real peace. The first positive program in 1949, supported by 53 Members, called for adherance, to the principles of the Charter which were specifically enumerated as the «*Essentials of Peace*».

The Soviet bloc stood alone against the «*Essentials of Peace*» Resolution. After it was adopted they refused to abide by it.

Last fall, the Soviet Union introduced a proposal for a «peace pact», adding one new element, namely, the formula of the so called Stockholm Peace Appeal, designed to confuse public opinion concerning the control of atomic energy. (You are, of course, familiar with this, since you and your colleagues of the World Peace Council, functioning at that time as the «*Partisans of Peace*», launched and circulated this deceptive appeal).

The 1950 version of the Soviet pact was again exhaustively discussed and overwhelmingly rejected by the United Nations.

This time, the vast majority of members advocated and supported a resolution entitled «*Peace through Deeds*». By the terms of this resolution they condemned the intervention of a state in the internal affairs of another state for the purpose of changing its legally established government by the threat or use of force. They declared aggression itself, not the weapons used, «*the gravest of all crimes against peace and security*». They urged every nation to accept «*effective international control of atomic energy under the United Nations, on the basis already approved by the General Assembly, in order to make effective the prohibition of atomic weapons*». They urged «*prompt united action to be taken to meet aggression wherever it arises*».

The Soviet bloc stood alone against the «*Peace through Deeds*» Resolution. After it was adopted, they refused to abide by it.

You indicate that your delegation wishes to argue that the United Nations should rescind its Resolution naming the Chinese People's Republic as an aggressor in Korea. The United Nations voted for this Resolution overwhelmingly after they had heard all the arguments and distortions of facts the Soviet spokesmen could muster. They have since repeated these arguments on every possible occasion. But the whole world knows that the Chinese Communist forces are in fact continuing their aggression in Korea. The obvious way for a regime to take itself out of the category of an aggressor is to stop being one.

Another demand your group is instructed to make of the United Nations, namely, «*that it returns to the role assigned to it by the Charter*», is a familiar Soviet propaganda refrain. The Members of the United Nations have not only supported resolutions calling upon all members to carry out their obligations under the Charter, but have acted collectively against agression.

Under the «*Uniting for Peace*» Resolution of 1950, they are now engaged in organizing for collective measures to resist and repel aggression more effectively. Most delegates, I believe would feel that this demand for member states to return to the Charter, if advocated here, was being delivered to the wrong address. In Moscow, you would be able to deliver the message to the right party.

I have no doubt that many people you claim as your followers are sincerely searching for a just peace — as we are —

and do not yet realize that they are being used to advance the interests of the Soviet imperialist power. To them I commend a paragraph from the letter sent to you in April by the Secretary Géneral of the United Nations, which has been published widely in most of the world, but so far concealed from the people under Soviet domination:

«It is the first duty ... of every peace-loving man and woman in the world to give their support to the United Nations, to seek to persuade all governments to give respect and compliance to all its decisions and recommendations, and to use every opportunity to spread and to strengthen its influence for peace. Conversely, those whose actions tend to weaken the United Nations, to undermine its authority, to sharpen the discords that are inevitably present in a world organisation — they are no true friends of peace no matter what they profess to be.»

«We are ready, at any time, to negotiate for a restoration of peace in the area. Put we will not engage in appeasement. We are only interested in real peace.

«Real peace can be achieved through a settlement based on the following factors;

«One: the fighting must stop.

«Two: concrete steps must be taken to insure that the fighting will not break out again.

«Three: there must be an end to the aggression.

«A settlement fonded upon these elements would open the way for the unification of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign forces.

«The free nations have united their strength in an effort to prevent a third world war.

«That war can come if the communist rulers want it to come. But this nation and its allies will not be responsible for its coming.»

The sense of the American people was further expressed by the United States Senate recently when it adopted, without a dissenting vote, a resolution declaring:

«That the American people deeply regret the artificial barriers which separate them from the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and which keep the Soviet peoples from learning of America's desire to live in friendship with all other peoples, and to work with them in advancing the ideal of human brotherhood; and

«That the American people desire neither war with the Soviet Union nor the terrible consequences of such a war; and

«That, although they are firmly determined to defend their freedom and security, the American people welcome all honorable efforts to compose the differences standing between them and the Soviet Government.»

Very truly yours

Warren R. AUSTIN.

LETTER SENT JUNE 19th, 1951 TO Mr. AUSTIN BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

Paris, June 19th 1951
Hon. Warren R. AUSTIN
Ambassador Extraordinary and
Envoy Plenipotentiary
U. S. Mission to the U. N.

Dear Mr. AUSTIN,

I am in receipt of your letter of May 25th 1951 in answer to my letter in which I requested you to be so kind as to facilitate the hearing before the United Nations Organisation of the delegation of the World Council of Peace.

We are convinced that we are able to make a valuable contribution to the search for means of maintaining peace. We believe that we have already given evidence of this notably in adopting, during our Warsaw Congress, the proposals which were addressed to all the members of the United Nations Organisation.

You advise us to make ourselves heard in Moscow and Peking. May I remind you that in 1950, after the meeting of our Committee in Rome, we sought audiences with the Parliaments of different countries: our delegations were received in Paris and Moscow, in Stockholm and Prague, in Rome and Warsaw, etc . . . but not in Washigton.

*

In refusing our request, you base your reasons on two affirmations which you consider fundamental:

> 1. *«The free peoples», who have access to the true facts, know who is the aggressor in Korea, and who upholds him in the United Nations Organisation against the other members, and who will be responsible for the extension of the war.*

2. A «*Five Power Peace Pact*» is absolutely superfluous since there is the Charter of the United Nations. It would be sufficient, according to you, if Moscow and Peking would really respect it.

I can assure you at once, and it is difficult for me to believe that you ignore it, that scores and scores of millions of persons, having access to knowledge of the facts in the countries which you call free, as in all countries of the world, have quite different ideas as to the origin of the war in Korea from those which you consider to be indisputable.

I do not want to go into a detailed analysis here of the facts but I should like to mention that:

a) On June 18th 1950, Mr. JOHNSON, Secretary of Defense of the U. S. A., declared in Tokio that American defenses depended on a semi-circle extending from the Aleutian Islands to the Philippines and passing through Japan and Okinawa (this semi-circle passes through Korea and Formosa).

b) With a simple dispatch, the Security Council was convoked in all haste.

c) Even before the decision of the Security Council, President TRUMAN gave the order to the air and naval forces of the United States to give aid and support to the government of Syngman Rhee who, by the way, had just been placed in the minority in the recently renewed parliament, and to the 7th Pacific fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa, situated 1,300 kilometres from the 38th parallel.

d) The Security Council, in the absence of the U. S. S. R. delegate and in the presence of the Chinese delegate of «Formosa» denounced North Korea and requested the military intervention of the member nations of the United Nations Organization.

Of the events that followed, I shall mention also the offer of mediation made on July 13th 1950 by Pandit NEHRU, an offer rejected by the U. S. A. but accepted by the U. S. S. R., and, after the participation of the Chinese volunteers, the vote of the U. N. O. on January 31st 1951 designating the People's Republic of China as an aggressor. This vote took place a few days after the Congress of the United States had called on the U. N. O. to take this step. Except for Turkey and Siam, no Asiatic nation associated itself with this resolution. The resolution was adopted by the representatives of 546 million people: those of 775 million either voted against it or abstained and 475 million Chinese were not represented.

The denouncement of North Korea, as well as the designation of the government of China as an aggressor, was a defiance of justice and right. It is not customary to condemn an accused person without making an enquiry and without asking him to make explanations. Yet North Korea was condemned without being given the possibility of presenting defence. Under these conditions it must be admitted that, in the eyes of a very great number of people, nothing as yet proves that North Korea was the aggressor.

Finally, an even greater number of people, knowing that Korea has been turned into a scorched earth, fear that they in their turn will become the victims of the horrors of modern warfare.

You cannot ignore that all these facts arouse in a large number of citizens, whom you regard as adherents to your point of view, legitimate suspicions as to the purity of the motives behind your acts in Korea.

Should it seem unnecessary to you to listen to those who are not always of your opinion and should those who believe that your intervention in Korea, for example, is but an operation destined to provide you with military bases refuse to enter into discussions with you, then a third world war would be inevitable.

It is because we shall never accept the idea of the fatality of this catastrophe that I again address you in the absolute conviction that to-morrow, even more than yesterday, it will be indispensable that there be heard in the United Nations Organisation the voice of millions of men and women who reject solutions of force and who put all their hope in peaceful negotiations.

*

Does the United Nations Charter make the conclusion of a Five Powers Peace Pact unnecessary?

The United Nations Charter, in which all the peoples of the world placed so much hope, fully justifies the estimation of your great President F. D. ROOSEVELT:

«The choice is not between the Charter and something else it is between the Charter and nothing.»

However, we are forced to admit that this Charter has been violated and diverted from its object.

The composition of the United Nations Organisation, containing a majority of small states, was accepted at San Francisco only on the condition that the Charter would be observed in *its spirit and letter*. The rule of unanimity was introduced into the Charter, at the request of the government of the United States, not to block arbitrarily the decisions of the majority but to avoid the unleashing of a war which would result from the will of a majority to trample on a minority.

The creation of the «Little Assembly» and, above all, the adoption of the American proposal known under the name of «Plan against Aggression» have, in fact, abolished the basic principle of the rule of unanimity and have substituted the seeking of a majority for the seeking of solutions capable of uniting the principal powers which, having together defeated fascism, should together preserve peace.

Without the rule of unanimity, the very principle of the United Nations becomes doubtful, if simply by the fact that no allowance is made for demographic data in determining the majority. Of what value for the democratic expression of the will of the inhabitants of our planet can be a rule which gives as much importance to Bolivia as to the U. S. A., as much to Belgium as to India, and which, moreover, refuses to take into account more than 450 millon Chinese?

The People's Republic of China does not endeavour, as you claim to *«shoot its way into the United Nations Organisation«*. The demand for its admission was formulated and supported quite sometime before the beginning of the war in Korea and one cannot help regreting that it was not present at the Security Council in June 1950.

The Charter, as it resulted from the San Francisco Conference, is the very expression of the principle of the co-existence of different political and economic regimes.

«We are on the only road that we can follow if peace is to be maintained» President ROOSEVELT declared at that time.

In order to appreciate the road that has been traversed since then under the pressure of the U. S. A., it is sufficient

to compare this statement with that of the delegate of India in the Political Commission of the United Nations Organisation at the time of the vote on the «Plan Against Aggression»:

«The Plan Against Aggression gives the impression that the United Nations are busy perfecting their machinery for war.»

This confirms what I said in Warsaw on November 16th 1950 at the Second World Congress of the Partisans of Peace:

> *«To win unanimity for decisions that concern the maintenance of peace is to recognize that one desires co-operation and collaboration among different regimes and not that one desires to see established a trend towards direct and indirect pressures for the creation of an obedient majority.»*

In your letter you often invoke this majority to convince yourself and to try to convince others of the accuracy of your opinions. The confirmation, however, that you seek in the support which many countries give to your theses is very often the result of economic and political pressure exercised precisely to obtain this agreement. Thus, getting into a vicious circle, you risk the danger of deluding yourself as to the value of your affirmations.

It is because we wish keep hope in a United Nations Organisation restored to its principles that we have sought to be heard there.

I am firmly convinced that it is of great benefit for the expression of the will for peace of all peoples, including those who do not form part of the United Nations Organisation, to be presented to the Security Council for their arguments to be heard and for their solutions to be studied.

But it is necessary, of course, that the proposals be examined on their own merits and the mere fact that one of them might be supported by one of the members of the United Nations Organisation should not make the others consider this support as a sufficient reason for rejecting it *a priori*.

Contrary to what you say, I do not believe that all our proposals have been submitted to and debated by the General Assembly.

We should like problems to be posed not with the intention of causing embarrassment to a partner, but with the desire of finding a solution.

For example, that Stockholm Appeal on which you exercise your irony, was it not the cry of the universal conscience which revolts against one of the most horrible aspects of war? And is not the logic of law restored in the order of the proposals

formulated in this Appeal? First, the law is enacted, then its control is assured and finally sanctions against offenders of the law are applied.

For our part, we are convinced that one cannot sincerely wish general disarmament, and consequently atomic disarmament, without being ready to seek agreement on a principle, without becoming involved in the drawing up of paragraphs of an international convention for the observance of which all controls will be defined and put into application.

Since the proposals formulated in Warsaw in our Address to the United Nations Organisation include the control of declared arms and the possibility of investigation in case of suspicion you certainly should recognize there a will to stop the armaments race and to achieve progressively a general disarmament with the necessary controls.

In place of that, we see the world hurled into a frightful armaments race. The countries that experienced the last war see the possibility of reconstruction disappearing: raw materials are becoming scarce; education and the raising of the standard of living have to retreat before the manufacture of arms.

We feel that the more the level of armaments is raised, the more difficult will be discussion, all the more so as the campaign of hate and panic will be intensified in those countries which have refused to pass laws forbidding war propaganda. Such a development will inevitably lead to war. And it is in order to avoid this atrocious result that we call for the conclusion of a Peace Pact.

It is because the Five Powers, on the unanimity of which the Charter of the United Nations was based, *can to-day no longer* discuss their differences in the United Nations Organisation due to the alteration of the Charter and the non-admission of the People's Republic of China, that we call on all people to demand of their governments that negotiations be engaged in order to conclude such a Pact.

I have sought, dear Mr. AUSTIN, to answer you frankly and in detail, having appreciated the frankness of your letter and without wanting to take into account what might have been expressed either intentionally or unintentionally in irony. You are Mr. Warren AUSTIN, a diplomat who represents a great country, a great people who, like the other peoples, also desires peace; your post implies heavy responsibilities.

We, too, measure the weight of our responsibilities, and every person on this earth who, through the Stockholm Appeal, has learned that he can make his voice heard and can play his

proper and useful part in this dramatic international debate knows that he holds a part of this responsibility.

That is why we strive to interpret as faithfully as possible his thoughts in speaking the language of common sense which all men speak who have the opportunity to be able to express themselves and to explain their ideas — irrespective of their philosophy, religion or race — in the bosom of the World Peace Council, the doors of which are wide open to every good purpose and to all good ideas.

We feel that after having weighed these arguments, you will understand that it is difficult, seeing how serious events are becoming, to oppose the meeting which we seek with the United Nations Organisation.

We repeat, to you, therefore, as well as to all your foreign colleagues, this request for a hearing which the worsening of the international situation justifies.

I beg you, dear Mr. AUSTIN, to accept the assurance of my respects.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE,
President of the World Council of Peace.

(Translation)

LETTER SENT JUNE 5th, 1951 TO Mr. MALIK BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

Mr. MALIK
President of the Security
Council of the United Nations.

Dear Sir,

The Second Peace Congress held at Warsaw from the 16th to the 22nd November 1950 approved an Address to the United Nations Organisation containing concrete proposals for maintaining peace in the world.

The text of this Address has been transmitted by telegram on December 1st 1950 to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation, to the President of the Security Council, and the Presidents of the delegations of the five great powers to the United Nations Organisation.

The Secretariat of the United Nations acknowledged receipt of the Address, by a telegram dated December 5th.

The World Council of Peace, in the course of its first session in Berlin from 21st to 26th February, 1951, decided that a delegation would be sent to the United Nations Organisation to discuss the different points of this Address and the decisions of the Council relating to it.

The following personalities have been elected as members of this delegation:

Mr. Pietro NENNI (Italy) Member of Parliament, former Minister, former vice-President of the Council of Ministers.

Mrs. Isabelle BLUME (Belgium), Teacher of history and literature, Member of the Belgium Parliament.

Mrs. S. O. DAVIES (Great Britain), Teacher.

Mrs. Jessie STREET (Australia), Member of the Australian Delegation to the Conference of San-Francisco for the drafting of the United Nations Charter.

Mr. Emmanuel d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE (France), Deputy to the National Assembly, former minister.

Mr. Nikolai TIKHONOV (USSR), Writer, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Mr. Y. T. Wu (China), Professor.

The Reverend Dr. HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia), Clergyman, member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Mr. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (Black Africa), Councillor of the French Union.

Mr. Pablo NERUDA (Chile), Poet, Senator of the Chilean Parliament.

Mr. Heriberto JARA (Mexico), Brigadier General, former Minister, Senator.

Mr. Paul ROBESON (USA), Singer.

The Reverend Mr. UPHAUS (USA), Professor.

Dr. Madan ATAL (India), Doctor of Medicine.

By a letter dated March 8th, 1951, we made known to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation these decisions, asking him kindly to let us know, in as soon as possible, the date that such an interview could take place. To this date, this request has not recieved satisfaction. That is why, by reason of the gravity of the international situation, we have the honor to appeal to your high authority so that the delegation of the world Council be received at the headquarters of the Organisation of the United Nations.

In asking you to be so kind as to inform us of any action you may be able to take in this matter, I beg you, Mr. President, to accept my high respect.

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE,
President of the World Council of Peace.

(Translation)

TELEGRAM SENT JUNE 16th, 1951 TO Mr. MALIK BY Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE

TO PRESIDENT MALIK
SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE U. N. O.

FOLLOWING REQUEST APRIL 24th TO MEMBERS SECURITY COUNCIL WE BEG YOU KINDLY TO RECEIVE DELEGATION DESIGNATED BY WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO GO TO UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION STOP RESPECTFULLY YOURS.

JOLIOT-CURIE.

(Translation)

TELEGRAM SENT JUNE 19th, 1951 TO Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE BY Mr. MALIK, PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

TO PRESIDENT F. JOLIOT-CURIE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.

I HAVE RECEIVED THE TELEGRAM OF JUNE 16th WHICH YOU SENT TO ME AS PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE U. N. O. AND CONCERNING THE RECEPTION OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.
I CAN RECEIVE THE DELEGATION OF THE W. C. P. IN NEW YORK FROM THE 25th TO THE 27th OF JUNE.

PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
I. A. MALIK

(Translation)

TELEGRAM SENT JUNE 21th, 1951 TO Mr. ACHESON BY Mr. LAFFITTE

JUNE 21th 1951

MR. DEAN ACHESON
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON D. C. — UNITED STATES

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION MR. MALIK HAS INFORMED US BY A TELEGRAM SENT ON JUNE 19TH 1951 THAT HE COULD RECEIVE THE DELEGATION CHARGED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO GO TO THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION. STOP. IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE PROMPT DELIVERY OF THE VISAS NECESSARY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION TO FULFILL THEIR MISSION AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION WE ASK YOU TO INTERVENE SO THAT IMMEDIATE INSTRUCTIONS BE GIVEN TO YOUR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION WILL MAKE THEIR APPLICATIONS FOR VISAS STOP. THE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION ARE APPLYING FOR VISAS IN THE FOLLOWING PLACES:

MR. PIETRO NENNI AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN ROME, ITALY

MRS. ISABELLE BLUME AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN BRUSSELS, BELGIUM

MRS. DAVIES AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN LONDON, GREAT BRITAIN

MRS. JESSIE STREET FROM AUSTRALIA AT PRESENT VISITING GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN LONDON, GREAT BRITAIN

PROFESSOR HROMÁDKA AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

MR. D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN PARIS, FRANCE

MR. TIKHONOV AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.
MR. Y. T. WU FROM CHINA AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
MR. GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN PARIS, FRANCE
MR. PABLO NERUDA FROM CHILE AT PRESENT VISITING CZECHOSLOVAKIA AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA
GENERAL JARA FROM MEXICO AT PRESENT VISITING THE SOVIET UNION AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN MOSCOW, U. S. S. R.
DR. ATAL AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN NEW DELHI, INDIA

WE BEG YOU TO INFORM US OF THE ACTION TAKEN BY YOU IN THIS MATTER.

JEAN LAFFITTE,
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

(Translation)

TELEGRAM SENT JUNE 28th, 1951 TO Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE BY Mr. MALIK

NEW YORK JUNE 28th 1951

Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE
PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

I AM SENDING YOU THE TEXT OF THE TELEGRAM WHICH I SENT ON JUNE 27TH to MR. ACHESON, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, REGARDING THE VISAS OF MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, MRS. DAVIES AND MRS. STREET:

«MR. ACHESON, SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, WASHINGTON.»

«ON JUNE 16th, MR. JOLIOT-CURIE, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, ADDRESSED HIMSELF TO ME IN MY CAPACITY AS PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNO, ASKING ME TO RECEIVE THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.»

«I GAVE MY AGREEMENT TO MR. JOLIOT-CURIE TO RECEIVE THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE IN NEW YORK ON JUNE 25—27th, AND I INFORMED MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION TO THAT EFFECT BY CABLE.»

«NOW I HAVE RECEIVED A COMMUNICATION FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE OF GREAT BRITAIN, INFORMING ME THAT THE DELEGATION MEMBERS, MRS. DAVIES AND JESSIE STREET, HAVE NOT TO DATE RECEIVED THEIR AMERICAN VISAS DESPITE FREQUENT DEMANDS MADE AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN LONDON.»

«THE SITUATION IS SUCH THAT SHOULD VISAS NOT BE GIVEN TO MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, THE MEETING OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNO MIGHT BE PREVENTED UNLESS IMMEDIATE MEASURES ARE TAKEN TO GRANT VISAS TO DELEGATES OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, WHO HAVE ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THE U. S. EMBASSIES AND CONSULATES, OFFICIALLY DEMANDING THE GRANTING OF THE VISAS.»

«IN CONNECTION WITH THE DELAY IN GRANTING VISAS TO MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, I SENT AN URGENT TELEGRAM ON JUNE 23TH TO THE CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, MR. AUSTIN, ASKING HIM TO TAKE ALL POSSIBLE MEASURES TO SPEED THE GRANTING OF THESE VISAS, HOWEVER, UP UNTIL TODAY, I HAVE RECEIVED NO REPLY TO THIS TELEGRAM FROM MR. AUSTIN AND, JUDGING FROM THE COMMUNICATION OF JUNE 26TH FROM THE NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE OF GREAT BRITAIN, THE SITUATION TO DATE REMAINS UNCHANGED AND DELEGATION MEMBERS, MRS. DAVIES AND MRS. STREET, STILL HAVE NOT RECEIVED VISAS. I ASK YOU, MR. SECRETARY, TO TAKE MEASURES THAT VISAS BE PROMPTLY GRANTED TO THESE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL SO THAT THEY MAY COME TO NEW YORK, TOGETHER WITH THE REST OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, FOR THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE UNO. THE SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM CANNOT, UNDERSTANDABLY, BE ALLOWED DELAY, PLEASE KEEP ME INFORMED, MR. SECRETARY, OF THE MEASURES WHICH YOU TAKE. WITH ALL MY RESPECTS,

J. MALIK,
PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL
OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

(Translation)

LETTER SENT JUNE 30th, 1951 TO Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE BY Mr. MALIK

New York, June 30, 1951
To Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE
President of the World Council of Peace

Honorable Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE, I bring to your attention the following letter sent on June 29th to members of the Security Council of the U. N. O.:

«To the members of the Security Council of the U. N. O.:

Despite the many representations made by members of the delegation of the World Council of Peace to United States diplomatic and consular representatives in a series of countries for the granting of visas for a trip to the United States for the purpose of submitting in New York on June 25—27, 1951, to the President of the Security Council of the U. N. O. an address of the World Council of Peace to the United Nations Organisation, the United States Goverment has not granted visas to the appointed delegates of the World Council of Peace.

«Telegrams sent by the President of the Security Council on June 23th to the chief of the United States Mission to the U. N. O. Mr. AUSTIN, and later to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. ACHESON, asking them to take measures to speed the granting of visas to members of the delegation of the World Council of Peace, similarly had no positive result and, in fact, have remained unanswered.

«As a result of not receiving American visas, the delegation of the World Council of Peace, composed, of 12 persons, was not able to go to New York to meet with the President of the Security Council of the U. N. O. Such an attitude on the part of the authorities of the country in which the United Nations Organisation has its headquarters, towards the demands for the granting of visas to members of the delegation of an international organisation for a visit to New York in order to meet with the President of the Security Council, can absolutely not be justified. It grossly violates the rights of the President of the Security Council and prevents the normal execution of the functions of the President; as a result of

the non-delivery by American authorities of visas to the delegates of the World Council of Peace, the President of the Security Council has been deprived of all possibility to receive the above-named delegation, in consequence of which, the President of the Security Council considers it indispensible to bring to the attention of the members of the Security Council and, on his part, to protest against all similar acts by the United States State Department which prevent the normal execution by the President of the Security Council of the U. N. O. of his functions for the reception of those persons who address themselves to him to request an interview on the problems of strengthening world peace and security.

The correspondence concerning the problem presented in this letter is contained in the documents relating to the Security Council.

With my respects,

Jacob MALIK
President of the Security Council
June 29, 1951.»

This letter will be circulated as an official document of the Security Council. I warmly wish you success in your great and selfless activity for the strengthening of peace and for the prevention of war.

With my respects,

Jacob MALIK

(Translation)

LETTER SENT JULY 13th, 1951 TO MRS JESSIE STREET BY THE VICE-CONSUL OF THE UNITED STATES IN LONDON

To Mrs. JESSIE STREET

Madam,

With reference to your application for a visa to proceed to the United States as a delegate of the World Peace Council, you are informed that after careful consideration it has been determined that, the applications of delegates of the World Peace Council do not fall within the scope of the «*Headquarters Site Agreement*» between the United States and the United Nations.

It is regretted, therefore that the Embassy will be unable to take futher action on your application.

Very Truly yours,
Clarence J. Mc INTOSH
American Vice-Consul

SIMILAR LETTERS WERE SENT TO MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE DELEGATION BY THE CONSULATES OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE COUNTRIES WHERE THE DELEGATES MADE APPLICATIONS FOR VISAS

INTERVIEW OF Mr. JOLIOT-CURIE PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

QUESTION

«In view of the fact that a delegation of the World Council of Peace was summoned to New York by the President of the Security Council, can you explain to us the reasons why this delegation has been unable to fulfil its mission?»

ANSWER

«Mr. MALIK, President of the Security Council, advised me that he was prepared to receive the delegation appointed by the World Council between June 25th and June 27th last.

»As soon as I received notice of this invitation, I immediately informed each member of the delegation, requesting him urgently to make the necessary visa applications. At the same time, the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace got in touch with Mr. ACHESON and asked him to speed up the usual formalities. Despite the fact that every member of the delegation made immediate application to the U. S. Embassies concerned, not one visa had been granted by June 27th. Accordingly, and notwithstanding the fact that all the necessary arrangements had been made for their journey, it has not been possible for the members of the delegation to comply with the invitation of the President of the Security Council.»

«Advised of this obstacle. I have communicated with the Rev. Willard UPHAUS and Mr. Paul ROBESON, members of the delegation resident in the United States, requesting them to explain to Mr. MALIK the reasons why the delegation has been unable to carry out its task.»

QUESTION

«Should it be assumed that the World Council of Peace will pursue its endeavours to secure that its appointed delegation shall be received at the United Nations?»

ANSWER

«Absolutely. Already in many countries the national peace movements are protesting against the obstacles so far raised to prevent this delegation from reaching the United Nations. I am, indeed, convinced that, thanks to the support furnished to it by millions of men and women, the delegation of the World Council of Peace will in the end be enabled to fulfil its mission.»

Interview given to the Polish Press on june 29, 1951 by Mr. Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the World Council of Peace.

(Translation)

PROTEST AGAINST THE REFUSAL, BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES, OF THE VISAS NECESSARY FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE, TO PROCEED TO THE CONVOCATION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

adopted unanimously by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at Helsinki. (July 20—23th, 1951.)

In February 1951, the World Council of Peace decided to send a delegation to the United Nations.

After various steps had been taken, the World Council was informed that the acting President of the Security Council, Mr. Malik, would receive this delegation at the headquarters of the United Nations. The members of the delegation then applied to the competent American consulates for the visas necessary to enable them to proceed to the convocation of the President of the Security Council. They were informed, however, that these visas could not be granted to them.

The reason invoked by the American authorities was that the requests for visas could not receive satisfaction «*within the scope of the Headquarters Site Agreement between the United States and the United Nations*». The examination of this question having necessitated «careful consideration» (sic), the American authorities added that they did not have enough time to submit, through the normal procedure, the requests presented by the members of the delegation, and that in view of these circumstances, no further action would be taken on these requests.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace strongly protests against this decision.

It does not intend to enter into judicial controversy on the scope of «*the Headquarters Site Agreements and* confines itself to noting that, because of the American authorities, the delegates of the World Council have been prevented from pro-

ceeding to the convocation of the President of the Security Council. The Bureau of the World Council presents, in regard to this matter, the following observations:

1. — In deciding to send a delegation to the United Nations, the World Council of Peace had shown its will to establish relations with this high international organisation and to make known to it the point of view of several hundreds of millions of men and women on the questions concerning the maintainance of peace.

It is for the duly-addressed organs of the United Nations, and for them alone, to determine the response to the request of the World Council of Peace. Their decision on such a matter could not be subordinated to a previous ruling of the American Government without compromising their authority and independence.

2. — The violation of the principle stated above is particularly grave when it relates to a delegation convoked to the headquarters of the United Nations by the President of the Security Council or by any other organ of the United Nations. If it were maintained, the decision of the American Government would singularly restrict the liberty of action and of information of the highest organs of the United Nations, which should be able to discuss current international problems with any person or any delegation which they judge proper to receive.

Therefore, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace protests against the decision of the government of the United States. It calls the attention of international public opinion to the dangers resulting from this decision. It points out to the government of the United States that the United Nations is on its territory, but not under its control. It requests the United Nations to take the measures necessary so that its functioning and independence be fully assured in all domains, including that of information, without any interference and without any hindrance on the part of any power whatsoever.

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

(41)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

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CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
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世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, June 7th, 1952.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
NEW YORK (U.S.A.)

Dear Friend,

Enclosed you will find an important Declaration of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

This expresses the Bureau's attitude with regard to the repressive measures to which the French National Council of Peace has fallen victim.

We would be glad if you would help to give this Declaration the widest distribution.

It is signed by members of the Bureau of the World Council and by certain other personalities from various countries who have been approached.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore
Secretary.

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prop/CR

Prague, 2nd June, 1952

Mr. Paul ROBESON
(U.S.A.)

Dear Friend,

As we mentioned in our letter of May 30th, we are sending you herewith copies of the booklet "Statements by two Captured U.S. Air Force Officers on their Participation in Germ Warfare in Korea".

We are sure that you will appreciate how important are these confessions for informing public opinion and that you will do your utmost to give this booklet the maximum publicity.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the World Council of Peace

Roy Gore.
Roy GORE
Secretary

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

Acknowledge.

SERVICE D' INFORMATION
DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
PALAIS SIA JÁNSKÁ 100 PRAGUE TCH.

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three of us here and Wilfred Burchett who will translate my questions and operate the magnetophone which will record this conversation.
" Here is our first question : What prompted you to decide to give your testimony? "

Quinn:

" Mainly my own conscience. I believed such warfare wrong. Thenthere was the sincerity of the Chinese volunteers and their decent treatment of prisoners."

M.Farge:

" According to what you just told us, then, you have not been submitted to any torture, nor to any moral or physical force?"

Quinn:

" No. Before I was shot down I was told that from what could be learned, prisoners were not being shot or tortured. But the truth is that the possibility of such things happening was in my mind. I definitely believed that the Chinese - that is Orientals in general - had little regard for human life, that torturing other people was something they enjoyed. Their minds were complex, a mystery that could not be understood byWesterners. Steel and woodon splinters under the finger-nails, starvation, mental and other physical tortures which I had read about, were in my mind. Even when I was treated kindly and noticed that none of the prisoners had anything but kind words for their treatment by the Chinese, it was a long time before things looked brighter. Being questioned about bacteriological warfare, brought back these doubts. Later, after my conscience demanded that I admit my part in bacteriological warfare, I found that those doubts were certainly unwarranted. At no time have I been treated in any way but kindly. My testimony was not in the least affected by this kind treatment."

M. Farge:

" You believe that, under these conditions, if a man wishes to be worthy of the name, his duty is to denounce war-crimes - and germ warfare, the most frightful of such crimes - even if he is a soldier?"

Quinn:

" Yes. My duty in this case is to the people, not only of the United States, but of the world. This comes before military duty".

M. Farge:

" Thus it was in discussing with officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers that you were lead to realise your responsibilities?"

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Quinn:

" Yes. At all times the Chinese Volunteers who questioned me were understanding. Many Chinese talked to me. They were all kind. All their questions impinged upon my conscience. I already understood the disaster that this type of warfare posed for humanity. I easily understand the need to halt it now. Later, thourgh discussions, I came to realise that I could play a part in helping to outlaw germ warfare. Then, when I finally became convinced that the Chinese Volunteers wanted my testimony for this purpose - to be used for the people of the world and not against the United States - that my testimony would benefit the people of the United States as well as the rest of the world - that I would not be testifying against the people of the United States but only against a handful of in sane people who call themselves Americans, I voluntarily admitted my part in germ warfare and what I know about it."

M. Farge:

" You were led to believe that the Yellow races were inferior people, that Communists are contemptible being. You have confirmed here the immensity of this lie by stating that your comrades who are prisoners were well-treated, while it states that they are tortured. The main thing now is for us all to fight against war propaganda in such a way that all people are determined to see this through in the same way as you are doing. "

Quinn:

" I quite agree. It is necessary to fight against racialism and against hatred."

M. Farge:

" In your deposition, you name 21 other officers, soldiers and civilians who, like yourself, knew of preparations for germ warfare. Some actually took part in it. Do you state on your honour that the names you mentioned are exact, that these people do exist, that they were your colleagues and comrades, or that they briefed you ?"

Quinn:

" These people do exist and were my colleagues. The names I have cited are exact to the best of my knowledge."

M. Farge:

" It goes without saying that those whom you cited are not free to disclose the truth. Terrible pressure weighs on them as it did on you. All the same we have confirmed that bacterial warfare is being carried on and on a large scale. It has been prepared for a long time and in the minutest detail, involving large resources, which presupposes that

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a large number of Americans know what you know. Would you appeal to their consciences to play their part in exposing this menace to humanity?"

Quinn:

" I appeal not only to them but to anyone who is capable of helping in the complete outlawing of germ warfare so that it will never be used again. I never heard of any religion which advocated the use of a weapon the very form of which makes it most effective against civilians - women and children."

M. Farge:

" Are you a religious man?"

Quinn:

" Yes. I am a Catholic".

M. Farge:

" You know that there are many Catholics - priests and monks who are members of the Peace Movement?"

Quinn:

" Yes I learnt that only after I was shot down."

M. Farge:

" Would you like me to take a letter back with me send to your wife in Europe; to write her saying that I talked with you and that you are in good health and spirits?"

Quinn:

" I certainly would."

M. Farge:

" Quinn, the fight for Peace demands plenty of courage. You have got plenty. Your gesture will be honoured by the American people when, alltogether, we have done everything it is necessary to do to expose the crimes of germ warfare and the lies behind which they are committed. We are well on the way to doing this. You have rendered an immense service to the people of the world and above all to the people of the United States."

-:-

(The interview was recorded on a magnetophone).

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
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ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

July 10th, 1952.

GL

Dear Friend

We are sending you herewith the texts of the resolutions adopted at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace held in Berlin from 1st to 6th July, 1952.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

G. Fenoaltea
Secretary

Paul

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, July 15th, 1952.

JG/GL

Dear Friend

We enclose herewith the correct text of the "Appeal Calling for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace".

We regret that a typographical mistake was made in the text sent to you on July 11th. The third line of the first paragraph was omitted, and therefore this text must be considered invalid.

We are sorry for any inconvenience that this may have caused you.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

Paul

APPEAL FOR THE CALLING OF A CONGRESS OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE.

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952 the Congress of Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over solutions of force.

Peace can be saved !

Peace must be saved !

Unanimously adopted at the
Extraordinary Session of the World
Council of Peace
Berlin, July 6th, 1952

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
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PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, August 21st, 1952.

We are sending you herewith the enclosed communiqué issued by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace on the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

COMMUNIQUE ISSUED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF
THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

21 August 1952

-:-

From the preliminary information which we have received it is clear that the Appeal for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace launched on July 6th by the World Council of Peace in Berlin, has quickly been brought to the knowledge of the peoples.

The peoples have warmly welcomed the decisions of the World Council and Peace supporters are now developing intense activity for the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples.

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In many countries and in varied forms, the popular consultation in preparation for the Congress, has begun.

The Peace movements have decided to begin the "popular consultation" in India, France, Great Britain, Italy, China, Bulgaria, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Albania, Korea, Japan, Iran, Brazil and in Chile.

The forms of this activity are becoming clear in certain countries. In France and Italy, for example, thousands of small discussion assemblies are being held in houses, streets, towns, villages and factories. Every idea is discussed, the best solutions studied and delegates elected and mandated to local assemblies, which are themselves preparing departmental, provincial and national assemblies.

In some countries, workers' assemblies for Peace are organised (with the help of the trade unions) and also peasant conferences at which their contribution to the struggle for Peace will be studied in connection with the

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particular interests of these sections of the population.

In Belgium, the Peace Movement favours the setting up of numerous delegations to go to the town and county concillors as well as to Members of Parliament with the aim of expressing to them the people's desire for peace.

In Transvaal (South Africa), it has been decided to hold a "Peace Week" to mark the memorable date of December 5th when the Congress of the Peoples will be held.

All this campaign of intense activity will also enable the National Peace Movements to strengthen their organisation and to consolidate or create local Peace Committees.

At the same time, by the selling of post cards or by collections, the money is collected to finance the preparation of the Congress and the delegates' journey.

National Conventions of the Defenders of Peace will take place before December, in Japan, France, Rumania, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Thailand and in many other countries.

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Thus the preparation of the Congress will enable the Appeal of the World Council to be brought to the knowledge of every man and woman in the world by the spoken and the written word. It will lay the conditions for making the Congress of the Peoples for Peace the imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the will of the Peoples to safeguard Peace.

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

NG

Prague August 22nd, 1952.

Mr. Paul ROBESON,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

"On December 5th, 1952 the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna".

The Appeal for the Convocation of this Congress was launched on July 6th, at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace. It comes at a time when millions of men and women, united in the vast World Peace Movement, are carrying on an effective struggle to prevent a new war. These millions of men and women have already gained successes as a result of day to day, persevering work.

By collecting millions of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, we have so far prevented the use of the atomic weapon. The campaign for a Pact of Peace, the response it has called forth in the world, has shown that over 600 million men and women wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

The results of our activity for general disarmament of the Great Powers have been felt even in the United Nations.

The news of the use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China roused the indignation of a large section of world public opinion.

But more must be done. Each of us is firmly convinced that Peace can be saved. Therefore we must not be satisfied by restraining those who are preparing for war. We must prevent them from doing harm.

In all countries new sections of the population are becoming aware of the danger; men and women of all backgrounds and all opinions see more clearly the necessity to struggle for Peace. By bringing them into action

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we can make Peace triumph. Today our task is to convince these millions of men who are disturbed by the perpetually strained international situation and who understand that it is necessary to unite all forces for more effective action. A new rallying of forces and a new spur to action can impose the signing of a Pact between the Great Powers - vital condition for saving Peace.

The preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be made the opportunity for taking a decisive step forward in uniting all the forces which are working or can work for Peace.

The Appeal of the World Council of Peace states that this Congress should be prepared for by "discussions on the widest possible scale". It recommends us to speak to all the men and women who are uneasy and uncertain. Let us go to them, let us acquaint them with the solutions proposed by the World Council of Peace:

> By the peaceful settlement of the German problem and the conclusion of a genuine Peace treaty with Japan signed by all the interested States, it will be possible to prevent the reconstitution of the armies which spread death and terror over whole continents.
>
> By the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea on a fair and equitable basis, it will be possible to put an end to the martyrdom of the Koreanpeople and remove the danger of an extension of the conflict to all Asia.
>
> By strictly controlled reduction of all armaments and the outlawing of atomic, chemical and biological weapons,it will be possible to devote to the well-being of the people and to works of life, the considerable sums of money now being directed to works of death and which at the same time weigh so heavily on the budget of each family.
>
> The signing of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, open to all States, will free men from the constant fear of war, ensure the security of the peoples and will open up a long period of economic co-operation between the countries.

But let us also listen to the suggestions of those with whom we shall speak and without whom our efforts would be in vain. Let us discuss with them the best way to ensure generaldisarmament, to guarantee the security and national independence of each people, to give each the opportunity of freely choosing his way of life and to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension.

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Friends, in making known the Appeal of the World Council of Peace through the spoken and written word, let us do it in such a way that everyone, from the most remote village to the largest city, knows that the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will take place.

Let us closely unite the activity for safeguarding Peace with the interests of the peoples in each country. Let us show the men and women in every town and village that the difficulties of their daily lives and the obstacles preventing the opening out of a happier and freer life for all, result from the policy of war preparations being imposed upon them. In this way, everyone will be better able to understand the need for acting to remove the dangers of war.

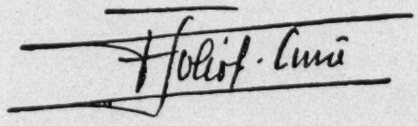
Every meeting, assembly, conference, every local or national Congress must be the occasion and the place for a broad exchange of ideas between people from organisations or associations of every kind, between men of all professions, between personalities of all opinions and all backgrounds who desire to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force. There, they will learn to know one another, to understand one another and to gather together in order to achieve solutions defined in common and answering the needs of all.

Thus will these men and these women, these organisations strive with all their force to help in developing a vast campaign in favour of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, because the Congress of the Peoples will be their own Congress. They will elect their representatives and will collect the material means to send their delegates to the Congress.

I am confident that your work, your persevering efforts and your resolute action will give exceptional scope to the preparation of this Congress. The Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be an imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the determination of the peoples to safeguard Peace.

With warmest wishes for success in the carrying out of your great task.

Very sincerely yours,



President of the
World Council of Peace

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

THE PRESIDENT

August 25th 1952

To all Peace Committees
To all Friends of Peace

Dear Friends,

''On the 5th of December 1952, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna.''

The Appeal for the Convocation of this Congress was launched on July 6th at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace. It comes at a time when millions of men and women, united in the vast World Peace Movement, are carrying on an effective struggle to prevent a new war. These millions of men and women have already gained successes as a result of day to day, persevering work.

By collecting millions of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, we have so far prevented the use of the atomic weapon. The campaign for a Pact of Peace, the response it has called forth in the world, has shown that over 600 million men and women wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

The results of our activity for general disarmament of the Great Powers have been felt even in the United Nations.

The news of the use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China roused the indignation of a large section of world public opinion.

But more must be done. Each of us is firmly convinced that Peace can be saved. Therefore we must not be satisfied by restraining those who are preparing for war. We must prevent them from doing harm.

In all countries new sections of the population are becoming aware of the danger; men and women of all backgrounds and all opinions see more clearly the necessity to struggle for Peace. By bringing them into action, we can make Peace triumph. Today our task is to convince these millions of men who are disturbed by the perpetually strained international situation and who understand that it is necessary to unite all forces for more effective action. A new rallying of forces and a new spur to action can impose the signing of a Pact between the Great Powers – vital condition for saving Peace.

The Preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be made the opportunity for taking a decisive step forward in uniting all the forces who are working or can work for Peace.

The Appeal of the World Council of Peace states that this Congress should be prepared for ''by discussions on the widest possible scale''. It recommends us to speak to all the men and women who are uneasy and uncertain. Let us go to them, let us acquaint them with the solutions proposed by the World Council of Peace:

- By the peaceful settlement of the German problem and the conclusion of a genuine Peace treaty with Japan signed by all the interested States, it will be possible to prevent the reconstitution of the armies which spread death and terror over whole continents.

- By the immediate cessation of hostilities in Korea on a fair and equitable basis, it will be possible to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and remove the danger of an extension of the conflict to all Asia.
- By strictly controlled reduction of all armaments and the outlawing of atomic, chemical and biological weapons, it will be possible to devote to the well being of the people and to works of life, the considerable sums of money now being directed to works of death and which at the same time weigh so heavily on the budget of each family.
- The signing of a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers, open to all States, will free men from the constant fear of war, ensure the security of the peoples and will open up a long period of economic co-operation between the countries.

But let us also listen to the suggestions of those with whom we shall speak and without whom our efforts would be in vain. Let us discuss with them the best way to ensure general disarmament, to guarantee the security and national independence of each people, to give each the opportunity of freely choosing his way of life and to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension.

Friends, in making known the Appeal of the World Council of Peace through the spoken and written word, let us do it in such a way that everyone, from the most remote village to the largest city, knows that the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will take place.

Let us closely unite the activity for safeguarding Peace with the interests of the peoples in each country. Let us show the men and women in every town and village that the difficulties of their daily lives and the obstacles preventing the opening out of a happier and freer life for all, result from the policy of war preparations being imposed upon them. In this way, everyone will be better able to understand the need for acting to remove the dangers of war.

Every meeting, assembly, conference, every local or national Congress must be the occasion and the place for a broad exchange of ideas between people from organisations or associations of every kind, between men of all professions, between personalities of all opinions and all backgrounds who desire to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force. There, they will learn to know one another, to understand one another and to gather together in order to achieve solutions defined in common and answering the needs of all.

Thus will these men and these women, these organisations strive with all their force to help in developing a vast campaign in favour of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, because the Congress of the Peoples will be their own Congress. They will elect their representatives and will collect the material means to send their delegates to the Congress.

I am confident that your work, your persevering efforts and your resolute action will give exceptional scope to the preparation of this Congress. The Congress of the Peoples for Peace must be an imposing demonstration which will forcefully express the determination of the peoples to safeguard Peace.

With warmest wishes for success in the carrying out of your great task.

President of the World Council
of Peace

F. Joliot-Curie

F. JOLIOT-CURIE

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat Général

Palais Sia Prague

GL.

Prague, September 6th, 1952.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

You have no doubt received by now the letter from our President, Professor Joliot-Curie, dealing with the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. This letter outlines the reasons which led the World Council to convoke the Congress. It will be of considerable help to all the national movements in seeking new methods of developing the campaign of preparation for the Congress. We would therefore appreciate it if you would inform us, firstly, what conclusions you have drawn from this letter in relation to the preparation of the Congress in your country and, secondly, what steps you have taken to make known this document to all the Peace Committees and the Friends of Peace to whom it was addressed.

We are certain that in your country, as in other regions of the world, the announcement of the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace met with a widespread response among all sections of public opinion. From information we have received, the campaign has been opened almost everywhere under the form of "popular consultations". The campaign is also giving rise to activities being organised outside the Peace movement. This is the case in Belgium, for example, where preparatory committees for the Congress were set up during the mass action against the increase in the length of military service.

The "popular consultations" result in small meetings being organised in streets or houses, localities or villages, in factory or office, of young people, old people, workers, peasants, and intellectuals of the most varied opinions and backgrounds. They come together to exchange their points of view

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and to find the best solutions in free discussion. There they nominate their delegates to attend local or regional conferences.

Thus, "the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples must be made the opportunity for taking a decisive step forward in uniting all the forces which are working or can work for Peace" as expressed in our President's letter, is being carried out.

The preparatory campaign is being undertaken in various ways, being adapted according to the conditions in each country. In some countries, for instance, new possibilities seem to arise by the setting up of sponsoring or preparatory committees. In other countries, the national movements are directing their efforts to improving contact with the organisations outside the movement or seeking new contacts, more particularly among trade unions, peasant organisations and all cultural or religious associations favourable to Peace.

Various projects are being carried out, such as the organisation of local assemblies in town and country, of departmental or regional conferences and national conferences and congresses for Peace. In certain countries, the movements have given their support to special conferences such as in the Scandinavian countries for a Workers' Conference, a Peasants' Conference in France and a Conference of Intellectuals in Latin America. In the most distant countries, the announcement of the convocation of the Congress has been made known and broadcast in the most varied ways: press campaigns, posters, leaflets, etc.

Finally, the need to plan for the material preparation has led to a whole series of activities resulting in a simultaneous campaign by the Peace Committees which, while making known the objectives of the Congress, at the same time raises the money necessary for the success of this great undertaking. In many countries, special stamps, supporting cards, brochures, badges etc. are already being sold. Collections and subscriptions have been started.

This brief account leads us - as we have been requested by various national committees - to clarify the questions concerning financial arrangements to be envisaged for the holding of the Congress. Allowing for one week's stay in Vienna, the food and lodging expenses for delegates should be calculated at from $4 to $5 per person per day. These expenses together with the delegates' travelling expenses are, we would remind you, the responsibility of each delegation.

In addition, each delegation will be asked to pay a participation fee which will help to cover the expenses of organising the Congress and its proceedings. This has been calculated for the delegation en bloc from your country and amounts to $3,000.

We have received many enquiries as to the number of delegates from each country. On the basis of about 2,000 delegates attending the Congress, we have made a preliminary calculation. A representation of 150 delegates is envisaged from your country. We would like to have your opinion on these different proposals.

Lastly, we could not conclude this letter without informing you of our keen interest in knowing what response there has been in your country to the announcement of the Congress and the manner in which you are carrying out the "popular consultation" together with the successes and difficulties of your preparatory campaign. For this reason, we would ask you to keep us as regularly informed as possible about all questions relating to the preparations for the Congress in your country and any initiative or proposal resulting from your experiences.

We would also like to receive copies of bulletins, brochures, posters, cards or other publications which you have published or intend to publish.

For our part, we are making arrangements to send you - more rapidly than in the past - all information concerning experiences and activities in the preparatory work in other countries.

Friends, our greatest wish is that your preparatory work may be crowned with success and that, in unity with all other peoples, you may come to Vienna bringing the firm will for Peace of all decent and honest people in your country.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace,

Laffitte

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat Général

Palais Sia Prague

PO/BC

Prague, September 8th, 1952.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
Etats-Unis

Dear Friend,

We are sending you herewith the text of the letter which our President, Professor Joliot-Curie has just sent to all Peace Committees and to all friends of Peace concerning the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

In this letter, the President outlines and clarifies the policy set forth in the Appeal for the Convocation of the Congress launched by the World Council of Peace at its recent Extraordinary Session in Berlin. We are convinced that this document which has been made public and printed by the press in many countries, will greatly contribute to the success of the "popular consultations on the widest possible scale", which have now been started.

We would greatly appreciate having your opinion in relation to the proposals recommended by our President in his letter. We would also ask you to let us know your possible suggestions concerning any new initiative calculated to be taken on the international level in order to ensure the success of this great undertaking.

Lastly, we would appreciate it very much if you would tell us in what way you think it possible - on the national or international level - to make your contribution to the preparation of the Congress.

In anticipation of hearing from you and with many thanks for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace

Laffitte

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

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Prague le 20 Novembre 1952

U.S.A.

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SECRETARIAT
CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX

Rouvante

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CORRESPONDENCE 1953-55 12/2

AID TO SPANISH YOUTH COMMITTEE

Chairman: BETTY BIRCH
Secretary: TED PENFOLD

59, HARLEYFORD ROAD,
LONDON, S.E.11.

20th February 1953

Paul Robeson,
53 West 125th Street,
New York, 27.

Dear Paul Robeson,

Desmond Buckle has very kindly given me your address so that I can write to invite you to send a message of greeting to the Aid to Spanish Youth Conference which is to be held in London on April 19th.

During the two years of its existence, the Aid to Spanish Youth Committee has tried to bring the misery and struggle of the Spanish youth to the attention of the young people of Britain. Our Committee consists of young people who believe that the Spanish people's struggle is important for us and that we owe it to the men and women of many nationalities who died defending the Spanish Republic, and to those who died in the world war against Fascism, to see that their work is finished.

Our aim, as written in our constitution, is "to give all possible help to the young people of Spain who are struggling against Franco's dictatorship".

Our second annual conference in April will review our work over the past year in which we have led campaigns in support of Lopez Raimundo and other political prisoners and will make plans for the months that lie ahead.

We would very much appreciate it if you could spare the time to send your greetings to the Conference. You are very well loved and respected by the British Labour Movement and we know that your support could contribute greatly to the success of the Conference.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Betty Birch.

Betty Birch
CHAIRMAN

April 9, 1953

Miss Betty Birch, Chairman
Aid to Spanish Youth Committee
59 Marleyford Road
London, S. E. 11
England

Dear Miss Birch:

Please convey to the delegates gathered at the Aid to Spanish Youth Conference my heartfelt best wishes for the success of their deliberations.

The brave Spanish people, in their valiant defense of the Spanish Republic, took humanity's first giant step on the road to eventual victory over the forces of war and fascism. They have already left an indelible imprint on the history of our times, and the struggle for peace and friendship among peoples shall not be concluded until Spain is once again returned to the hands of its long-suffering people.

When I left London in 1937 and joined the International Brigades and the Spanish soldiers in the trenches of Madrid, I took a step which has led me ever forward into each arena where fascism and popular democracy, war and peace, imperialist exploitation and human dignity are locked in mortal combat. From those battlefields of Spain has come an impetus which still stirs the ranks of all men and women who seek to build the kind of decent world we know is possible.

It is fitting that the Aid to Spanish Youth Committee should rally the young people of England to an understanding that their fate is ultimately bound up with that of the youth of Spain. All support to your efforts to aid the brave Spanish youth, to secure the release of Lopez Raimundo and other young militants languishing in Franco's dungeons.

Count on me to do all that I can to help. The day must not be far off when the millions of mankind will raise again the irresistable cry: "Madrid sera el tomba del fascismo!"

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, April, 11th, 1953.

Dear Friend

The Commission to give effect to the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples relating to the Address to the Five Great Powers, met in Vienna on March I6th and I7th, I953 and forwarded this Address to the Governments of the Five Great Powers as well as to all Governments.

On March 3Ist, we sent you the statement, the Appeal to all People adopted by the Commission, the list of members present at the meeting and the contributions made during the open session in the afternoon of March I7th.

Today we are sending you the text of the letters to the Governments of the Five Great Powers drawn up by the Commission to accompany the Address of the Congress to these Governments, together with the text of the letter accompanying the Address to the Five Great Powers which was also sent to the other Governments.

These letters have just been made public.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

P. Borsari
Secretary

LETTER TO THE FIVE GREAT POWERS

We were entrusted with the duty of giving effect to the decisions of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. We met in Vienna on March I6th and I7th, I953 and we decided that the Address voted by the Congress with a view to the opening of negotiations and the concluding of a pact of peace should be sent to the Governments of the Five Great Powers.

We submit to you the Address of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, and are also submitting it to the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and Frence.

The Address gives expression to a universal will for peace. It calls upon the Five Great Powers to renounce recourse to intimidation and force, to solve all differences through negotiation and to conclude a pact of peace.

Events since the Congress of the Peoples for Peace have made the search for peaceful solutions more imperative than ever.

We should like to receive your Government's reply and to know if it welcomes our proposal and plans action accordingly.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully.

(I) Copy of the letter addressed to the United States Government.

LETTER TO ALL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. President,

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace which met in Vienna from December I2th to I9th, I952, decided to invite the Governments of the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the People's Republic of China, Great Britain and France, to conclude a pact of peace which will restore the United Nations to its normal functions.

It charged us to make this approach. In addressing the Five Great Powers, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace took into account the fact that under the San Francisco Charter, the Great Powers had been invested with a particular responsibility to maintain peace.

In fulfilling this task it is our duty to interpret universal public opinion which is every where alarmed by the progressive worsening of the international situation. All people desire an end to the cold war and long to see the differences which divide the world settled through peaceful negotiation.

We ask you to support this demand.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully.

Conseil Mondial de la Paix

Secrétariat

Palais Sia Prague

Stockholm, May 7th, 1953.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

We have pleasure in sending you the enclosed statement issued by the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace which, as you know, met in Stockholm on May 5th and 6th.

You will note that it has been decided that the Session of the World Council of Peace will be held on June 15th in Budapest. We shall subsequently let you know of the arrangements concerning its proceedings.

We hope that it will be possible for you to attend this important meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

Statement of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace, meeting in Stockholm on May 5th and 6th, 1953, welcomes the action of the International Commission in communicating to the Governments the Address adopted by the Congress of the Peoples, calling for negotiations between the Five Great Powers to conclude a Pact of Peace.

It expresses its gratification at the wide response evoked by this action throughout the world, and it invites support for it from public opinion in all lands. It re-affirms that negotiated solutions must prevail over resort to force.

It notes that the simple ideas urged by the Peace Movement for years past, and the reasonable proposals it has supported, are beginning to bear fruit. A new situation has been created that calls for redoubled effort.

Recent events have won over fresh millions of men and women to the idea and spirit of negotiation. They have shown the peoples that their efforts can achieve a relaxation of international tension to the benefit of all and constituting a source of prosperity.

Negotiations have been resumed in Korea. The peoples must insist that they result in an armistice and in the settlement of a conflict which is causing so much suffering and which still threatens to spread to the whole world.

The safeguarding of peace, likewise, requires that the German problem be made the subject of Four Power negotiations directed to its peaceful solution.

There are forces that still oppose, directly or indirectly, the relaxation of international tension. But the good sense and vigilance of the supporters of peace can frustrate them. The supporters of peace must oppose every act or manoeuvre that may delay or compromise negotiation. They must call on the Governments to do their utmost to secure that negotiations be opened and arrive at a successful conclusion.

To seek new means of fostering the spirit of negotiation, to secure participation in action for peace on the part of all those whom events have made realise the need for and the possibility of negotiation, the Bureau has decided to call the World Council of Peace to meet in Budapest on June 15th, 1953.

Its work will be concerned with the most recent developments in the international situation and will emphasise the need to make negotiated solutions prevail in all circumstances. It will contribute to the relaxation of international tension, and to the security of the peoples with full respect for their independence.

Stockholm, May 6th, 1953.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

July 6, 1953

Mr. Jacques Denis
General Secretary
World Federation of
Democratic Youth
Bdul Republicii 33
Bucharest

Dear Mr. Denis:

I profoundly regret that passport restrictions of the United States Government prevent my participation in the Third World Youth Congress. I should count it a great privilege to take part in your sessions and to share the problems and the aspirations of the stalwart young guardians of peace who gather in Bucharest from all parts of the world.

Your Congress encourages all peace lovers and is an indispensable guarantee that peace will conquer war and that all men and women shall live secure in a world of flourishing cultures. It is fitting that your voices should be raised more insistently than ever before. For with every day of the prolongation of the senseless debacle in Korea the precious blood of youth is spilled on the soil of that ravished country.

I have talked with the young generation in all parts of the world, and receive messages each day from you heroes of peaceful labor, young scientists, artists and students. I know that in Asia your burning desire is for freedom, self-determination and peaceful construction. In Europe you seek to rebuild the cities and countryside ravaged in World War II. In Africa millions are forming a solid phalanx against foreign domination, and in the United States Negro youth seek friendship with white youth in their battle to end a condition of intolerable oppression.

The Second World Youth Congress unites all youth - of all nations, colors and political persuasions - on the ground that all need peace, without which the hopes and aspirations of all will be shattered. I send you my warm greetings, admiration and love and will look forward with eagerness to the results of your deliberations. I hope soon to be able to clasp your hands in many parts of the world.

With sincerest best wishes,

Paul Robeson

July 15, 1953

Paolo Pescetti
Acting Gen. Sec'y
International Union of Students
Prague

Dear Sir,

I profoundly regret that passport restrictions of the United States Government prevent my participation in the Third World Student Congress. It certainly would be a great honor and privilege to share the problems and aspirations of the many hundreds of students who gather in Warsaw from all over the world.

Your Congress encourages all fighters for a better world and is a guarantee that mankind will live in a spirit of brotherhood and peace.

I have lived among and talked with the youth and students in many parts of the world and here in the United States. I receive messages each day from earnest students in many schools in many lands. They speak of a burning desire for freedom, self-determination and peaceful construction in Asia. They tell of working to rebuild the European cities and countryside ravaged by World War II. In Africa they struggle against foreign domination and in the United States Negro students seek friendship with white youth in their battle to end a condition of intolerable oppression.

The Third World Student Congress unites all students - of all nations. colors and political persuasions - on the basis of their common problems and needs. I send you my warmest greetings, my love and admiration. I look forward eagerly to your deliberations. I hope soon to be able to clasp your hands in many parts of the world.

With sincerest wishes

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ СОЮЗ СТУДЕНТОВ
UNION INTERNATIONALE DES ETUDIANTS
UNION INTERNACIONAL DE ESTUDIANTES
MEZINÁRODNÍ SVAZ STUDENTSTVA
世界學生聯合會

PRAHA II, VOJTĚŠSKÁ 12. ČSR TEL.: 450-47, 487-97, 485-79, 466-01 TELEGR.: STUDINFOR PRAHA

DEPT.: LB/PP/LO 1213 PRAHA, 23. IV. 1953

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
NEW YORK 27
New York

Dear Sir,

The IIIrd World Student Congress will be held in Warsaw from 27th August to 3rd September of this year.

The Congress is open to student organisations both member and non-members of the IUS. It will be a great forum in which more than 1000 student representatives from all parts of the world will participate. It will be a living proof that students regardless of their differences in nationality, background, religious or political belief, can meet to find ways of working together for the satisfaction of the needs and interests which they share.

The IUS believes that it would greatly help in the work of the Congress, especially in creating a climate of responsiblity, understanding and good-will if a number of outstanding professors, scientists, artists and men of letters were to come to Warsaw at the time of the meeting, personally to meet the students participating and to address them on some aspects of their particular subject.

We therefore have the honour to invite you to come to Warsaw at the time of the Congress and to meet and to address the participants.

We should also be very much obliged if it would be possible for you to write a short article or message to the same effect for the monthly magazine " World Student News " which is published in eight languages and read by students throughout the world.

We look forward to receiving your reply at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

Pavel Rescher
Acting General Secretary
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS.

UNITED NATIONS

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

Office of the Director General
Bureau du Directeur Général

NATIONS UNIES

ORGANISATION MONDIALE DE LA SANTÉ

Palais des Nations, GENÈVE
Télégr.: UNISANTÉ, GENÈVE

Ref.: DG

Registered airmail

GENEVA, 21 October 1953.

Dear Mr. Lebovics,

Dr. Candau has asked me to reply to your letter of 12 October 1953. He was very distressed to read your history and to hear that you are still suffering from ill-health. Unfortunately, however, he is not in a position to help you or to bring your case to the attention of the World Health Organization, as you request. WHO is a purely intergovernmental organization and can only deal with matters submitted to it by governments and not by individuals. Therefore I am returning the history you have taken so much trouble to write out, in case you should care to submit it through the proper channels, or to an Organization which is permitted to have direct contact with private citizens.

Yours faithfully,

G. Warner

Office of the Director-General.

Mr. Martin Lebovics,
636 East Sixth Street,
New York 9, N.Y.

World Health Organization
Palais des Nations
Geneva Switzerland
Director General

Dr N. G. Candau:

I am taking the liberty of submitting my case to your attention which I hope you may be able to assist me in some manner.

My case causing me a great deal of grief with a hope I am writing to you which should help the foreign born as well as the American People on the Problem I mention below.

A Doctor Spielberg 235 E 22nd St Nyc. has been treaten me on sinus trouble in 1945 and this treatment developed in to a worse situation, I outline below what happened.

I have Received injection of my sinus trouble, all ways the Doctor did give me the injection, and after, the Doctor treated me of my Nose

This time in april 18-1945 the nurse mary Salam came to me and said Roll up your Sleeve I give you the injection, and when I Received one than she said wait I have to give you Another one, I neve have Received two injection, and I all ways was injected by the Doctor him self, as I waiting for the Reguller treatment which I have not Received, after 5-8 minuts later as I waiting to get my Reguller treatment which I have not Received I getting very very strang ill, start follow the Reaction thru the chest, and made me very weak- also shaking, Doctor Spielberg came over to me, and immedealy gave me two more injection and a Pill to swallo, with a glas of water to drink, 20 minutes later when the Reaction start to quiat down then in the nice way he orderath me out from his office, when I want home the Reaction on me was loss of appetite for 15 days, tried viset other Doctors and gave history of my symtom,

On December 2nd I Obtain by Doctor Zaglin 273 Revington St nyc. During the viset

To Zaglin, the Drug react on me Dr Zaglin saw how I suffered, I outlined the symtom how reacted on me in the future, my left side started to get stift my chest above the heart and started shaking, for 1-2 days I have no appetite to eat, I wars going to Zaglin for 10 Months, and he saw reaction of the Drug, and Zaglin Refused to help me lik the others, on October 18-1946 the nurse Sylvia Astrowitz took Zaglin order and injected me a rother strong Drug which has caused a Deep large Prostate gland, on this Drug 15-20 Minutes later on this condition the symtom followed, effect my feeling on my sex organ weeken me as the weather was cold get dizzy my bowel movement was weak I was all ways in a weakened condition, and the cold weather aggravated this condition and affected my left side,

I Present this condition by history or by symtom, or claim refering to my large Prostate gland, one Place leading to Another,

Dr Zaglin instead of helping me of the previous condition of Dug, and of the condition Zaglin created the brutal large Prostate gland, Zaglin issued a note to me threatening me to this effect,

Martin I don't want you to came here and bother me if you persest in annoying me I will have to resort to other measures so please go home, Dr Zaglin.

This happened after waiting eight hours in his office for attention.

After this experance I visited Bellevue hospital for a chack up on the large Prostate gland, and with out an oral or written consent from me or from any member of my family I was committed to a mental institution.

This happened in 1948 in april

This Prostate gland condition has caused me Paralysis on my right side as a Result of my Bellevue experance, when the Paralysis hit me I wars still able to walk,

At this Point I consultd Dr. Schwimmer MD 526 E 5th St nyc. for four years and the condition got worse causing the muscles to crack down, kept me chronicol above Paralysis, however he issued to me a statement as follow,

To whom it may concern

this is to certify that Martin Lebovics of 636 E 6th St nycity has been under my care for the Past three years for a Prostatic condition During this time Mr. Lebovics did not suffer from any other illnes. S. Schwimmer MD.

I wars Relased from the mental institution by the aid of this Doctor Schwimmer, and still I wars not avail to Present my condition for medication for Recovery of my health,

From 1948 april to 1952 april I was going to Doctor Schwimmer for my condition of a large Prostate gland, with a Paralysis of my right side, took my Money but my health failed to improve,

The above is what I have gone theough in the Past 8 years I have appeald to courts, District attorney, lawyers, United State Supreme courts the Presidents Commission of the health needs of the nation, State of N.y. medical association, the County of N.y. medical association, the American medical association, the narcotic Bureau, and to the washington D.C., no one took interest in this Problem.

in 1952 april I find a nother Doctor his name is Dr Glassman 170-2nd Ave nyc. I was Recomendet by a fellow his name is max Reiner 104-2nd Ave nyc., and I had the impression that this Dr Glassman will help me as he did admit he for max Reiner that I have a very very large Prostate gland, diagnosed that I have a little fire and deep large Prostate gland, Dr Glassman gave me a Rectum massage for 17 Months and one week every week, after 8-9 Months being massage I claim I don't feel good, symtom start slow was getting Dry and getting sticky and change

To loose, my claim wars like I would talk to the trees, and so I all ways gat worse and worse as I all ways claim ones in whil Glassman give me a medicine, but did not help, Glassman said let nature developse, the Massage are not nature developse, as he gave me massage get worse and worse, this is the symtom as I outline below.
I getting Dry and gets loose and sticky and getting stickydry and it went to my legs arms and all over my body and to my head I sweat very much, I have a bitter taste on my tongue, my sexdesire is yellow, my howel are blocked but I still can have a howel movement, cold things are bad for me in this conditions, I neve had venerial desease in my lize, I claim of this conditions that I don't fel good, and Dr. Glassman just continced to give me massage and its getting all ways worse and worse so that I wars getting so Dry that I was not able to have my howel

movement, with this condition I visited a Doctor who is a Doctor of women I asking advise and this Doctor said that I wars over massaged I should stop taking the massage there are injection for this condition and he gave me medecine which did Relieve me and start getting my howel movement but I came late, who knows if I will be all right, I am not mention the name of this Doctor who advised me to lay off from the Massage be cause the medical association have a hold on this Doctor who my be willing to help Pationto, been mistreated by Doctors which mean against me, I have the experience to Prove by Put claim of my health, what happened, either way I was going wrong,

I am foriegn born and such a thing happened to American as well,
I come to American in 1940 in Januar
I wars born in 1916 Sept, 6, in hungary
And I am world war two veteran.

IX

With the facts I have submitted to you can this be brought to the attention of the world health organization for justice and matters of inter national health.

Respectfully yours.

Martin Lebovics
636 E 6th St.
N.Y. 9. N.Y.

Oktober 12-1953.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Good Mane Mr. Paul Robeson!
am sending to you in a big
ease this simble of that letter
y case Please don't let be fergatten
concerning avidence about that letter I
sending to you, find by a fellow Arthur
Olinstein, 31 W 16th St. N.Y. no bary one to
help my trouble of my health of my large
Prostate gland, my mother only have
simpatie, and the Rest of my family
just don't care, Mr Robeson what this
contry have that a ~~week~~ wiktim is
unlie live able even by the family of some
of them, Please Please Mr Robeson don't
my case be fergetten, I am gone, who knows
when I will be bariet, why the Doctors and
the hospitals don't one help my condition I
don't bother so barry, I neve had any
exeme ration of my large Prostate gland except
the Doctor put the finger in my Rectum

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

I have Recieved Massage with
attantion for Proper care to G
and I was helpless and
have to Die I am only 37 of n.
secrete violence is very very Great in the
medical field, Please this Simble
let not be for gotten. and so I
Remain with love to Good People

Martin Lebovies
636 E 6th St
N.Y. 9. N.Y.

P.S. in this case also fiend no
freedom of Religen, happen to be
that my father is a Rabbi.

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE
CO.

Prague December 10th, 1953.

Mr. Paul ROBESON

Dear Friends,

In this letter we would like to draw your attention to the Message from the World Council of Peace to All Organisations and Personalities. This is the first time that the World Council has taken a step of this kind, namely, proposing the joint preparation of a great meeting to all who want an easing of international tension.

This idea, as is made clear in the Message, is based on the fact that there exist important forces who, although they do not have any contact with our Movement and do not even take part in our campaign, are yet becoming increasingly interested in finding a solution to the problems which maintain international tension.

You will note that the World Council, in its desire to remove any obstacles which might hinder the participation of personalities or organisations likely to take part in such a meeting, has refrained from laying down any rules.

The World Council's point of view on the main international issues is expressed in its General Resolution, but the World Council does not subordinate the holding of the meeting to acceptance of its point of view. It would like the meeting to be held in the near future, if possible not later than May 1954. Such a proposal, if it is to succeed, presupposes that in every country immediate steps be taken and consultations held. It devolves upon each National Peace Committee in the first place to perform this task.

We feel that it is necessary to seek, without delay, the personalities and organisations in your country who are likely to take an interest in this meeting.

They are not only to be sought among those who have responded to past overtures of the Movement but in all circles which express a desire for a genuine easing of tension.

An early contact must then be made with these personalities, organisations or representatives of trends of opinion. To this end, it obviously devolves upon you to call upon the personalities in the Movement or the friends of the Movement who command the widest influence in these circles.

The interviews could deal with the issues raised in our Council's General Resolution and also with any points in this resolution in which the personalities and organisations are particularly interested. You could also make them an opportunity for an exchange of views on problems directly affecting your country - problems of which you are the best judge. Such interviews could, as a first step, permit an examination of the possibility of joint preparation of the meeting.

After consultation with a number of Bureau members, and primarily with our President, we feel that these are the first steps to be taken in every country for the preparation of the meeting proposed by the World Council. They also seem to us the most appropriate way of making the idea of the meeting known to those to whom the proposal is addressed.

You will realise that such preliminary contacts and the conclusions arising from them are indispensable to a serious discussion of the preparation of the meeting on an international level. Therefore, we urgently request your Movement to inform us, before the end of the year, of the results of these first steps, however fragmentary.

For our part, we shall send you information from various countries likely to be of assistance to you in the measures you will have to take later on and likely to create favourable conditions for the success of this great meeting. We can tell you that important political figures are already interested in the idea and that, though they have not yet decided on the manner of their participation, they are prepared to make contacts of the kind mentioned above.

Hoping to hear from you and asking you once more to keep us informed of your progress, we are

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE
A.G.

Prague, December 3Ist, I953.

Mr. Paul Robeson
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

We wish to confirm the decision taken by the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Vienna on November 23rd-28th, to appoint you Member of the Permanent Jury for the International Peace Prizes.

We would also remind you that, at its meeting in Budapest last June, the World Council took the decision to widen the functions of the Jury for the International Peace Prizes and gave it a mandate to award henceforth, independently, the three Prizes which heve been founded.

It was agreed in principle that the Jury would meet in Switzerland in February or March I954, in order to examine the entries for the I953 Prizes. It would then proceed to award them.

We hope you will find it possible to take part in this meeting; we shall fix the exact date later on. You would nevertheless oblige us by letting us know if you will be free about that time.

Thank you and best wishes for the New Year.

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Laffitte

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, 16th, December 1953.

Mr.Paul Robeson

Dear Friends,

We have pleasure in informing you that the World Council of Peace, meeting in Vienna, adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the Jury for the International Peace Prizes at its session of November 27th.

The first of these relates to the constitution of the new Jury; it will henceforth be of a permanent nature and will have full power to confer the International Peace Prizes itself. We are sending you separately a list of the members of the new Jury.

The Council also decided to appoint Jorge Zalamea, the Columbian writer, as Secretary of the Jury. Mr. Zalamea's function, on the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, will be to deal with everything touching the International Prizes.

The Permanent International Jury will meet in Switzerland in February 1954 to study the nominations put forward and to announce its decision on the Prizes for 1953.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL de la PAIX
(session de Vienne - 23-28 novembre 1953)

JURY DES PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

1. M. Howard FAST - écrivain - U.S.A.
2. M. Paul ROBESON - artiste - U.S.A.
3. Mme Wanda WASILIEWSKA - écrivain - U.R.S.S.
4. M. Serge GUERASIMOV - cinéaste - U.R.S.S.
5. M. James ALDRIDGE - écrivain - Grande-Bretagne
6. M. Jorge AMADO - écrivain - Brésil
7. Mme Anna SEGHERS - écrivain - Allemagne
8. M. Nazim HIKMET - poète - Turquie
9. M. Léon KRUCZKOWSKI - écrivain - Pologne
10. M. Willy FERRERO - musicien - Italie
11. M. Artur LUNDKIST - écrivain - Suède
12. M. André BONNARD - écrivain - Suisse
13. M. Jan MUKAROVSKY - savant, Recteur de l'Université de Prague
14. Gal Sir Sahib SERIGH SOKKEY - savant - Inde
15. M. Jorge ZALAMEA - écrivain - Colombie
16. M. VERCORS - écrivain - France
17. M. Pablo PICASSO - peintre - Espagne
18. M. Mao DUN - écrivain - Chine
19. M. Antoine TABET - architecte - Liban
20. M. Georges SALENDRE - sculpteur - France
21. M. Joris IVENS - cinéaste - Hollande
22. M. Léonidas BARLETTA - metteur en scène de théâtre - Argentine
23. M. Leopoldo MENDEZ - graveur - Mexique

Secrétaire du Jury : M. Jorge ZALAMEA - écrivain - Colombie

INFORMATION SERVICE
ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЙ БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ
SERVICE D'INFORMATION
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YOUTH UNITE! FORWARD FOR LASTING PEACE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE — ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ — WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH — FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

No: 194
Ref: EL/bi

February 6, 1954.

Dear Friends,

Please find enclosed the resolutions adopted by the meeting of the WFDY Executive Committee which took place from January 25th to 28th, in Stockholm, Sweden.

We draw your attention to the importance of these documents and to the necessity to make them widely known to the youth. We therefore request you to ensure their wide popularisation using all the means at your disposal, i.e. bulletins, newspapers and other publications, as well as the radio where it is possible.

With warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,

For the Press Bureau
Gloria Segal
Gloria SEGAL
Secretary

For the Secretariat

Bruno BERNINI
President
Bruno Bernini

ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST

COUNCIL OF GREEK AMERICANS

359 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

Tel. LOngacre 5-9627

FOR WORLD PEACE

FOR DEMOCRACY IN GREECE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The rally for Greek Independence has been postponed one week - to Friday, April 2nd, the sponsors announced today. The time and the place remain the same: Oak Room, Hotel Capitol, 8:00 P.M.

James McLeish, President, U.E. District 4 has been added to the list of speakers, which includes Royal W. France, Reverend J. S. Kennard Jr., both of whom visited Greece and will give eyewitness accounts of Greek "justice", Howard Fast, noted writer, and Chris Nicholopoulos, editor, Greek American Tribune.

In a statement announcing the postponement, the sponsors, Council of Greek Americans, Greek Fur Workers Union, Local #70, and the N.Y. Branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions stated: "America's conscience must cry out in protest against the new preparations for converting Greece into a mass graveyard. The October 12th pact between the monarcho-fascist rulers and the U.S. government planned conversion of Greece into a NATO atom bomb base. The landing of American military forces in Piraeus in January sounds the alarm for all but the wilfully deaf to hear. We want no Balkan 'Koreas'. We urge that this meeting be a vital rededication to the principle of Greek Independence, a demand for the end of our Government's help and support of the vicious terror, intimidation and persecution of the Greek people and for amnesty for all political prisoners."

COUNCIL OF GREEK-AMERICANS
359 WEST 26th ST.
NEW YORK CITY

February 12, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
Freedom Associates
53 W. 125th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The Council of Greek-Americans is holding a mass rally on Friday, March 26, 1954, to celebrate Greek Independence Day.

You have always shown an interest in the struggle of the Greek peoples -- for Peace, Amnesty, Union of Cyprus and National Independence, which are the slogans of the rally.

We should, therefore, like to meet with you to discuss the possibility of your participation.

You may recall that this is the second anniversary of the death of Nicos Beloyiannis, which our meeting will also commemorate.

Will you let us know when we can arrange an appointment?

Fraternally,

Gus Tates

Gus Tates, Chairman
Council of Greek-Americans

GT/ph

Norma Hanan } Home
Main 2-3069

Capital Hotel
Oak Room 500 people

Speakers:
Dr. Royal W. France
Rev. Spencer Kenard

CANADIAN PEACE CONGRESS

CHAIRMAN: Dr. James G. Endicott
VICE-CHAIRMEN: Jean Paré
Mrs. Eva Sanderson

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: Mary Jennison
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR: Bruce Mickleburgh
(Affiliated with the World Council of Peace)

25 CUMBERLAND STREET ☆ TORONTO 5 ☆ TELEPHONE KINGSDALE 3080

Feb. 23 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
American Peace Crusade,

Dear Paul,

This is to introduce to you Mr. John Philip Stoochnoff who has asked me to help in a matter which he will explain.

The Doukhobor Community in Canada supports peace and has supported our work also. I think I am the only non-Doukhobor to address their national annual picnic. They are a persecuted minority and have my sympathy and I feel that anything we can do to assist in this personal matter will help to unify and strengthen the peace forces.

I am writing to Mr. Nicholai Tikonov of the Soviet Peace Committee requesting him unofficially and from a humanitarian point of view to see if permission can be given to allow Peter Verigen's daughter to spend her closing days with the community here.

Yours sincerely
James G. Endicott

Please make all cheques payable to "Canadian Peace Congress."

March 2, 1954

Dr. James G. Endicott
Canadian Peace Congress
25 Cumberland Street
Toronto, Canada

Dear Dr. Endicott:

Your letter addressed to Mr. Robeson was delivered by your friend who visited here, whom I saw.

Mr. Robeson regreted that he was unable to see him personally but asked me to inform him that he would communicate directly with you.

He wishes me to inform you that he is sorry that he is unable to help in this matter. He hopes however that the consideration which you are giving it will meet with success.

Mr. Robeson sends his warmest personal regards to you and all the peace forces in Canada. Wishing you success in your work.

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

jg:cb

139 West 125 Street, Rm.6
New York 27, New York
March 17, 1954

Mr. Jorge Zalamea
Conseil Mondial de la Paix
Jury for the International Peace Prizes
Vienna, Austria

Dear Mr. Zalamea:

Your letter of March 5th, addressed to Mr. Robeson has been referred to me. We are glad to be kept informed of the activities of the Jury for the International Peace Prizes. Please continue to keep us abreast of what is happening.

Mr. Robeson sends his warmest personal regards. He is preparing for a tour through the Midwest and on the West Coast, to take place within the next few months, where he will, as usual, be speaking out for peace and greater friendship among the peoples of the world. He sends his best wishes to you and your staff and all the fighters for peace.

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG:cb

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New Yuuk
March 17, 1954

Mr. Jorge Zalamea, Secretary
Jury for the International Peace Prizes

CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX

JURY DES PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX

Vienne, 5th March, 1954.

bw.

Paul Robeson Esq.,
USA

Dear Friend,

We presume that you received our letter of December 30th confirming your nomination to the Pemanent Jury for the International Peace Prizes. We also informed you that the first meeting of the Jury would probably be held in Switzerland in February or March.

The Swiss Government has recently thought fit to refuse the request that this meeting be held on its territory. The Secretariat of the Jury was therefore obliged to postpone the first meeting and arrange for it to be held in another country.

To make it easier for certain members of the Jury - who are also members of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace - to travel, it was arranged that the session of the Jury will take place in the same country as, and soon after, the next meeting of the Bureau.

Therefore, the Jury for the International Peace Prizes is convened for March 30th and 31st in Vienna.

We are aware of the difficulties you have in leaving the United States and we sincerely regret that you cannot be present. However, we shall be happy to keep you informed of the proceedings and to have your valuable advice.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Jorge Zalamea

Jorge Zalamea
Secretary of the Jury for the
International Peace Prizes.

WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Prague, April 10th, 1954.

Dear Friends,

The Secretariat has already told you of the World Council's proposals for the commemoration, in 1954, of the anniversaries of Aristophanes, Fielding, Dvorak and Chekhov.

We are sending you some material likely to be of use in the commemoration of these anniversaries - photographs of the four great men and biographies of Aristophanes, Fielding and Dvorak. We shall send a biography of Chekhov as soon as possible.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

For the Administration of the
World Council of Peace

P. CHARETON

HENRY FIELDING 1707 - 1754

It was not by chance that Charles Dickens, the greatest English novelist of the nineteenth century, should have given one of his sons the name of Henry Fielding Dickens as a tribute to the predecessor for whom he felt the greatest admiration. From the time of his death until today Fielding has been honoured by men and women of all countries who dolight in fine literature and whose hearts are warmed and minds inspired by those of the past who have been, in Heine's words "soldiers in the struggle for the liberation of humanity".

Eighteenth-century England was a country of colossal contrasts : a poverty of appalling horror, reflected in Swift's picture of the Yahoos in Gulliver and Hogarth's realistic studies of Gin Lane, and an urbane, cultivated ruling class full of confidence in the reasonableness of man and his capacity to master his problems. Both these sides of the coin are relevant to an approach to Henry Fielding, himself an aristocrat who was yet able to write (of London) :

> "If we were to make a progress through the outskirts of this town, and look into the habitations of the poor, we should there behold such pictures of human misery as must move the compassion of every heart that deserves the name of human. What, indeed, must be his composition who could see whole families in want of every necessary of life, oppressed with hunger, cold, nakedness, and filth, and with diseases, the certain consequences of all these - what, I say, must be his composition, who could look into such a scene as this, and be affected only in his nostrils?" (1.)

It was the honesty of his response to this social picture that was to permit Fielding to extend the scope of realism in the novel; it was the confident outlook of his class that was to provide the particular tone and texture of his writing.

The ruling class of eighteenth-century England was, it must be recalled, a product of the compromise which followed the civil war of the previous century. The essence of that compromise was that the new commercial bourgeoisie - the "middle class" of the Puritan revolution - was now firmly entrenched alongside the old landowning aristocracy,

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the two classes becoming more and more inter-related and forming together a ruling group of considerable stability. It was a confident class, buoyed up by the successful revolution, doing well in the race for trade against its continental competitors; its age is the age of the foundation of the Bank of England and the development of the East India Company as well as of the scientific progress reflected in the work of the Royal Society and the influence of such a man as Isaac Newton.

Fielding's optimism, his serene and genial confidence in the face of life, was not a smug turning away from unpleasant realities, but an expression of the real and justified confidence of his class who felt they had the world before them to subdue in the name of truth and reason and were sure that, armed with Locke's philosophy, Newton's science and the security of the Bank of England, they would make great strides in human development.

Henry Fielding was born into the English country gentry. His father, who became a Major-General, was the grandson of an Earl, his mother the daughter of a Judge of the King's Bench. It was not an exeptionally rich family but certainly a comfortable, prosperous one.

He was born in the West of England at Sharpham House, near Glastonbury in Somerset, deep in the English countryside. He went to school at Eton, at that time, as today, the most exclusive of the boarding schools to which the English gentry send their sons. From the first he was determined to be a writer, a determination which his classical education at Eton (where he can have learned little but Greek and Latin) apparently did not discourage, and by the time he was twenty-one he had had his first play Love in Several Masques produced at Drury Lane Theatre in London.

It was after this that ho spont two years in Holland as a student (of classical liturature) at the University of Leyden, and on his return to London he settled down to the life of a successful if not particularly prosperous dramatist. His plays were all comedies and his particular

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talent for burlesque - illustrated especially in the famous Tragedy of Tragedies, or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great. He was a great admirer of Moliere and adapted several of his plays, notably l'Avare, for the English stage. It was not, however, in the theatre that he was to achieve greatness. Along with other dramatists critical of the administration of Sir Robert Walpole he was to all intents and purposes prohibited from writing for the stage by the Licensing Act of Walpole's government which closed all London theatres save two which were in effect controlled by the government. It was at this point that Fielding turned seriously to the study of Law. In 1737, at the age of thirty, he entered the Middle Temple as a law student and undertook a course lasting two and a half years. This was the formal training which allowed him, ten years later, to become Chief Magistrate of the City of Westminter, a post he held from 1749 until his final illness.

He had, meanwhile, in 1734 married, romantically, a young lady named Charlotte Cradock, with whom he is supposed to have eloped. It was an extremely happy marriage and his wife is believed to have inspired the creation of Fielding's two most sympathetic heroines, Sophia Western and Amelia. She died. However, in 1744, leaving a daughter, and three years later Fielding married Mary Daniel who had been his wife's maid. This second wife, too, seems to have been an admirable woman, sensible and devoted. She bore him four children and nursed him most loyally throughout his final, incapacitating illness when to gout (the occupational disease of the eighteenth-century upper class) had been added, probably through the administrations of quacks, asthma and dropsy.

Fielding's novels are above all the work of a great humanist. Jonathan Wild is perhaps the most brilliant political satire in the English language. It is the stery, based on fact, of a master-criminal, one who lived by the organisation and exploitation of lesser criminals, a successful receiver of stolen property, a kind of super "spiv". But Fielding's interest in Jonathan Wild is not the interest of the psychologist or the student of criminology. He sees Wild - and presents him with fearless energy - as the very type of the great man in eighteenth-century society. Wild is equated with none less than the Primo Minister, Walpole; his ruthless exploitation of humbler criminals is seen by Fielding as the very pattern of the society of the time.

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"Mankind" says Wild "are first properly to be considered under two grand divisions - those that use their own hands, and these who employ the hands of others. The former are the base and rabble; the latter the genteel part of the creation. The mercantile part of the world, therefore, wisely use the term employing hands, and justly prefer each other as they employ more or fewer; for thus one merchant says he is greater than another, because he employs more hands..." (2.)

and to illustrate his point :

"It is well said of us, the higher order of mortals, that we are born only to devour the fruits of the earth; and it may be as well said of the lower class that they are born only to produce them for us. Is not the battle gained by the sweat and danger of the common soldier? Are not the honour and fruits of the victory the general's who laid the scheme? Is not the house built by the labour of the carpenter and the bricklayer? Is it not built for the profit only of the architect, and for the use of the inhabitant, who could not easily have placed one brick upon another? Is not the cloth, or the silk, wrought in its form, and variegated with all the beauty of colours, by those who are forced to content themselves with the coarsest and vilest part of their work, while the profit and enjoyment of their labours fall to the share of others?" (3)

Jonathan Wild stands alongside Swift's Gulliver's Travels, Gay's Beggar's Opera and the paintings of Hogarth as an example of the vigorous realism which the great British eighteenth-century artists brought to their vision of the world. Fielding was a personal friend of Hogarth and defended him unreservedly. "He who would call the ingenious Hogarth a burlesque painter would, in my opinion, do him very little honour".

What is interesting here is the courage of these artists in facing the ugly as well as the attractive side of their society. They were men to whom human suffering was none the less human because it was associated with the poor, the low, the despised. The dogradation of the life

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of the common people, especially in a town like London, was something they could not ignore and which would not let them rest. At a time when military adventures were looked upon by most members of the ruling class simply in terms of economic and political expediency, Fielding was able to write the following little scene in A Journey from this World to the Next. He pictures "the celebrated judge Minos" who stands at the gates of Elysium interviewing spirits who are making application to enter into heaven.

> "A great number of spirits now came forward, who all declared they had the same claim, and that the captain should speak for them. He acquainted the judge that they had all been slain in the service of their country. Minos was going to admit them, but had the curiosity to ask who had been the invader, in order, as he said, to prepare the back gate for him. The captain answered they had been the invaders themselves - that they had entered the enemy's country and burnt and plundered several cities. "And for what reason?" said Minos. "By the command of him who paid us", said the captain; " that is the reason of a soldier. We are to execute whatever we are commanded, or we should be a disgrace to the army, and very little deserve our pay." "You are brave follows indeed" said Minos; "but be pleased to face about, and obey my command for once, in returning back to the other world; for what should such fellows as you do where there are no cities to be burnt, nor people to be destroyed? But let me advise you to have a stricter regard for the truth in the future, and not call the depopulating of other countries the service of your own." (4.)

It is not surprising that Walpole had Fielding's play Pasquin banned, for this too was a thorough-going satire in which no punches were pulled.

> "Religion, law and physie were design'd
> By heaven the greatest blessings on mankind
> But priests and lawyers and physicians made
> These general goods to each a private trade
> With each they rob, with each they fill their purses,
> And turn our benefits into our curses..." (5.)

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Fielding's three great novels (apart from Jonathan Wild) are Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones and Amelia, each in its different way a remarkable masterpioce. It was in opposition to the cult of sentimentality encouraged by Samuel Richardson's Pamela that Joseph Andrews was begun. Richardson's novel had a tremendous success both in Britain and on the continent. The growing novel-reading public, of whom the leisured ladies of the upper class formed the largest section, had been able to enjoy the titillation of its emotions by Pamela without being asked to face critically any of the problems of morality and conduct which Richardson's novel involved. To Fielding the picture of female virtue praised by Richardson appeared entirely unsatisfactory; it seemed to him that the virtuous Pamela was in fact a rather despicable little schemer and that the morality which regarded a woman's virtue simply as her greatest asset on the marriage-market needed a thorough critical examination. Hence his brilliant short parody Shamela and, later, the novel Joseph Andrews.

Fielding called Joseph Andrews "a comic epic poem in prose" and in it he began his examination of some of the major moral and social issues of the day. The book ended up as something very different from a mere burlesque of Richardson's novel. Like Don Quixote, which Fielding had consciously in mind as he wrote, it is far more than a negative attack on absurdities. It is, rather, a study of manners in which the poor and the decent fight a continuous, resourceful and on the whole successful battle against the well-to-do and corrupt. The servant Joseph and his unworldly but humane friend Parson Adams, set out on a journey in which all the odds of worldly power and wisdom are stacked agains them but from which emerges a picture of eighteenth-century England wonderfully shrewd, critical and just, quite without false sentimentality, informed by a deep, humane confidence.

Tom Jones has generally been considered Fielding's masterpiece. It was enormously admired by the precursors of the French Revolution and was one of Karl Marx's favourite novels. It is a huge, panoramic novel, leisurely in manner, in which Fielding's own philosophy and comment play a large part (the book is interspersed with short essays and discussions on various subjects of literary and

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general interest). The framework of the book is the story of Tom Jones, an illegitimate child, and his lover Sophia Western, the daughter of a country squire of the ancient regime. The theme of the novel might be described as the justification of the "natural", warm-hearted generous Tom and the exposure of the mean, hypocritical, property-dominated gentry who seek to do him down.

Fielding's Tom is more than a pleasant, healthy, high-spirited young scapegrace; he is a representative of something very important in eighteenth-century France and England - the emergence of the idea idea of a "natural" man, superior to those who accept the attitudes and conventions of aristocratic society, a man who in some way or other embodies something of the human aspirations of people trying to formulate a democratic attitude to life. Tom Jones and his Sophia are not in any way conscious democrats in a political sense, yet their struggle to assert their affection and their independence is in a deep sense a part of a real social struggle and a part of man's history. In Tom Jones there is something which, for all its eighteenth-century flavour, leads on towards Rousseau, the French Revolution and the rise of a mass democratic movement.

Fielding's last novel, Amelia, has been, on the whole, less universally admired than his other work, yet in certain important respects this novel is as impressive as anything he wrote. It is a book which deals specifically with the petty bourgeoisie, the lowest stratum of the polite world, and its insight is of great realism and tenderness. Fielding has been felt by some readers to be capitulating in this final book to the cult of sentimentalism; certainly there is more "feeling" and less irony in Amelia than in its predecessors but this is part of a deliberate technique, a conscious plan. Amelia is an attempt by Fielding to get deeper into the hearts and minds of his characters than he had previously done. The personal relationships in this novel are subtler, more complex than in the earlier books and Fielding's own role is less that of the outside puppetmaster, more the revealer of the human heart. The increase in psychological realism and analysis in Amelia is not in itself a weakness though one does sometimes feel that in this novel Fielding, like Richardson, is concerned to arouse the tear of sensibility simply for the pleasure thereby involved.

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He died on 8th October 1754, still a comparatively young man, prodigiously active not only in the literary world but as a magistrate and social reformer. His Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers etc., and Proposal for making an effectual Provision for the Poor show the seriousness with which he conducted his work as a Justice of the Peace. He was not a profound or revolutionary social thinker but he felt strongly and clearly on fundamental points, particularly on the question of poverty which he saw as the root cause of crime and social evil. And the author of Jonathan Wild could never be accused of superficiality or complacency in his social attitudes.

It is two hundred years since Henry Fielding died, but in that period few English writers have rivalled his breadth, his humanity or the massive sense of human confidence which his work carries. If we honour him today it is not as a historical curiosity, a writer of interest to students of his time, but as a great and very English writer whose books are still, after two centuries, vital expressions of the human will to peace and happiness.

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1) A Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor Works ed. Henley Vol. XIII, p. 14

2) Jonathan Wild Book 1, Chap. XIV

3) Jonathan Wild Book 1, Chap. VIII

4) Fielding's Works ed. Gosse (1899) Vol. II, P.261.

5) Pasquin, Prologue.

ARISTOPHANES

His Life and Works

Aristophanes' birth is put between 445 and 450 B.C. The highest authorities give the most probable date as being 446 B.C.

The year of his death is not known. The last play presented in his name, "The Plutus", dates from the year 388. We know, however, that he wrote two more comedies which were given under the name of his son, Araros. One of them, "The Kokalos", was presented in 387. We therefore conclude that Aristophanes died after this date.

While we are almost certain of his origin - son of Philippos of the tribe of Pandionis and living in the deme (1.) of Cydathene in Attica - we have no other details of his life.

Aristophanes wrote 44 comedies of which 11 have survived. The others are only known to us by their titles and some fragments.

Here is a list of the 11 extant comedies with the year of their performance:

"The Acharnians" (425 B.C.); "The Knights" (424); "The Clouds" (423); "The Wasps" (422); "The Peace" (421); "The Birds" (414); "Lysistrata" (411); "The Thesmophoriazusae" (411); "The Frogs" (405); "The Ecclesiazusae" (392); "The Plutus" (388).

THE PERIOD

We see, then, that Aristophanes wrote almost all his work during the Peloponnesian War (431-404) which marks the beginning of the end of the Greek world.

The conflict of interests between Athens and Sparta, both of them powerful cities and each at the head of a part of the Greek world, had begun to shake the foundations of Athenian democracy long before the start of hostilities. Though Pericles, the "Olympian", was still in power and remained there till his death in 429, the last years of his "golden century" were not unclouded. The moderate democracy he led was losing ground, the ecclesia was becoming nervous and exacting, and the opposition was growing stronger and hardening its attitude. Pericles' friends were beginning to be persecuted - the sculptor Phidias was dragged before a court and the philosopher Anaxagoras had to leave Athens. The great statesman only just managed to get his second wife, Aspasia, acquitted.

(1.) deme: township

When, in 431, the Spartans started the war by invading Attica, destroying villages, sacking farms and cutting the vines and olives, the situation in the city evolved more rapidly. Athenian democracy was entering a period of crisis.

Thousands of peasants abandoned the ravaged or threatened countryside and crowded into the city, increasing the confusion and tension. "On arriving in Athens, a few of them found lodging and shelter with friends or relatives; most settled in the inhabited parts of the city, in the precincts sacred to the gods and heroes...Some took up their abode in the towers of the ramparts, each as best he could. For the city was not big enough to hold the throng. At the last they invaded the space between the Long Walls and the greater part of the Piraeus." (Thucydides B-17). (1.)

In the second year of the war the situation grew worse. This time the great mass of the peasantry invaded the city and lived in even more awful conditions. They spent the night in the streets and public baths, they slept on the steps of the temples and the roofs of houses, etc. There was famine and finally the fearful scourge of the plague fell upon the city.

In his second book Thucydides gives a long description of the ravages wrought by the plague in Athens. Piling up the most realistic and horrifying details, he gives a terrifying picture of this disease which wiped out an"unknown number" of people and forced others to leave their homes "having no one left to look after them."

The great historian also describes at length the moral consequences of the pest. It literally shook the foundations of society and the State since misfortune made men "scorn the laws of gods and men" and "each dared to do more readily what he would have avoided doing before....unrestrained either by fear of the gods or of any law." (Thucydides, B52 and 53). (2.)

The military situation was also getting worse. The Spartans continued making incursions into Attica and sowing destruction. While the demos still followed Pericles, who was demanding that the war be carried on, a muffled discontent was beginning to arise among the mass of the population who had suffered the horrors of war for many long months.

The epidemic carried off Pericles himself in 429. The democratic party he had led soon split and a new period opened in the life of Athens - that of the "demagogues." (This word must be understood in its original meaning - "leaders of the people" - and not in the pejorative sense it acquired later.)

Pericles' successor was Cleon who had been his worst enemy during the last years of his life. This man who, according to Thucydides, was "the most violent of the citizens and the man in whom the people had most confidence", put forward a policy which was not substantially different from that of Pericles - all-out war to make Athenian hegemony over the Greek World

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1.) Translated from the French.

2.) Translated from the French.

respected not only by the cities under the leadership of Sparta but also by her own allies who were beginning to desert her.

Another party was being formed under the leadership of Nicias, a man of fine qualities but full of doubts and hesitation and, above all, much less popular than Cleon. This party demanded a compromise with Sparta and the speedy conclusion of peace.

However, the war party was the strongest for the time being. So the war went on, becoming more destructive and cruel with every year that passed.

In Thucydides' "History" there are admirable pages describing the evolution of Greek society during the war. He tells how war, the "teacher of violence", having deprived men of all the commodities of life, brings the stongest passions to the surface. Anarchy, intrigue and the spirit of revenge began to predominate in the various cities taking part in the conflict which had become almost general. The political parties fought each other with every weapon at their disposal, to the death.

Such, then, was the situation in Athens during the first years of this interminable war, such was the atmosphere in which the young Aristohpanes formed his ideas and his work ripened.

THE ART OF ARISTOPHANES

When Denys, the tyrant of Syracuse, asked Plato to suggest a book which would allow him to know Athens, the philosopher sent him the comedies of Aristophanes.

Indeed, no other work gives such a vivid, detailed and expressive picture of life in the city of Athens at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries B.C.

Aristophanes' description of the men and things of his time is that of a great realist. His work reveals him as a man filled with an inexhaustible power of life and creation, a man who fierily, almost vehemently, lived the struggles, the ideas and the passions of his time.

Aristophanes was not only a "comedian", the man who raises a laugh and uses every means to attain that end - from the simplest play on words and the filthiest obscenity to the most dazzling creations of an imagination intoxicated with its own power. Aristophanes is one of the most authentic poets who ever lived and one of the most complete.

His inexhaustible satiric verve and his profound realism are accompanied by a lyricism which is always bubbling forth with admirable spontaneity. And this lyricism is accompanied by a critical spirit of exceptional lucidity, a mind which not only agitated the most burning contemporary questions - such as the question of war and peace - but also the wider problems of his time - such as the lot of women or the mission of the thinker, the "philosopher", (to use the language of the time) in society.

On the question of women, Aristophanes was in advance of his time. Naturally, we will not find in him the theoretician who makes a methodical examination of women's position in society and formulates a rational solution of the problem. Aristophanes never ceases to be the "comedian" whose principal role is that of critic. It is as a "comedian" that he ridicules man's vaunted superiority and proclaims the equality of the sexes.

Women are the equals of men when they exclaim (in the "Ecclesiazusae"):

"We women dare this daring deed to do,
If we can seize upon the helm of state
And trim the ship to weather through the storm;
For neither sails nor oars avail it now." (V. 106-109)

Especially is this true when, in "Lysistrata", they are reduced to despair at seeing the men blinded by the lust for battle and declare: "The salvation of the whole of Hellas depends on the women." (V. 29-30) They then decide to take the government of the city into their own hands and do everything to bring the war to an end.

Aristophanes' opinion on the mission of the philosopher, the scientist, the thinker in general emerges from the vehement attack in "The Clouds" against those strange professors who "for money, teach you to win victory for any cause, just or unjust, by words" (V. 98-99) and proclaim that henceforth "you must recognise no other gods but ours: the Void there, the Clouds and the Tongue, only those three." (V. 423-424) (1.)

Above all, Aristophanes was conscious of his own mission and of his heavy responsibilities as a poet. In this he followed the tradition of his greatest colleagues in antiquity. When, as the great Hellenist, André Bonnard, has stated, he attacked in unforgettable words "poetry that forgets its civic function and deserts its post, the decadent, sophisticated poetry which weakens the soul instead of forming it to be virtuous," he did so not only because he himself was the social and civic poet par excellence but also because he was not afraid to do his bit or risk entering the fray - and the risks were not small in those days. Indeed, we know that when he was getting ready to make a direct attack on Cleon in "The Knights", no mask-maker was prepared to make a likeness of the all-powerful demagogue not any actor to play the role. Aristophanes had to play it himself. In the parabasis (2.) of this play he explained, through the coryphaeus (3.), how proud he was "to advance with noble devotion against the Tornado (i.e. Cleon) and the Whirlwind alone" (V. 511). Later, in the parabasis of "The Peace", he recalled with what courage and resolution he had always fought for Peace.

1.) Translated from the French.
2.) coryphaeus: leader of the chorus.
3.) parabasis: The part sung by the chorus in a Greek Comedy.

Heine must have been thinking of this courage and realism of Aristophanes when he said that if the ancient poet were still alive "we should see him accompanied by a chorus of policemen!"

This genius of imagination and thought clothed his creations in a form of extraordinary power, great richness and, often, of exquisite charm. Even Plato, in spite of his attachment to Socratic ideas which are subjected to such severe criticism in "The Clouds", brought Aristophanes into the "Banquet" held in the house of Agathon and put into his mouth a speech worthy of his genius. After the death of Aristophanes he wrote this epigram: "The Graces, seeking an indestructible sanctuary, found the soul of Aristophanes."

Down the centuries this comedian of genius has always found passionate admirers among scholars and we are told that even Saint John Chrysostom went to sleep with his head on the comedies of Aristophanes. Closer to our own time, the great English poet, Charles Swinburne, considered him to be an incomparable genius in whom the highest qualities of Rabelais and Shelley were harmoniously combined.

His, then, was a mind which contained all the ideas, problems and struggles of his time. But that did not make of Aristophanes merely a dispassionate chronicler or an even colder theoretician. All his work is bathed, as by a fluid, by an emotion which is felt behind every word and every image, behind the most vehement satirical attacks, the most savage outbursts of hatred, the crudest and often the most partisan caricatures (such as those of Socrates in "The Clouds", Euripides in "The Frogs" and even Cleon in "The Knights"). This all-pervading emotion which gives warmth to Aristophanes' work has its source in his interests, his sympathy and his love of man.

The satire of Aristophanes is never aimed at man himself. He denounces his faults and failings, he often rebukes him roundly but he does so because he has confidence in man, because he knows that man was born to be joyful and happy. There is no lofty arrogance in him, no contempt for the people and the men of the people. Did he not bring slaves on to the stage as the principal characters in certain of his comedies, "The Plutus" and "The Frogs" for example? He attacks the bad "guides" of men, the pernicious thinkers who teach people to think wrongly, the evil social institutions which ruin the city and bring misfortunes on the citizens; he attacks everything - man or thing - that hampers the impulse of the individual and society as a whole towards happiness and the joy of living.

Besides this general love for man and hatred for anything that reduces his stature, he is animated by another hatred and another love - hatred of war and love of peace.

Aristophanes considered that war bore the main responsibility for the ills from which men suffered and by which the city was ravaged. But his love for peace was not a resigned pacifism. Not only was he unwearying in his attacks on warmongers, be they politicians or military leaders, condemning their cynicism and exposing their lies; he also called on men to struggle actively, to throw out their worthless leaders and take their destiny into their own hands.

Here, taken from "The Peace", are the words he makes the peasant Trygaeus pronounce in order to mobilise all social classes to rescue peace from the cave in which it has been barricaded by the god Polemos (War):

"O all ye farmers, merchants, artisans,
"O all ye craftsmen, aliens, sojourners,
"O all ye islanders, O all ye peoples,
Come with ropes, and spades, and crowbars,
come in eager hurrying haste
Now the cup of happy fortune,
brothers, it is ours to taste." (V. 295 - 300)

The, rising above the narrow patriotism of the city, he addresses his appeal to all the struggling cities and tries to reconcile them:

"Come then, heart and soul, my comrades,
haste to win this great salvation,
Now or never, now if ever,
come, the whole Hellenic nation!
Throw away your ranks and squadrons,
throw your scarlet plagues away..." (V.301-304)

This desire for peace, which can see beyond the passions of the moment and rise above the meléc, is further illustrated in "Lysistrata" in which the poet speaks to the two opposing parties in words of moving generosity:

"Now, Lacedaemonians, for it is to you I speak, do you not know that, once upon a time, Periclidas the Lacedaemonian came as a suppliant to Athens? He sat on the altar, pale in his scarlet robe, and asked for an army. Cimon set out with four thousand hoplites (1.) and saved Sparta. That is what the Athenians did for you and yet you devastate the country that did you this service!.....

"And you Athenians, do you think that I am going to absolve you? Do you not know that, at a time when you bore the slaves' jacket, the Lacedaemonians, in their turn, came armed and slew many Thessalians and supporters and allies of Hippias? That they alone fought and enabled you to don the woollen cloak instead of the jacket of slavery?.....

"Why then, since you have rendered each other so many services, make war on each other? Why not put an end to ill feeling? Why not effect a reconciliation? What is to stop you?" (v. 1137-1161) (2.)

In addition to these appeals for the ending of the war, Aristophanes proclaims that only in peace can men live happily and the city recover its lost greatness.

1.) hoplite: heavy-armed foot soldier.

2.) Translated from the French.

Just as Peace is about to be freed from the cavern, Trygaeus exclaims: "O happy morn,
Be thou the source of every joy to Hellas"
("The Peace", v. 433-434)

And when she is free, men can at last devote themselves to their occupations:

"O yes! O yes! the farmers all may go
Back to their homes, farm-implements and all.
You can leave your darts behind you:
yea, for sword and spear shall cease.
All things round are teeming
with the mellow gifts of Peace;
Shout your Paeans, march away
to labour in your fields today."
(v. 551-554)

And the choir, in a splendid outburst of lyricism, elaborates on the words of Trygaeus:

"Day most welcome to the farmers
and to all the just and true,
Now I see you I am eager
once again my vines to view,
And the fig-trees which I planted
in my boyhood's early prime,
I would fain salute and visit
after such a weary time."
(v. 555-559)

Thus the work of Aristophanes in its entirety is a hymn to life, an expression of confidence in man who deserves and can win happiness and it reaches its culminating point in this glorification of peace and creative work.

+

+ +

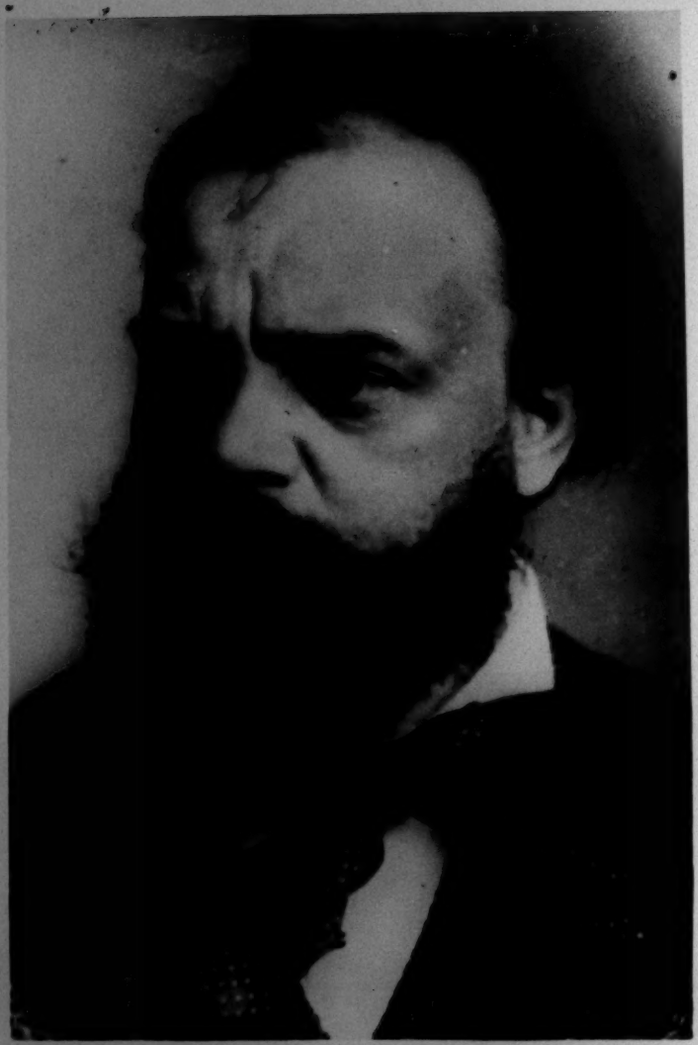
1 - ARISTOPHANE

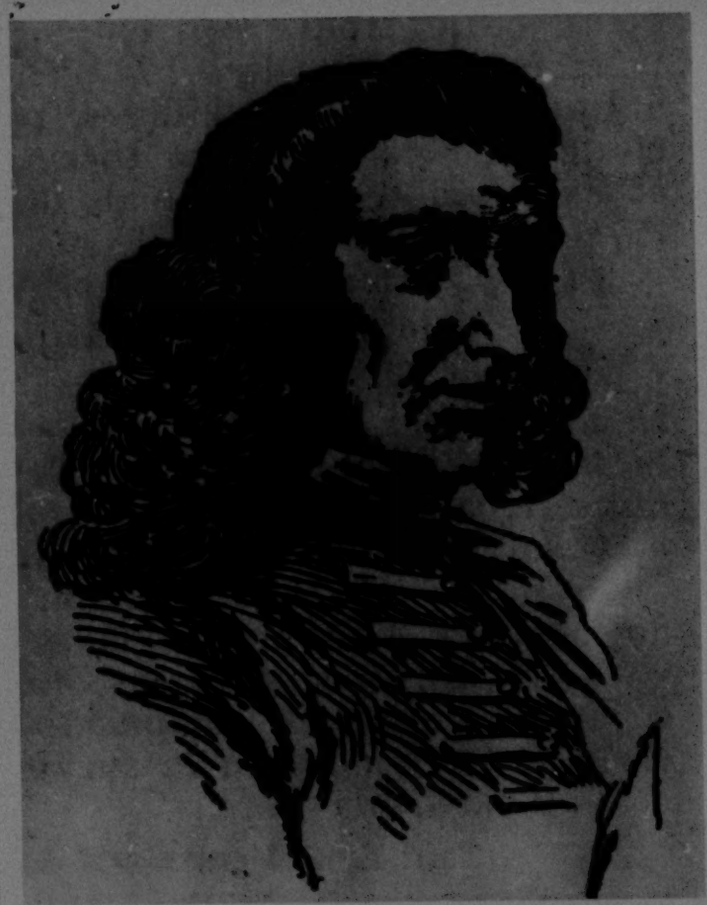
2 - DVORAK

3 - FIELDING

4 - TCHEKHOV

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ
Σ.ΜΑΚΡΗΣ





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TCHEKHOV

April 15, 1954

Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Lafitte:

This note is to acknowledge receipt of correspondence from you addressed to Mr. Paul Robeson, dated February 9, 1954, March 31, 1954 and April 10, 1954.

The letter of February 9th has been referred to the American Peace Crusade here in New York for action. Mr. Robeson is considering the contents of the March 31st and April 10th communications.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG:cb

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

cr.

Prague, March 11th, 1954.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
(United States)

Dear Friend,

We are enclosing for your information, a copy of a letter sent to the American Peace Crusade.

We should be interested to have your opinion on the ideas expressed therein.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

Letter of 2/9/54 referred to A.P.C.

, March 11th, 1954.

cr.

American Peace Crusade
(United States)

Dear Friends,

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace has just held a further joint Meeting with a Delegation of the Bureau. It was devoted to a study of the international situation and the various measures taken for the preparation of the International Meeting.

The Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers just held in Berlin, which is to be followed by a further conference at which, this time, the People's Republic of China will be present, is an important move towards an easing of international tension.

We note, however, that this first step, brought about by the pressure of public opinion, is being followed by further attempts to hinder a genuine easing of tension, for example : in Europe the pressure now being exerted for the application of the agreements and treaties permitting the rearmament of Germany; in Asia the inclusion of Pakistan in a military bloc; in Latin American the threats to the sovereignty of certain countries, especially Guatemala, in the course of the Caracas Conference. These have the aim of nullifying the positive results gained in Berlin, aggravating existing disagreements and creating new disputes in the near future.

We feel that this situation makes it more than ever necessary to increase our efforts to foil aggressive plans wherever they appear, foster the growth, on the national level, of the trend of opinion for a real relief of tension and so create favourable conditions for the Conference which is to open in Geneva on April 26th.

This is the theme of our current campaign. Clearly the success of the International Meeting proposed by the World Council depends in the first place on what is achieved in this campaign.

According to our information, the idea of the International Meeting is rousing great interest. Internationally, several religious and pacifist organisations are showing their interest in it; on the national level, various organisations and public figures in the political, cultural and religious fields are giving it their attention.

Already preparatory committees are being set up in certain countries. To this end, various methods are being adopted, such as talks between prominent people or the representatives of organisations interested in the Meeting, or the preparation on a national level of a preliminary meeting with the aim of setting up such a Committee. At the present stage National Peace Committees are promoting or supporting projects of this kind so that preparatory committees for the Meeting may be set up wherever possible. Such committee can facilitate the subsequent setting up of an International Preparatory Committee.

It appears that the question of the agenda is often raised in the talks which are at present going on. Exchanges of views on this point are of course useful : we have been interested to receive a number of suggestions even though, in our view, the International Preparatory Committee will be the body responsible for deciding such questions.

Many public figures and organisations have expressed a desire that the number of people at the Meeting should be relatively limited. Bearing in mind that every country must be able to take part in the Meeting, and that in each there are many trends of opinion and organisations which must be represented, it is our opinion that the total number should be about 400.

The date and place of the Meeting and all details relative to its preparation will, of course, be settled by the International Preparatory Committee. We would, however, point out that the World Council considers that the Meeting should be held soon, that is to say, not later than the month of June. Today, the development of international events and the great desire of all people for an easing of tension would appear to confirm this view.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

After consultation with our President, it was decided to hold the next meeting of the Bureau of the World Council on March 28th and 29th in Vienna. There are two main reasons for convening the Bureau on this date : the first is to give an early expression of the Movement's opinion on that very important event, the Berlin Conference. The second is, the importance of the questions raised by the present state of the preparations for the Meeting and the need to make a statement without delay on the various measures taken in some countries.

We should be interested to have your opinion on the ideas expressed in this letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

bw.

Prague 17th February, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Recently we received copies of the Appeal to the people of the United States which was sponsored by a number of eminent Americans. We would like to express our appreciation of this new contribution to securing public support for efforts to improve international relations.

May we take this opportunity of wishing you every success in your patriotic work for Peace.

No doubt you already know of the proposal made at the November session of the World Council of Peace for an International Meeting, to be prepared in common by eminent people from all countries and representative of all groups seeking a relaxation of international tension.

It is not possible yet to say what the agenda will be, since this will be decided by those who eventually join together to sponsor the meeting. Discussions, for the most part informal, are taking place with a variety of persons and organisations in different countries. In this way the problems which different people would like to see discussed, their views on how the meeting should be prepared and what form it should take are being clarified. At the same time, in the course of these discussions it is possible to obtain agreement from different people to take part in the meeting and, in some cases, to act as sponsors.

You will be glad to know that many eminent people representative of religious, trade union, pacifist, literary, science and other groups are taking great interest in the proposed meeting. We will contrive to keep you informed of developments. It is hoped in the near future that an announcement will be made in the name of a group of sponsors.

Those who are taking part in these preparatory discussions emphasise repeatedly the importance of a first rate American contribution to these preparations and to the meeting. Naturally, therefore, it is important to know the views of eminent people in America with whom these questions have been discussed and the possibilities of those who are likely to attend.

No definite date has been fixed but there seems to be a strong inclination in favour of holding the Meeting towards the end of May or at the beginning of June.

..../....

..../....

In view of the stage these preparations have reached, we are particularly anxious to have an early answer to this letter, so that we can know what stage the discussions have reached in America and have your view of the problems.

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Roy Gore
Secretary

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

April 21, 1954

Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Laffitte:

This letter is to acknowledge receipt of your letters dated April 13th and April 15th. Both of them have been referred to Mr. Robeson for consideration.

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

CO.

Prague, April I3th, I954.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
53 W.I25 th Street
NEW YORK/N.Y./U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

A letter containing the texts adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its last meeting in Vienna was sent to you on March 3Ist.

As you will have seen, the Bureau decided to convene an Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin at the end of May. Following consultation with the President, Professor Joliot-Curie, it has been decided to hold the session from May 23rd-28th.

A very thorough examination of the international situation led the Bureau to stress, in its General Resolution, the importance of such a meeting at this time and to emphasise the need to ensure that the maximum number of Council Members attend. To this session will be also invited representatives of national and international organisations which have in the past given their support to the struggle for Peace.

We shall be pleased to see the participation of friends from the United States at this session.

Finally, for your information we shall be sending you a letter explaining the main ideas discussed by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace relative to the International Meeting which has been proposed.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Prague, 15th April, 1954.

SECRETARIAT

PALAIS SIA PRAGUE

Mr. Paul Robeson
(United States)

Dear Friends,

We have written to you on several occasions about the International Meeting for the Relaxation of Tension proposed by the World Council. We are now in a position to give more details.

The recent Bureau meeting in Vienna received information relative to the Meeting from various countries. It appears that many political figures who up till now have had no contact with the World Council would like to take part in it. This is also true of a number of pacifist and religious organisations and various persons from cultural, commercial and trade union circles.

Further, Preparatory Committees have been, or are being, formed in countries such as Japan, India, France, Brazil, Chile and the Argentine, and several of them have already started to form delegations to the Meeting.

Lastly, a Welcoming Committee is being formed in Sweden composed of important cultural, pacifist and religious figures in that country. After receiving permission from the competent authorities, they intend to write to the National Preparatory Committees that have already been formed proposing that the Meeting be held in Sweden.

It is clear that the idea of the Meeting is no longer that of the World Council alone but has now become the common property of all the elements which want to see it held. The Bureau of the World Council has therefore approved various proposals from public figures and organisations relative to the character of the preparations and the way in which they are to be carried out. They can be summed up as follows:

- It devolves upon the persons and organisations in each country who are interested in the Meeting to set up a body (Initiating Committee, Preparatory Committee or any other grouping) which will speed the formation of delegations.

- Information on the Meeting can only be published or reproduced with the permission of those concerned or of the Preparatory Committees.

- About 250 people will take part in the Meeting. In order to facilitate discussion, it could be divided into several sections: a political section, an economic section and a cultural section.

..../....

- The delegations will, of course, have to be restricted in numbers, since not more that 250 persons will take part; but they must be genuinely representative of the political, cultural and religious circles by whom they are mandated. Wherever possible they should be jointly formed. On this point, the Bureau considered it desirable that, according to the size of the delegation, one or more members of the World Council should be on it with the agreement of the other forces involved.

- There must be no refusal to admit to the Meeting persons or organisations who are taking effective action for the relaxation of tension. The World Council, like the other organisations taking part, reserves the right to be represented by persons of its own choice.

- The Meeting must be held as soon as possible. The Bureau considers that June 20th, which has been proposed by several persons and organisations interested, should be kept in mind.

- All forces taking part must have their share of activity and responsibility in the preparations for the Meeting. To this end, a provisional Secretariat for the preparations will be formed, with an office in Stockholm. The national preparatory bodies, or the organisations taking part, must naturally have the right to send a representative to this Secretariat, if they so desire. The World Council will also be represented on it.

- The agenda for the Meeting and the way in which it will be run can be discussed in the national initiating or preparatory committees. Any proposals arising from these discussions should be sent to the provisional Secretariat, which should then inform the other national committees. However, the final settlement of these questions will be the responsibility of the Meeting itself.

- The cost of the preparation and holding of the Meeting must be shared by the forces taking part. Payment could, for example, be made in the form of a subscription the amount of which can be fixed as soon as the estimates drawn up by the provisional Secretariat are known.

- The travelling expenses of those taking part in the Meeting, and the cost of their stay in Stockholm, will be met either by the national preparatory committees, by the delegates themselves or by the organisations which send them.

These arrangements, which have been approved by the Bureau of the World Council, are likely to facilitate the conversations and contacts necessary for the formation of delegations in the different countries. The National Peace Movements can also make an important contribution to this work.

We would ask you to communicate to us, as soon as possible, all information relative to the preparations for the Meeting in your country. We should particularly like to have:

1) The address of the preparatory body or of persons acting on its

..../....

behalf, with whom the provisional Secretariat could communicate;

2) The names and addresses of persons or representatives of organisations who have agreed to take part in the Meeting.

We, for our part, will send you the address of the provisional Secretariat as soon as it is formed.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

April 21, 1954

Mr. George Pirinsky
Academician Nadjakov
Bulgarian Peace Committee
Sofia, Bulgaria

Dear Mr. Pirinsky:

Your cablegram of April 16 was received. Mr. Robeson has asked me to convey to you his deep appreciation for your kind message. He wishes you to know that in this most critical period he is doing all that he can from his position here in the citadel of world reaction to prevent the opening of a third world war and the use of the hydrogen bomb.

Mr. Robeson at the present time is also busily engaged and preparing for a nation-wide tour during which he will appear before some hundred thousands of people from coast to coast and carry to them the message of lasting peace and friendship among the nations of the earth, and against the reactionary oppression of our people, the Negro people, here at home as well as throughout the colonial world.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

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LT PAUL ROBESON AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE 35 WEST 26TH STREET

NYK

BEHALF MILLIONS BULGARIAN PEACE DEFENDERS WE CONGRATULATE
YOU MOST CORDIALLY YOUR 55TH BIRTHDAY WISH YOU LONG LIFE
GOOD HEALTH STRENGTH SO THAT YOU MAY CONTINUE VALIANT STRUGGLE
AGAINST FORCES REACTION RACIAL OPPRESSION FOR LASTING PEACE
FRIENDSHIP AMONG NATIONS OF WORLD

BULGARIAN PEACE COMMITTEE ACADEMICIAN NADJAKOV GEORGE PIRINSKY

35 26TH 55TH

APR 16 1954

PLEASE TELEPHONE YOUR
REPLY TO WHITEHALL 4-3106

American Cable & Radio System American Cable & Radio System American Cable & Radio System
BOWLING GREEN 9-3800 67 BROAD ST., N.Y. BOWLING GREEN 9-3800 67 BROAD ST., N.Y. BOWLING GREEN 9-3800 67 BROAD

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PEACE

Montevideo, Uruguay

May 20, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

The National Council of Peace of Uruguay has received with great pleasure the news of the initiative which many distinguished representatives of the culture of North America have taken in launching a grand campaign for the restoration of your passport. We would have wanted to promote with the greatest vigor the support of all Uruguayan lovers of culture and peace for the action of May 26 which will inaugurate the campaign. Unfortunately the information reached us late and we are only able to send today this expression of the enthusiastic support of the Executive Committee of our movement. We are certain, however, that in the days to come, many persons and organizations of our people will address themselves to the Department of State in order to request the return of the passport.

We are confident of this because you, friend Robeson, are well known and loved in our country. All who fight for peace and democracy know and love you because they have followed your great and valiant pilgrimage in defense of these ideals. Those who love culture and admire your art, so perfect and always so human, know you and love you. Those who are devoted to the people know you and love you because they feel that you are also a man of the people who by your ability have elevated yourself to great heights, but who has remained always faithful to the responsibility of defending the causes of the people.

Many of us have thought, for many years, that you should come to Uruguay to give concerts and to talk to us of peace. You would have the greatest artistic success and the most loving popular recpetion. Because we know how to differentiate between those North Americans who desire to drop hydrogen bombs and those North Americans who love peace, democracy and culture and who who want to strengthen friendship with other peoples, based on mutual respect. The decision of the State Department to withhold your pasport is an obstacle in the accomplishment of these ends, but we are firmily convinced that the campaign which is being started in the United States and which deserves and will have a great world resonance, will be able to conquer this obstacle. We are so convinced of this that as of now we invite you to visit us because we want to listen to your voice and express our friendship.

Meanwhile you and your friends may be assured that we will not spare our forces to cooperate in the success of this important battle for culture and for peace.

With our most cordial greetings,

For the Executive Committee

Jose L. Massera
General Secretary

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
May 19, 1954

Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary
For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
Estate-Haus
Vienna, Austria

Dear Mr. Laffitte:

Your letter of May 5th addressed to Mr. Robeson was received. He has found the biography and other materials of great interest and shall be happy to receive the additional documents.

We are not in a position at present to suggest what form the commemoration might take in our country, but we do hope that the anniversaries will be celebrated widely as you anticipate.

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

World Council of Peace
Estate-Haus
Mollwald-Platz 5
Vienna 4, Austria

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS

WIEN IV (AUSTRIA)

MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5

Vienna, May 5th, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson

U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

We enclose a biography of Anton Chekhov to complete the dispatch, on April 10th last, of the biographies and photographs of Aristophanes, Dvorak and Fielding, and the photograph of Chekhov.

We hope to send you further documents likely to be of help in the preparation of ceremonies commemorating the great cultural anniversaries for 1954.

Some National Committees have sent us information on the programme of ceremonies planned and the results already obtained. It enables us to state that, this year, the commemoration of these anniversaries will be wider and more imposing than ever. We should be very grateful if you would, in turn, give us some details of the way you envisage the commemoration of the anniversaries in your country.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World
Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

May 14, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM
139 W. 125th St.
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

I understand that the new address of the World Council of Peace is:

World Council of Peace
Estate-Haus
Mollwald-Platz 5
Vienna 4, Austria

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
May 19, 1954

Mr. Jorge Zalamea
Secretary of the Jury for the
International Peace Prizes
Conseil Mondial de la Paix
Vienna, Austria

Dear Mr. Zalamea:

Your letter of May 7th was received. It has been turned over to Mr. Robeson for his consideration and you will probably be hearing from him sometime soon.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Jury des Prix
Internationaux
de la Paix

VIENNE, May 7th, 1954.

Mr. Paul R O B E S O N

(U.S.A.)

Dear Friend$,

The Jury for the International Peace Prizes has decided to award one of the Peace Prizes for 1953 to the eminent Soviet composer, Dmitri Shostakovich. In 1950 and 1952 Gold Peace Medals were awarded to the Czechoslovak composer, Vaclav Dobias, for his cantata "Build your country and you defend Peace", and to the Brazilian composer, Claudio Santoro, for his "Song of Love and Peace".

So our prizes have already been bestowed on three famous contemporary composers, as a public recognition of the great service they are rendering to the cause of Peace through their creative activity.

The Jury for the International Peace Prizes desires to popularise the works of the prize-winners, thereby strengthening the peoples' desire for Peace, and would therefore like to see "Peace Concerts", comprising the symphonic works of Shostakovich, Dobias and Santoro, organised in a number of countries this coming autumn and winter. These names draw the public in themselves and one can be sure in advance of large audiences. The content of their compositions will certainly stimulate a new enthusiasm for Peace work in artistic and intellectual circles.

It will not escape you, we are sure, that such a proposition offers great possibilities for the broadening of our Movement and for the popularisation of the International Peace Prizes. We would therefore ask you to give the Jury's proposal careful consideration and also to communicate to us any remarks and suggestions you may have : whether you think "Peace Concerts" can be organised in your country for the end of the year and in what circumstances they could be held.

We thank you in advance and remain

Yours sincerely,

Jorge Zalamea

Jorge Zalamea
Secretary of the Jury for the
International Peace Prizes

ANTON CHEKHOV

In the archives of the medical faculty of the University of Moscow ~~the~~ "the file of admission to studies of Anton Chekhov", dated 1879, was discovered. One of the yellowed pages of this file states that a boy named Anton, was born to Pavel Georgievitch Chekhov, third class merchant, and his lawful wife, Evgenia Yakovlievna, on January 17th, 1860 (old style). The word "merchant" began with a capital M.

The strange irony of style of official documents! "My grand-father and my father were serfs of Chertkov, the father of the editor Chertkov", as Chekhov was to say later.

It was true. After buying his freedom, Pavel Georgievitch had acquired a small grocery in which, as a schoolboy, Anton Chekhov had spent some years, swotting his Latin behing the counter, bored to death, and starting at the sound of the bell when one of the rare clients came in. We know the writer's sad avowal: "As a child I had no childhood".

There is much bitterness in these words, the same that made Chekhov say in a letter to one of his colleagues: "Then write the story of a young man who was the son of a serf, a former shopkeeper, singer, school-boy and student, brought up to respect authority, to admire other people's ideas, to kiss the priest's hands, and saying thank you for every morsel of bread. He was often beaten, he ran off to his lessons without a coat, he fought, he tortured animals, he loved to dine with rich relatives and was needlessly hypocritical towards God and men for the simple reason that he was aware of his insignificance. Write how he gradually rooted out the serf in him and how, one fine day, he suddenly felt that it was no longer the blood of serfs which flowed in his veins, but the blood of a real man..."

These lines are a description of Chekhov's own life. His years as a student were sad ones. Towards the end of 1870 the large Chekhov family - there were five sons and daughters, all highly gifted - emigrated, as they said, to Moscow. In fact, their father was bankrupt and had to flee in order to avoid being imprisoned for debt. This was the beginning of an even more difficult time for him - lectures, the anatomy theatre, work as a coach for next to nothing and, finally, publication in the humourous magazines of St. Petersburg, to which, in order to earn a little money, Chekhov began to send little stories under amusing pseudonyms such as Antosha Chekhonte. This was his début in literature - a typical beginning for a Russian intellectual of humble origin.

At that time public life was insignificant and grey, polical propaganda restrained and timid, ideas antediluvian and literature dull. True, the voices of Leon Tolstoy and Saltykov-Shchedrin were still to be heard; but one of them, that of Tolstoy, appealed for moral and religious improvement, considered by him to be the way of avoiding all evil; while the other was prevented by the censorship from proclaiming its angry protest. We may say that the second last decade of the 19th century was the calm before the storm.

Chekhov's first short stories were harmless. A landowner writes to his erudite neighbour, Dr. Friedrich, that he does not agree with Darwin; it is not possible that man is descended from the monkey "for that can never be." They skilfully mocked the banality of the life and manners of the officials, of the daily commonplaces, of contemporary literature. With the publication of the first three volumes of his short stories, "Tales of Melpomena", "Particoloured Stories", and "In the Evening", it became clear that there had appeared in Russia a writer who was destined to become one of the world leaders of the realist literature of the 20th century.

The conservative critics of that time were blind and did not understand him. The populist critics, whose dogmatic voices had a ready audience, adopted a pretentious attitude towards Chekhov, showing that they understood him just as little for all their doctrinaire arrogance.

They demanded a "social programme" and "ideals" of Chekhov, flinging at him the reproach that he lacked a world-view. "An absurd reproach", said the great writer Gorki, Chekhov's contemporary and friend.

In his very first stories Chekhov pointed an accusing finger at a world terrifying in its vulgarity, and one has only to look closely to see the tragedy and brutality hidden behind amusing words. "No one had as clear and subtle an understanding as Chekhov of the tragedy there is in the little details of life, no one before him had shown men such a pityless and truthful picture of their life in the grey and prosy petty-bourgeois chaos". Thus did Gorki speak of Chekhov.

Chekhov himself considered ridiculous the reproach of "social indifference". In one of his letters of that time he expressed his sincere astonishment that certain critics found no element of protest in his stories, no sympathy or antipathy. "But", he asked, "do I not from beginning to end protest against lies? Is that not what is called 'tendency'? No? Then I can't bite, or I am a flea".

Indeed, is not all his work full of the deepest feeling for Man, for the people; is it not full of a love of truth and beauty? Could we not preface the work of

Chekhov with the excellent words in which he says that everything about men should be beautiful:
their faces, their clothes, their soul and their thoughts?
Is it not because of this that Russian people have always felt themselves elevated on reading Chekhov?

We feel in his works his strong antipathy to types like the non-commissioned officer Prishibieieff, the pen-pushing teacher of Greek, Belikov, the heartless egotist Serebriakov in the play, "Uncle Vania", and mediocre and apathetic intellectuals like the doctor Ragin in "Ward N° 6".

But it took many years before the great artistic and social importance of Chekhov's work was recognised.

Even when he was well-known as a writer, Chekhov's literary activity was supplementary to his work as a doctor. From the day when the plaque bearing the legend "A.P. Chekhov, Doctor" appeared on his door he did not stop practicing till the end of his life. As a writer he had already won the Pushkin Prize for his merit in the national literature, and had been elected an honorary member of the Belles Lettres section of the Academy of Sciences, but he still liked to say: "My medicine is still progressing", and he called hors d'œuvres and wine "medicine".

His experience as a doctor in the provinces - Babkino, Luka, Melikhovo - especially his contacts with the simple people of the Russian countryside, sick peasants who had come for treatment, gave him much material for his literary work.

In 1890 Chekhov travelled to the island of Sakhalin to study the organisation of medical assistance in the peripheral regions of Russia. He brought back essays full of a noble humanism which were first of all published in reviews, then brought together in the book, "Sakhalin Island". In the last decacde of the 19th century Chekhov's fame became world-wide.

But he had long suffered from lung trouble, the result of the painful years of poverty and hard work. His health obliged him to leave Moscow and St. Petersburg for Nice and Italy, and finally to settle down in the Crimea which he hardly ever left.

The charm of Chekhov's art continued to grow. His mature prose works reached a high degree of perfection and, in the words of Gorki, he had become incomparable as a stylist. Leon Tolstoy, who loved Chekhov both as a writer and as a man, called him "The Pushkin of prose".

Chekhov's art attracts by its profound truth and its sobriety. Brevity was his favourite precept. He called it "the sister of talent" and said that the art of writing consists in being able to strike out bad writing.

His stories are without artifice and are rich in content. But no matter how rich the content - and it could sometimes have been made into a big novel - Chekhov compressed it into a short story, creating striking characters and psychological types. His language is simple and amazingly precise.

Yet the breadth of its description of various aspects of Russian life and of representative types of the different social classes and orders in Russia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th make Chekhov's art truly epic. His short stories are both truthful chronicles of Russian society on the eve of the first revolution and a great humanist's poetic dream of the future.

The most beautiful and optimistic pages of his works are full of the expectation of great changes, of the approaching storm which will chase all laziness, apathy, prejudice against work and boredom from Russian society. They are pages full of presentiment of the coming revival of the motherland.

Chekhov's dramatic art represented a new stage in the development of the Russian and world theatre. He brought to it new and fresh ideas, scenic situations and action. He created a new type of drama - the lyrical comedy - and made a great contribution to the study of realist production and acting. His plays have the same intimate quality as his short stories, the same simplicity, the same subtle finesse in presentation, and the same psychological skill in the characterisation. They can be described as intimate, lyrical short stories brought on to the stage-life itself in their synthesis of tragedy and comedy, unique of their kind.

Chekhov's first plays - the drama, "Ivanov", the one act comedies, "The Bear", "The Proposal", "The Tragedian Despite Himself", "The Wedding" and "Jubilee" - were written about 1890.

In 1896 he wrote "The Seagull", staged two years later by the Art Theatre, which first performed Chekhov's remarkable plays. "The Seagull" was a real revolution in the theatre.

In "Three Sisters", "The Seagull" and his last play, "The Cherry Orchard", Chekhov expresses great faith in the coming generation which will bring into life the desire to create and will set itself noble aims: respect for man, happiness and beauty. This poetic hope envelops Nina Zarietchnaïa, Ania, the student Trofimov and others of his characters. Chekhov's last short stories and his many letters to his family and friends are full of shining thoughts on the great transformations to come.

The writer, unfortunately, did not live to see that time. The last three or four years of his life were a painful and desperate battle against death whieh, both as a sick man and as a doctor, he felt to be near.

Anton Pavlovitch Chekhov died in Badenweiler, Germany, on January 17th, 1904 (new style) in the presence of his wife, Olga Leonardovna Knipper-Chekhovna, the great Russian actress. His ashes were transported to Russia and buried in the cemetery of the Novo-Dievitchy convent in Moscow.

Chekhov's aesthetic influence on Russian and world literature is very great; there is not a single modern writer who is not affected by it. Bernard Shaw said: "In the Pleiad of great European dramatists contenporary with Ibsen, Chekhov is a star of the first magnitude. He ranks alongside Tolstoy and Turgeniev."

In the opinion of John Galsworthy "During these last twenty years, Chekhov has been the most powerful magnet for the young writer of several countries."

The world's best theatres put on Chekhov's plays, which open up new possibilities for dramatic realism.

The lofty mind and moral greatness of this famous Russian writer, whose work has brought the future nearer to us, will live eternally in the memory of men.

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SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
Cr.AUSTRIA

Vienna, July 28th, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
(United States)

Dear Friends,

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace will meet in Vienna on September 13th, 14th and 15th. The proposals which have so far been put forward for the agenda bear on two main points :

- An examination of the international situation;
- An examination of the work of the National Peace Committees and its organisational problems in the different countries.

In relation to the second item on the agenda, the World Council Secretariat is anxious to be able to give a clear picture of the peace activity being carried on in every country of the world. For this reason we have written to national committees in all countries asking them to let us have exact and detailed information on all aspects of the work for peace at the present time by 15th August.

It would be very interesting and helpful to us to have an up to date view of what has and what is being done in the United States, for example on the activities and progress of the American Peace Crusade, on the different peace councils and committees in various states and so on, including their contacts with other groups and organisations. The members of the Bureau would be very interested not only to know what is happening in the USA but also what are the possibilities and plans for the future, what are the objectives, what are the problems.

No doubt those who are working for Peace in the United States will also have ideas and suggestions to make on possible forms of common action for peace on an international scale and we will be particularly glad to receive any such proposals.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

.../...

.../...

P.S.- Please find herewith, for your information, the texts of the messages addressed to the Vietnam Committee for the Defence of World Peace and to the National Council of the French Peace Movement, on the occasion of the signing of the armistice to end the hostilities in Indo-China.

Message from the Secretariat of
the World Council of Peace

t o

the Viet-Nam Committee
for the Defence of World Peace

Greetings and warmest congratulations on the signing of the armistice ending the war which has being going on for many years on the territories of Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer. We salute the agreement which has been reached after a long period of struggle and effort for negotiation as the joint victory of all the forces of peace.

Your Committee has taken part in all the great campaigns which have been conducted on the initiative of the World Council of Peace. Your work has always reflected the will of the peoples of Indo-China and the other peoples of Asia to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict based on the principles of independence and security. You have thus greatly contributed to the creation of the atmosphere of understanding and friendliness which has made negotiation possible and enabled it to succeed.

This victory marks an important stage along the road to the relaxation of international tension. It is an encouragement to the Peace Movement and to all defenders of Peace to pursue their efforts for the consolidation of peace in Asia on the basis of respect for the pledges that have been made, and for the safeguarding of peace elsewhere in the world in accordance with the will of the peoples.

The Secretariat of
the World Council of Peace

Vienna, July 21st, 1954.

Message from the Secretariat of
the World Council of Peace

t o

the National Council
of the French Peace Movement

Greetings and warmest congratulations on the signing of the armistice concluded at Geneva, thus ending the grievous and bloody war which has been going on in Indo-China for almost eight years. We salute the agreement which has been reached as a victory for all the forces of peace - a victory which proves that, in spite of all difficulties and obstacles, peaceful solutions are possible on condition that negotiations are entered into with the determination to succeed.

The action of the French Peace Movement made a powerful contribution to the creation and growth of the wide movement of French public opinion which spoke out with irresistible force for negotiation and then for agreement. This action and the joint action of all other peace forces have greatly helped in the peaceful settlement of a conflict, the continuation and extension of which would have entailed a most serious threat to world peace.

This victory marks an important stage along the road to the relaxation of international tension and the re-establishment of good relations between the peoples. At the same time, it is an encouragement to pursue our efforts for the consolidation and preservation of peace in Asia, and for the guaranteeing of peace in Europe through the peaceful solution of the German question on the basis of the sovereignty, independence and security of nations.

The Secretariat of
the World Council of Peace

Vienna, July 21st, 1954

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
cr? AUSTRIA

Vienna, September 1st, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
(United States)

Dear Friend,

This year's session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, which is expected to open, as is usual, towards the end of September, raises very acutely and urgently a question which has long been a concern of the World Peace Movement, namely, the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The World Peace Movement has repeatedly made its position clear on this question, as the following quotations show :

"... If the United Nations is to realise the hopes that the peoples have always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible a meeting of the Five Great Powers : the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences..."

(Warsaw Congress, 1950)

"... Since such agreements must extend, in particular to Asia, considerations of justice and a realistic view of international policy require the admission to the United Nations of the Government of the People's Republic of China..."

(Vienna, November 1st-6th, 1951)

"... Negotiations will fundamentally change the course of events. The United Nations can become the instrument of this change, by keeping faithfully to the spirit of its Charter. It must admit the countries which have applied to enter. China, like other nations, must be represented by the Government of her choice..."

(Budapest Session of the World Council, 1953)

"... All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China..."

"... The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the Councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interest of all States and is judged more and more severely by world opinion..."

(Vienna Session of the World Council, 1953)

The argument was also very clearly expressed by the President of the World Council of Peace in his opening address to the People's Congress in 1952 when he said :

"... It is useless to wish to ensure peaceful co-existence, while refusing to allow the representation of 450 million Chinese on the pretext that between the date of the founding of the United Nations and now China has changed her regime, not against the will of her people but against the will of a State which gave military support to a regime so corrupt that this support, though considerable, proved ineffective..." (Since this time, a census taken reveals that the population of China reaches to a little over 600,000,000 inhabitants).

No other peace movement or organisation has so consistently worked for this essential aim as has the World Peace Movement. More recently, on the other hand, many other groups, movements, public figures, and, indeed, leaders of Governments, have come to see the crucial importance of this question, especially since the success of the Geneva Conference has proved to all the effectiveness of Chinese participation in international negotiations.

This was very clearly brought out at the International Meeting in Stockholm, which said :

"... The United Nations Organisation, whose existence is essential for peace, must be based on a true appreciation of international life, and it must be universal. Therefore, the People's Republic of China and all states which have asked or might ask to be admitted, must be admitted to the United Nations Organisation ..."

In his report to the United Nations Mr. Hammarskjöld, the General Secretary, stressed that :

"The particular importance of the Geneva Conference is that it recognised the need to bring the Chinese Government into all important international negotiations".

At the same time he drew attention to the necessity to restore the universal character of the United Nations.

The necessity for this step to be taken now becomes clear as soon as one considers some of the problems which may be expected to appear on the agenda of the General Assembly - for example, a settlement in Korea, Asian security, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament - none of which can be solved, or even usefully discussed, without the participation of the Chinese Government. On the other hand, with China still excluded the opportunities for making use of the United Nations Organisation for actions against peace and against agreement between the nations remain great and dangerous.

Meanwhile it is felt that a very powerful effort is now being made to prevent and make impossible the solution of this question at the forthcoming General Assembly.

Those concerned with this question consider that a very clear expression of public opinion will be necessary to bring about this step which is essential for a relaxation of international tension. Many people have therefore welcomed the suggestion made by a number of members of the World Council of Peace that what is done in the next few weeks by Peace Movements in all countries can have decisive influence in promoting effective activity in very wide circles.

Among the suggestions which have been put forward are deputations to Governments and to members of delegations to the United Nations; resolutions and appeals from social organisations, churches and other groups, poster parades, open-air meetings, visits to M.P.'s. An outstanding example of such work is given by the All India Peace Council. At a session at the end of July attended by 1,500 people it launched a campaign for Asian security, directly linked with the vital question of the seating of China in U.N.O. Great emphasis is being laid on the necessity of using a great variety of forms of activity. The whole of September is to be observed as Asian Solidarity Month, with collections of signatures, meetings and demonstrations. Through such activity, led by the Peace Movements, the Governments of those countries represented at U.N.O. can be made unmistakably aware of the wishes of the peoples.

At the same time it has been pointed out that this question touches such wide circles in all countries and the international situation is so favourable to its solution, that an exceptional opportunity exists for promoting action on a very broad basis, and for converging actions between different groups and organisations. Among these are a number of organisations, known as 'non-governmental organisations category A' which are recognised by U.N.O. and have the right to present their recommendations officially to the General Assembly through the Economic and Social Council. These include, for example, such organisations as the World Federation of United Nations Associations, the International co-operative Alliance, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

In this connection we wish to bring to your attention the enclosed copy of a letter which the Secretariat has sent to the General Secretary of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

We are particularly anxious for news of what is being done on this question and we very much hope that you will be able to let us know quite shortly what is happening in your country and what activities you are promoting. This will greatly help our work and will enable us to give the facts in our Information Bulletin and so secure an effective exchange of experiences between all countries. We are specially reserving space for reports on the China question in both the issues of the Bulletin which will appear in September.

With every good wish for great success in this important work,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

V. Duncan Jones

V. DUNCAN JONES
Secretary

Vienna, 19th August, 1954

A.G. copy

John A.F. Ennals, Esq.
General Secretary of the
World Federation of United
Nations Associations
1, avenue de la Paix,
Genève
(Suisse)

Dear Mr. Ennals,

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace has noted with interest that the plenary session of the World Federation of United Nations Associations is to take place in Geneva from 6-9 September. We hope that in due course it will be possible to send us copies of any statements or decisions which may be issued during the session.

In particular we should be very interested to hear about any action you may take or any proposals you may put forward in relation to a question with which we are very much concerned, as you also undoubtedly are, namely, the necessity to seat the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organisation.

For several years this point has been pressed by the World Council of Peace, both in resolutions and the speeches of its leading members. For example :

"If the United Nations is to realise the hopes that the peoples have always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible a meeting of the Five Great Powers : the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences."

(Warsaw Congress, November 16-22, 1950)

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"Since such agreements must extend, in particular, to Asia, considerations of justice and a realistic view of international policy require the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of China."

(Vienna, November 1-6, 1951)

"Negotiations will fundamentally change the course of events. The United Nations can become the instrument of this change by keeping faithfully to the spirit of its Charter. It must admit the countries which have applied to enter. China, like other nations, must be represented by the Government of her choice."

(Budapest, June 15-20, 1953)

"All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China...

"The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interest of all States and is judged more and more severely by world opinion."

(Vienna, November 23-28, 1953)

In the present situation we consider, with many others, and probably with WFUNA also, that this has now become an immediate question. One has only to imagine some of the problems which are likely to arise at this year's General Assembly : a Korean settlement, disarmament, Asian security, for example, to see that these simply cannot be settled, or even usefully discussed, in the absence of China.

Fortunately, the outcome of the Geneva Conference has made abundantly clear the favourable results which arise from China's participation in international negotiations. No doubt all of us welcome the way this is underlined by Dr. Hammarskjöld in his report just as we also welcome his reference to the indispensable need for universality in the United Nations.

For our part we feel this question to be exceptionally important. We have taken special steps to bring home its significance to the peace movement in different countries in the hope of stimulating a certain sense of urgency. We think this all the more necessary in view of the intensive efforts which are being made to prevent this question being solved at the forthcoming General Assembly.

.../...

.../...

We feel certain that this must be a question which is very much occupying your organisation at the present time. It would be interesting and helpful to us and to national peace committees in many countries to know your views on how this question can be settled without further delay and whether you have any proposals for action on this question which can suitably be taken by other organisations, movements or individuals.

We hope very much that in the next few weeks the efforts made by peace organisations in all parts of the world may achieve a common success in the seating of the Chinese Government in the United Nations Organisation, in accordance with the Charter.

With every good wish,

Yours very sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

V. Duncan Jones
Secretary

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
CP. AUSTRIA

Vienna, September 24th, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson
NEW YORK
(United States)

Dear Friend,

Please find enclosed the statement adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Vienna, September 13-15.

As you will see, November 18th has been chosen as the date for the opening of the next session of the World Council of Peace.

We feel that the decisions reached by the Bureau on the date and agenda of the session will enable the necessary steps to be taken to assure a good representation from each country. The wide distribution of the Bureau's Statement would undoubtedly arouse great interest in the aims of the World Peace Movement and in the forthcoming session of the World Council.

The draft agenda contained in the Bureau's Statement will permit an approach to public figures and organisations who do not belong to the Peace Movement in order to get them to attend the session as guests.

We need hardly say how much we would appreciate a representation from your country at this meeting.

No doubt you will be interested to receive more detailed information on the Bureau and the forthcoming session of the World Council, including where it will be held. This we shall send you later.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Great events have brought a new hope to the world and rewarded the efforts of all who are working for peace.

An armistice has been signed in Korea and in Indo-China ; the French Parliament has rejected the treaties on the European army which would have brought about the rebirth of German militarism.

The proposals and campaigns of the World Council of Peace have made it possible to bring the peoples into action and organise their efforts. To-day millions of people in every country feel justly proud of the share they have had in winning this great victory.

Nevertheless, other dangers remain in the world which still call for the vigilance of the forces of peace. One immediate threat hangs over Europe and may well destroy the results already obtained. The reconstitution of a German army as part of a military coalition, which still remains the objective of certain governments, would perpetuate the division of Germany, sharpen the opposition between the two parts into which Europe has been arbitrarily separated, and stimulate the armaments race.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace calls on the people to oppose the rearming of Germany in any form or under any pretext. It calls on them to press the governments of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to resume negotiations without delay. None of the participants must hamper the negotiations by adverse actions or by imposing preliminary conditions.

The peaceful settlement of the German problem must be acceptable to each of the powers concerned and also to the German people. It must put an end to the division of Germany, prevent that country from being used to threaten any of its neighbours and permit, at the same time, the organisation of European security.

Security cannot be assured in a world divided into opposing blocs, nor by military coalitions. It demands peaceful co-existence of all states, whatever their political system or social structure, co-operation between them, and agreement on general disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

To concentrate all the forces of peace in order to achieve these great objectives, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to call a session of the World Council on November 18th, 1954. It will propose the following points for the agenda :

i. Co-operation of all the states of Europe in the organisation of their common security.

ii. The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign intervention and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.

iii. The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.

iv. Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

v. Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

Vienna, September 15th, 1954.

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, September 22nd, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
New York
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Please find enclosed the statement adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Vienna, September 13-15.

November 18th is the date chosen for the opening of the next session of the World Council of Peace. Although we realise very well the difficulties involved in your own participation in this meeting, nevertheless we feel that the decisions for the agenda reached by the Bureau might help you in obtaining a representation from your country.

In the near future we shall be sending you more detailed information on the Bureau meeting and the forthcoming session of the World Council, especially the place in which it will be held. We should, however, be pleased to receive as soon as possible your views and suggestions on the agenda proposed by the Bureau.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

We are,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Great events have brought a new hope to the world and rewarded the efforts of all who are working for peace.

An armistice has been signed in Korea and in Indo-China ; the French Parliament has rejected the treaties on the European army which would have brought about the rebirth of German militarism.

The proposals and campaigns of the World Council of Peace have made it possible to bring the peoples into action and organise their efforts. To-day millions of people in every country feel justly proud of the share they have had in winning this great victory.

Nevertheless, other dangers remain in the world which still call for the vigilance of the forces of peace. One immediate threat hangs over Europe and may well destroy the results already obtained. The reconstitution of a German army as part of a military coalition, which still remains the objective of certain governments, would perpetuate the division of Germany, sharpen the opposition between the two parts into which Europe has been arbitrarily separated, and stimulate the armaments race.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace calls on the people to oppose the rearming of Germany in any form or under any pretext. It calls on them to press the governments of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to resume negotiations without delay. None of the participants must hamper the negotiations by adverse actions or by imposing preliminary conditions.

The peaceful settlement of the German problem must be acceptable to each of the powers concerned and also to the German people. It must put an end to the division of Germany, prevent that country from being used to threaten any of its neighbours and permit, at the same time, the organisation of European security.

Security cannot be assured in a world divided into opposing blocs, nor by military coalitions. It demands peaceful co-existence of all states, whatever their political system or social structure, co-operation between them, and agreement on general disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

To concentrate all the forces of peace in order to achieve these great objectives, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to call a session of the World Council on November 18th, 1954. It will propose the following points for the agenda :

i. Co-operation of all the states of Europe in the organisation of their common security.

ii. The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign intervention and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.

iii. The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.

iv. Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

v. Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

Vienna, September 15th, 1954.

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA
SC.

Vienna, October 6th, 1954.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Recently at a meeting of the Bureau of the Council there was a discussion on the celebration of cultural anniversaries, as a result of which it was agreed to recommend for commemoration on a world scale the six great figures, or their works, mentioned below :

- "Leaves of Grass" by Whitman, 100th anniversary of its first edition, 1855
- Schiller, 1759-1805, 150th anniversary of his death
- Montesquieu, 1689-1755, 200th anniversary of his death
- Mickiewicz, 1798-1855, 100th anniversary of his death
- Andersen, 1805-1875, 150th anniversary of his birth
- "Don Quixote" by Cervantes, 350th anniversary of its publication, 1605.

It will certainly be a great pleasure to people in all countries that a great American poet heads this list. Undoubtedly there will be very great interest in this proposal and a wide desire through this celebration to express feelings of friendship for the people of the United States and for improved cultural contact.

We shall certainly be receiving a great many requests for information both about Whitman and his work and about the celebrations which will be organised in America itself. We would, therefore, be very grateful if you could very quickly undertake the preparation of materials (biographies, special articles, portraits, etc ...) which could also be sent to people in other countries. This will help to promote a really world wide recognition of the greatness of this very great American.

We look forward with interest to hearing your comments.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

V. Duncan Jones

for Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

Conseil Mondial
de la Paix

Molwald Platz 5
Wien 1V, Austria

1, 6, 1955

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you this letter on behalf of Nazim Hikmet, who instructed me to ask you weather the songs of his three poems are ready. As the date of the meeting of the World Assembly in Helsinki is approaching he would like to know if it would be possible to get the records of these songs before that date.

With the hope to hear from you soon,

Very sincerely yours

M. Z. Sertel

M. Zekeriya Sertel

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

January 10, 1955

Mr. V. Duncan Jones, Secretary
Secretariat World Council of Peace
Estate- Haus Mollwald - Platz 5
Vienna 5, Austria

Dear Mr. Jones:

Your letter of December 17, 1954 was received. The address of the Othello Recording Company is -

79 West 125th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Please allow us to take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation for your steadfast struggle for peace.

With best wishes for success during the new year.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray,
For Paul Robeson

JG/g

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA
CO.

Vienna, December 17th, 1954.

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125 Street.Suite 6
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Friends,

Several months ago we learned of the Othello Recording Company's intention to make and distribute new recordings of Paul Robeson.

We made this known to all friends of peace through our Information Bulletin, but unfortunately we are unable to reply to the letters we receive asking for the address of the Othello Recording Company.

We would therefore ask you to send us the Company's address.

With our thanks and best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

V. Duncan Jones

V. Duncan Jones
Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Jury des Prix
Internationaux
de la Paix

C/co.

VIENNE, January 11, 1955.

Mr. Paul ROBESON
53 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Friend,

I have pleasure in informing you that the meeting of the Jury of the International Peace Prizes, which was to have taken place this month, has been postponed till the end of February. This will enable us to send you fuller information on the candidates for the 1954 Prizes.

I will let you know the date of the meeting in due course.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jorge Zalamea
Secretary of the Jury

Malamud about Jury

ORSZÁGOS BÉKETANÁCS
CONSEIL HONGROIS DE LA PAIX
BUDAPEST
VI. SZTÁLIN-UT 124.
TELEPHONE: 124-399.

Budapest, 2o January 1955

Dear Paul Robeson!

Please, don't take it amiss if we approach you with a request. The Hungarian Peace Council has set itself the aim to acquaint the people of our country with the outstanding figures of the international peace movement also through literature. For this purpose we are issuing every month an approximately 35 page booklet illustrated with artistic drawings in a series entitled "Little Library of the Peace Councils". The volumes appear in an eddition of 25,000 and are circulated all over the country. They are read by the plain people, workers, intellectuals, peasants. Only recently we have published in this series a booklet dealing with Chaplin, written by one of our wellknown authors, István ÖRKÉNY.

It is our dearest wish to offer the Hungarian public also a book about your life and art. Paul Robeson's name is well known to the Hungarian reading public: your records are constantly being played over the radio and our press often reports on your activities in the fight for peace and the events of your life. Still, we lack a work of literature which would, in a worthy form, bring closer to the Hungarian reader the story of your life, your part in the fight for peace and explain how you came to be the great artist and peace fighter loved and honoured also in Hungary.

We have asked one of our best known writers, Miklós GYÁRFÁS, to write the book. Miklós Gyárfás is the author of several short stories, short novels and plays. His drama dealing with the Rosenberg couple was performed last year with well deserved success.

Naturally, Miklós Gyárfás declared himself happy to comply with our request. However, as he did not have the pleasure to meet you personally and finds that the newspapers and booklets at his disposal do not offer sufficient material for the responsible and consciencious literary work he should like to create about your life, he asks you - and we support his request - to answer a few questions. These answers would help him in his work.

Miklós Gyárfás should like to know where you spent your childhood. He would also need a few childhood and youth memories. We should be very grateful if you could tell him, in a few brief sentences, about your mother, your homelife, your family, your favourite books and musicians and give us a few data which would make it possible for the author to portray the environment in which you lived and are now living.

ORSZÁGOS BÉKETANÁCS
CONSEIL HONGROIS DE LA PAIX
BUDAPEST
VI. SZTÁLIN-UT 124.
TELEPHONE: 124-399.

Budapest, 2o January 1955

Another group of questions concerns your artistic development. We should like to know were you learned to sing, who were your favourite masters, where your first significant public appearance took place. Perhaps you could tell us in a few words about your greatest artistic experiences and about the contact you had with the soldiers for whom you sang during the war. We should be very glad if, in connection with this, you could give us an account about your experiences in Europe, your first European trip and the memories you gathered in various European towns.

It would give us, naturally, great pleasure if you told us about any of your experiences you consider important and which would help the author in his work.

Please, let us know whether your work permits you to spend time on answering our questions and if so, you would greatly oblige us by sending us the information required as soon as possible.

Thanking you in advance for the trouble you are taking we wish you further successes in your artistic work and your fight for peace and remain,

Sincerely yours:

Bugár Jánosné

/Mrs. János Bugár/
Secretary
of the Hungarian Peace Council

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, February 4, 1955.

Mr Paul Robeson

M.W.

Dear Friend,

We have pleasure in informing you of one of the proposals which was favourably received by the representatives of the different countries who were present at the cultural commission of the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace.

It was in connection with the celebration of the 1955 cultural anniversaries and consisted in sending of messages of greetings and congratulations to National Peace Committees, Universities and various cultural institutions and organisations in the native lands of the personalities to be celebrated. These messages would also express the intention of collaborating in the celebrations proposed by the World Council of Peace. Thus in the case of the United States, for example, messages of support would come from France, Japan, the Soviet Union, Latin America, the Near East, etc. This form of friendly relations would help to arouse a greater interest in the celebration of the cultural anniversaries and would facilitate more friendly and direct contacts between different circles in the entire world, including those that do not belong to the World Peace Movement.

On this point, friends in different countries have asked us to send them as soon as possible a list of the cultural institutions in the United States, both official and unofficial, to which they could write on this occasion.

For this reason, we would ask you to prepare a list, if possible, which we can send in good time to the National Committees which have requested it or which may request it.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

A. Varela
Responsible for
Cultural Questions

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

Dresden, den 2.4.1955

Lieber Freund Paul Robeson!

Vielleicht hast Du uns schon vergessen, weil wir Dir so lange nicht geschrieben haben. Heute wollen wir nun das Versäumte schnell nachholen. Wir wollen Dir einmal einen kleinen Ausschnitt aus unserer Arbeit erzählen.

Du hast vielleicht schon erfahren, daß auch in diesem Jahre das Pioniertreffen wieder in Dresden stattfindet. Darauf sind wir sehr stolz. Aber es gibt auch eine Menge Arbeit in der Vorbereitungszeit, weil wir doch unsere Gäste würdig empfangen wollen.

In unserem Kreis läuft jetzt ein Wettbewerb. Die Schule, die die beste Arbeit leistet, erhält

das Ernst-Thälmann-Banner. Wir haben uns in letzter Zeit tüchtig angestrengt und haben 120 Schüler für unsere Pionierorganisation gewonnen, haben 9000 kg Schrott gesammelt und in unserer außerschulischen Arbeit Geschenke für unsere Gäste angefertigt. Selbstverständlich haben wir auch unsere Leistungen in der Schule verbessert. Wir haben deshalb die stille Hoffnung, daß zur ersten Auswertung des Wettbewerbs am 16. April, zum Geburtstag Ernst Thälmanns, das Ernst-Thälmann-Banner in unsere Schule kommt.

Wir glauben, daß wir Dir auch damit eine Freude bereiten, denn unsere Freundschaft trägt ja Deinen Namen und alle Menschen wissen, daß Du auch mit Deinen Liedern hilfst, den Frieden in der Welt zu erhalten. Das gleiche wollen wir mit unserer Arbeit tun.

Für heute wollen wir uns verabschieden und würden uns sehr freuen, wenn Du, trotz Deiner vielen Arbeit, einmal wenige Minuten Zeit findest und uns einen Gruß sendest.

Wir grüßen Dich im Namen von 450 Pionieren mit unserem Pionier gruß

Für Frieden und Völkerfreundschaft

SEID BEREIT

Freundschaftsrat der
37. Grundschule K. Sartert

Pionierfreundschaft
Paul Robeson
37. Grundschule
Dresden - A 28
Herbertstraße 34

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, April 13, 1955

TS/bw

Mr. Paul Robeson,
New York,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

A group of young pioneers in Dresden, called the 'Paul Robeson' group, has asked us to forward the enclosed letter to you.

The letter describes the group's activities in preparation for the forthcoming Pioneer's Meeting in the German Democratic Republic and asks you to send them a short message.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A. MELE
For the Technical Secretariat

Encl: copy letter

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

O/MW

Vienna, February 16, 1955.

Mr.Paul Robeson.

Dear Friend,

You have certainly already had reports and information on the launching of the signature campaign against the preparation of atomic war which was decided on by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its January meeting in Vienna.

We think that you would perhaps be interested in seeing one of the letters which we have sent on this matter to some National Peace Movements in different parts of the world. We are enclosing a copy herewith.

We would be very grateful if you could possibly let us have your views and observations on the different proposals and suggestions contained in this letter.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary.

Encl.

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФЕССИОНАЛЬНЫХ СОЮЗОВ

0670

Address all correspondence to:
Adresser la correspondance au:
Toda comunicación ha de ser dirigida a:
Адресовать всю корреспонденцию:

SEKRETARIAT DES
WELTGEWERKSCHAFTSBUNDES
WIEN I, SEILERSTÄTTE 3
TELEPHON R 26-0-93
Adresse télégraphique
FESYMOND WIEN

Revue: 551
HW/IZ

AUSTRIA

Wien, March 10th, 1955.

Mr.
Paul Robeson,
c/o
Suite 6,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I am writing to enquire if you would be willing to write a short May Day message to be published in the May issue of the WFTU Review "World Trade Union Movement". We have in mind a message of greetings and solidarity to workers of the world on the occasion of May Day which could express the importance of international working class solidarity in view of the grave dangers of war and the lowering of living and working standards throughout the world. We were thinking in terms of a statement of about 300 or 400 words (of course, you need not be limited to this length, it can be longer). We would need to have this in our hands by April 5th. It would help us in planning this May Day number of the Review if you could drop us a line as soon as possible to let us know whether it will be convenient for you to meet our request.

Hoping that you will be able to give us a favourable response and with our very best wishes, I am,

Yours fraternally,

Jack Woddis

Jack Woddis,
Press and Propaganda
Department of the WFTU.

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, March 14, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson,
U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

In connection with the celebration this year of the 150th anniversary of the death of Friedrich Schiller, as recommended by the World Council, we are enclosing a biography of the great German author.

Furthermore, we have heard from the German Peace Council that they have sent to National Peace Committees an interesting album of illustrations on the life and work of Schiller, which would be useful for public exhibition. We hope that this album has reached you and that it will help you in preparing commemoration events.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A. Varela
Responsible for Cultural Questions

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF FRIEDRICH SCHILLER

Friedrich Schiller was born on November 10, 1759 in Marbach, a little town in the Duchy of Württemberg, Swabia, which lies in the extreme South-Western tip of Germany, had a flourishing literary life in the Middle Ages and gave birth to a great number of famous poets and thinkers in the centuries that followed. Schiller's father, who came from a family of Protestant artisans, was first of all a doctor and then served as a captain in the regiments set up to help France by Duke Karl Eugen of Württemberg. In 1776 he was transferred to Ludwigsburg where the prodigal Duke kept court in French style. Young Schiller went to the classical school there and prepared to study theology. However, the Duke of Württemberg, a territory ruled absolutely and in the best feudal traditions, high-handedly and decisively intervened in his life. Schiller, like other officers' sons in the country, had to enter the ducal Military Academy and was thus forced to give up his favourite idea of studying theology. Moreover, he gave the Duke a commitment in order to compensate for the free instruction he received and remained in barracks for eight years doing military training, where no influence from the outside world could reach him.

When the Military Academy moved to Stuttgart in 1775 Schiller transferred from the Faculty of Law to that of Medecine which, within the limits of medical science as it stood at that time, gave the young Schiller, who was of a dreamy turn of mind, more opportunity for speculative, philosophical and psychological investigation of the nature of man. This is shown in the dissertation he composed at the end of his course: The Philosophy of Physiology, which unfortunately, did not meet the Duke's requirements, so that the candidate had to wait another year. It was this year that saw the birth of the revolutionary scenes in his drama The Robbers, fruit of his anger at the arbitrary power of princes and his disappointment at still being deprived of his freedom. He had begun to work on the play in 1777. On December 15, 1780 Schiller was at last free of the Military Academy and in possession of the diploma which allowed him to practice as a doctor. But that did not mean that he was out of the Duke's clutches. The ill-paid post of military doctor did not rate officer's rank and he was forbidden to carry on a private practice, with the result that for the first time Schiller considered the idea of escaping from Württemberg. Spurred by this idea, he finished The Robbers and had it published at his own expense in May 1781. The effect produced by the book, which was a reflection of the social conditions of the time, was immense. A year later it was recast in accordance with the wishes of the Theatrical intendant, one Dahlberg, and performed with great success in Mannheim and a number of other towns.

Schiller's secret trips to Mannheim for the staging of The Robbers got him into disgrace with the Duke who had him put under a fortnight's arrest, so that in September 1782 he decided to leave Stuttgart for good. But at Mannheim, where he went first of all, the plays he had written meanwhile - the republican drama Fiesco's Plot in Genoa and the bourgeois drama Luise Millerin, the title of which was later changed into Intrigue and Love by Schiller - were not accepted by the theatrical administration, Dahlberg being away, and Schiller was involved in grave financial difficulties. The Von Wolzogen family offered him a temporary refuge on the Bauerbach estate where he finished Luise Millerin. Meanwhile, however, Dahlberg, the theatrical intendant of Mannheim, had learned to appreciate Schiller's talent and on September 1st, 1783 he offered him the post of 'theatre poet' in Mannheim. Schiller accepted and promised to write a third drama, in addition to Fiesco's Plot in Genoa and Luise Millerin during the year of his contract. But at its premiere Fiesco's Plot in Genoa, too revolutionary and republican for the German bourgeois public, had only a prestige success, whereas the bourgeois family tragedy Luise Millerin, under its new title Intrigue and Love, was a complete success.

In spite of this, Dahlberg did not renew Schiller's contract in the autumn of 1784, so in the spring of 1785 the poet went to Leipzig where he had a friend of long standing in the person of Christian Gottfried Körner, the father of the future poet of freedom. He accompanied Körner, who had recently married, from Leipzig to Dresden, where he passed a happy time in the circle of the Körner family and their friends; the gaiety of this period comes out in his famous Ode to Joy. In Dresden he also worked on Don Carlos which he at first intended to be the tragedy of a princely family, but which he subsequently recast, putting a stronger emphasis on the political and revolutionary element. It thus became an iambic drama, a tragedy in the grand style.

The preparation of this drama drawn from Spanish history led Schiller to engage in historical studies which were to occupy him more and more in the years that followed alongside his philosophical studies, of which his Philosophical Letters, published in the review Thalia in 1786, are the fruit. His growing interest in history made him work on his great dissertation, The Revolt of the Netherlands, in 1787 and he accepted the chair of history offered him by Jena University in 1788. He was also disposed to take this decision by his engagement to Charlotte von Lengefeld, for he hoped that in a university post he would be able to offer her an assured position and one worthy of her station.

After making contact with Herder and Wieland in Weimar in 1787, at which time Goethe was still in Italy, Schiller met the latter at Rudolfstadt on September 7, 1788, although the two poets did not yet establish close relations. Goethe, the elder of the two by ten years and very responsive to the classical ideal of harmony as a result of his stay in Italy, considered that the naturalist character of Schiller's 'Sturm und Drang' poetry was evidence of a lack of maturity; whereas Schiller was disappointed by the stern manners of Privy Councillor Goethe.

On May 26, 1789, Schiller delivered his inaugural lecture in the packed lecture hall of Jena University. His theme was 'What is Universal History and why do we study it?' (At that time, Universal History meant the history of mankind.) This first lecture was followed by others on different sections of universal history. In 1790, while continuing his historical work, Schiller turned his attention to aesthetics and the history of literature, and from 1792 onwards he devoted himself above all to a detailed study of Kant's philosophy. The rigorous ethics of Kant fitted in with the ideas of the moralist Schiller and he applied them to the educational value of art. But he went further than Kant in his major philosophical works, Of Grace and Dignity and Letters on the Aesthetic Education of Man, which were published in their final form in 1795. Above all his great dissertation Naive and Sentimental Poetry, published in 1795 and 1796, contains original passages quite in the modern spirit on the dialectical structure of human nature.

Schiller was married in 1796 and a year later, following a severe pneumonia, he had to take a cure in Karlsbad. His convalescence was long and of course interrupted his work at the University, but the new relations he had established with the bookseller Cotta of Tubingen, who founded the monthly literary review Horen (The Hours) in 1795; with Wilhelm von Humboldt who collaborated with Schiller on this review; and lastly and above all with Goethe, gave him a new stimulus in the years that followed in spite of constant ill-health. The two poets met in Jena in July 1794 after a meeting of the Naturalist Society. This interview gave rise to a frequent exchange of letters which lasted until the two came together to their mutual advantage, Schiller having moved to Weimar in 1800. This event saw the birth of that mutual friendship and collaboration which was to be as important for Goethe and Schiller themselves as for the whole literary life of Germany. Goethe, who, since his stay in Italy, had become embittered and incapable of any poetic inspriation, felt animated anew by the desire to create; while Schiller came back to poetry after an interval of six years devoted to the study of philosophy.

Their collaboration produced several hundred distichs, which appeared in 1795 under the ironic title Xenien; to the Muses' Almanach, which came out between 1796 and 1800; and to the Ballad Almanach, containing Schiller's most famous ballads, which was published in 1798.

The last eight years of Schiller's life were given to the drama. In 1796, as a result of his occupation with the history of the Thirty Years War, he began the Wallenstein trilogy. The first part, Wallenstein's Camp, was performed in Weimar in 1798; the other two, The Piccolomini and The Death of Wallenstein, in 1799, also in Weimar. They were received with great enthusiasm. Only a few days after finishing Wallenstein Schiller started on the preliminary historical studies for a play drawn from Anglo-Scottish history, Marie Stuart. This work was interrupted by an illness of Lotte Schiller, the removal to Weimar and above all by the translation and adaptation of foreign dramas (Shakespeare, Racine, Gozzi) inspired by Goethe's plans for the reforming of the theatre. It was only finished in the Spring of 1800, whereupon Schiller immediately tackled a new subject in which he had become interested during the writing of Marie Stuart, and wrote The Maid of Orleans in one year. It was performed in Leipzig in 1801, since difficulties had arisen over staging the premiere in Weimar.

After hesitating for a long time over the choice of a subject by which to revive classical art, Schiller finally decided on The Bride of Messina in the summer of 1802. Lastly, between August 1803 and February 1804, just as Goethe had in mind to make Wilhelm Tell, the champion of Swiss freedom, the hero of an epic, Schiller conceived his drama Wilhelm Tell, with which he wanted 'to shake the German stage', as he said. This authentic drama of the people was everywhere received with enthusiasm and it is still one of the most frequently performed of Schiller's plays.

Even before Wilhelm Tell was performed Schiller had worked out the plan for Demetrius, a dramatic adaptation of a subject drawn from Russian history. He wrote only a fragment of it - though that fragment foreshadows a new style and an even higher artistic quality - for he died in the midst of his work on May 9, 1805, after a particularly violent attack of fever.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

O/bw

Vienna, March 18, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson

Dear Friend,

We hope that you have received the texts adopted at the last session of the Bureau, which was held in Vienna on March 11, 12, and 13. These texts bring out the importance of our campaign against the preparations for atomic war, a campaign which arousing great interest throughout the world and stimulating a great determination to preserve peace. A number of well-known figures have already made statements on it and we would be very glad if you could also make a statement on your reasons for agreeing with the Vienna Appeal.

This statement, which we would publish in our Bulletin, could encourage intellectuals and artists to support this Appeal.

Thanking you in advance your kind co-operation,

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean LAFFITTE
General Secretary

acknowledge receipt —
prepare reply.

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

O.dh

Vienna, March 31, 1955

Mr. Paul ROBESON
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

We have pleasure in enclosing a copy of a letter that we are sending to National Committees following on the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on March 11, 12 and 13, 1955.

We hope that it will help you to appreciate the Movement's current work and we should very much like to have your views and suggestions on the problems raised at the present time.

Hoping to hear from you,

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

COPY
O
P
Y

PAUL ROBESON

April 8, 1955

Mr. Romesh Chandra
14 Munshi Niketan
Kamala Market
New Delhi, India

Dear Friend:

Mr. Paul Robeson has asked us to send you the enclosed, which is the text of his greeting to the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia.

We hope that you will find it possible to transmit the text to the Conference or to the Indonesian Peace Committee, for which we do not have an address. A copy is also included for whatever use you may care to make of it.

We have also sent under separate cover two tape recordings which include this message and three songs sung by Mr. Robeson. The songs are: "No More Auction Block" (sung by Negro slaves in the United States during the Civil War); "Hymn for Nations" (peace song based on Ode to Joy theme from Beethoven's 9th Symphony); and "Old Man River" by Jarome Kern.

The tapes are identical and we would appreciate having one brought to the attention of the Bandung Conference if the opportunity presents itself. The other tape is for the use of the peace movements.

We would greatly appreciate it if you would acknowledge receipt of these materials. We will be happy to know to what use they have been put.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

April 12, 1955

Dear Mr. Lafitte:

The inclosed is for your information. We will appreciate any assistance you may be able to give this project, i.e. bringing this material quickly to the attention of the Peace Liason Committee of the Pacific Regions.

Mr. Robeson has asked me also to acknowledge receipt of your request for a statement to be used in preparations for the Helsinki Assembly. He will have this statement ready in the very near future.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Peace Review

25 CUMBERLAND ST.,
TORONTO 5,
CANADA.
PHONE KI. 0965

April 20, 1955.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
c/o Freedom Associates,
139 W. 125th St.,
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I am taking the liberty of sending you a sample copy of the current issue of Peace Review.

What makes Peace Review a unique magazine is that most of its material is supplied from the world peace review published in Paris. It outlines the thinking from month to month of many of the spokesmen in all parts of the world for the great movement for peace which is changing the course of history today. It also includes short stories, writings on science, art, music and literature and the ways that people live. It is good for the morale and faith of all who work for peace to know what is being done and said in all lands.

These same materials are now published in peace reviews in the following countries: Albania, Algeria, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, German Republics (East & West), Holland, Hungary, India, Italy, Iran, Japan, Lebanon, Luxemburg, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, Switzerland and the Soviet Union.

The May issue of Peace Review, enclosed herewith, is a special issue on the atomic age. This issue and subsequent issues will be packed with specially contributed articles by scientific experts and eminent writers on the atomic question. It will contain answers to questions that millions are asking. Attached to this letter is a sheet listing featured articles scheduled for inclusion in the current issue and/or subsequent issues.

To read Peace Review is to discover its riches for yourself. I hope you will try it for a year at $1.00 for the subscription. I do not know whether you will agree with all of the viewpoints you find in it, but at least you will get a picture of the world unobtainable anywhere else on this side of the oceans.

Yours sincerely,

Jean Stewart

Manager,
Peace Review.

MRS. EVA SANDERSON (*Chairman Honourary Board*) BRUCE MICKLEBURGH (*Editor*) JEAN STEWART (*Manager*)

SCHEDULED FEATURES

For May, 1955 and subsequent issues

of

PEACE REVIEW

What We Must Know from Now On ..... Prof.F.Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize
A Black Day for Albert Einstein ..... Mme. Antonina Vallentin
What Are Atomic Weapons? .....
---A-Bombs, H-Bombs and C-Bombs?
---Tactical Weapons and Rockets?
---Radioactive poisons?
There Are No Tactical Atomic Weapons ..... Prof. Eric Burhop
The Thunder of Bikini ..... Dr. Philip Morrison
The Atomic Sickness Is Still Killing at Hiroshima ..... Prof. Nobuo Kusano
The Genetic Effects of Bombs ..... Prof. P. L'Heritier
Are the Atomic Explosions Upsetting the Weather? ..... Charles-Noel Martin
No Possible Air Defense ..... Frank Beswick
Extract from "The World Set Free" ..... H. G. Wells
The Strategy of Misfortune ..... Claude Morgan
The Atomic Secrets Are Written in the Sky. Jean Verdier
Message to Italian Professors ..... Albert Einstein
Our Personal Responsibility ..... Marcelle Auclair
The History of East-West Negotiations on Disarmament ..... Prof. C.F.Powell
The Cold War and Peaceful Competition .... Michel Hincker
The Atom Cuts Two Ways ..... Charles-Noel Martin
The Hanford Plant, Section S ..... Robert Jungk
An Atomic Power-Plant in the Soviet Union and an Atomic Submarine in the U.S. ..... Michel Rouze
Those Healing Isotopes ..... Prof. Topchiev
When India Has Atomic Energy Stations .... Prof. D.D.Kosambi,
1980: The Tame Atom ..... Jean Verdier
Jerry, The First Cosmic Traveller ..... Stanioukovitch Vasiliev
Short Story: New York in the Year 2660 ... Hugo Gernsback.

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ALGER, le 2I AVRIL I955

Monsieur le Professeur OPPENHEIMER
(Etats Unis)

Cher Monsieur,

Nous devons très prochainement (avant le I5 Mai) éditer un huméro spécial de notre journal consacré à la campagne mondiale pour l'interdiction et la destruction des armes atomiques. Ce numéro est particulièrement destiné à faire connaître à l'opinion publique algérienne la tenue de l'assemblée d'HELSINKI et ses objectifs, et aider ainsi à la partitipation de l'Algérie à cette assemblée ;

Nous sommes, vous le savez peut-être, le seul quotidien progressiste en langue française de toute l'Afrique du Nord, le seul qui offre une tribune au mouvement de la Paix, dont il appuie toutes les campagnes. Notre entreprise revêt de ce fait une importance particulière dans les circonstances que traversent l'Algérie, la Tunisie et le Maroc .

Pour que ce numéro spécial soit le plus efficace possible, nous avons pensé à solliciter votre éminente collaboration dont l'autorité aidera encore, nous en sommes sûrs au succès de notre entreprise . Nous vous serions très reconnaissants si nous pouvions publier dans ce numéro une déclaration de vous - accompagnée d'une photo si possible - sur les problèmes qui seront débattus à HELSINKI.

Ne connaissant pas votre adresse, nous avons mis à contribution nos amis du Mouvement Français de la Paix. Nous vous serions obligés si vous vouliez bien nous envoyer votre réponse directement .

En espérant ne pas ^être trop importun et en vous remerçiant pour votre aide, nous vous prions de croire, cher Monsieur, à nos meilleurs sentiments.

Le Directeur,

H. A.

Henri ALLEG

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Jury des Prix
Internationaux
de la Paix

Vienna, May 13, 1955

Refer to Rizk - Check with Howard, Fort to [illegible] - [illegible] letter [illegible] perhaps [illegible] should Paul do [illegible]

Mr. Paul Robeson

Dear Friends,

I have great pleasure in informing you that the Jury of the International Peace Prizes decided unanimously at its Vienna meeting to award the International Peace Prizes for 1954 as follows:

The Peace Prize of Honour was awarded to the great Hungarian composer, Bela Bartok, in posthumous tribute to a man who, by his work, made a great contribution to the cause of friendship between the peoples.

The International Peace Prizes were awarded to:

Mr. Edouard Herriot, French statesman and author, for his contribution to the cause of peace.
Professor Josue de Castro, Brazilian scientist and author, for his contribution to the cause of peace.
Mr. Joris Ivens, Dutch film director, for his contribution to the cause of peace.
Mr. Cesare Zavattini, Italian film scenario writer, for his contribution to the cause of peace.

As in previous years, we most earnestly ask you to give the Jury's decision all possible publicity, and to give us your help in making known the meaning and the aims of the International Peace Prizes and the contribution of the new laureates to the cause of friendship between the peoples and the consolidation of peace.

You will find some brief information on the 1954 laureates in the June 1 issue of our Bulletin and within the next few weeks we will send you the necessary material to help you in this work.

With our thanks and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Jorge Zalamea

Jorge Zalamea
Secretary of the Jury

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV,

Special Issue May 12, 1955

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE PRIZES
for 1954

The Secretariat of the Jury of the International Peace Prizes published, on May 10, the list of the laureates for 1954.

The Peace Prize of Honour was awarded to the great Hungarian composer, Bela Bartok, in posthumous tribute to a man who, by his work, made a great contribution to the cause of friendship between the peoples.

The International Peace Prizes were awarded to:

Mr. Edouard Herriot,	French statesman and author
Professor Josue de Castro,	Brazilian scientist and author
Mr. Joris Ivens,	Dutch film director
Mr. Cesare Zavattini,	Italian film scenario writer

FOR THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE

Bela Bartok

From 1906 to 1945, the year of his death, the great Hungarian composer devoted much time and effort to studying, classifying, comparing and making known the popular music of Hungary, Slovakia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Serbia, Rumania, Turkey and North Africa. 'Cutting across all dislikes and disagreements, the peoples must feel that they are brothers. The brotherhood of the peoples is the ideal which I intend to serve through my music,' Bartok wrote in 1931. His whole life, his acts, his works and his ideas confirmed his loyalty to this ideal.

That is why the World Council of Peace honours the memory of this brilliant musician on the tenth anniversary of his death and holds up his life and work as an example of the noblest creative activity in the service of friendship between the peoples.

§

Edouard Herriot

In the course of his long career, Edouard Herriot has consistently based his activity on three fundamental principles: solving international differences by negotiation; co-existence and co-operation between all peoples; and the conciliatory and peaceful mission of France. In the years after the first world war, Edouard Herriot endeavoured, through negotiation, to limit the disastrous results of this conflict. Since 1924 he has seen in Franco-Soviet friendship one of the cornerstones of European security.

As if to underline the continuity of a life largely devoted to the policy of conciliation and peace, Edouard Herriot, in spite of age and infirmity, recently addressed the French National Assembly - of which he is Honorary President - to put his country and the world on their guard against the dangers inherent in the revival of German militarism and the division of Europe. Thus he reaffirmed his confidence in the peace mission of France.

For these reasons Mr. Edouard Herriot is today awarded one of the International Peace Prizes for 1954.

§

Josue de Castro

When The Geography of Hunger appeared a few years ago, it was welcomed in every country as an encouraging revelation, full of promise and hope.

With the authority which derives from his deep knowledge of the most serious human problems, the author of this book, the eminent Brazilian scientist Josue de Castro, President of the United Nations

Food and Agriculture Organisation, reached some remarkable positive conclusions. It is within the power of modern man to provide a sufficient quantity of nourishing food for every person in the world. The organisation of production and the distribution of food should be our great task. The resources which are being used to arm the nations and to manufacture ever more destructive weapons would amply suffice to ban the spectre of hunger from the world and to consolidate universal peace on the basis of the progress and well-being of all. But to attain this, sincere and constant international co-operation is needed.

By awarding one of the 1954 International Peace Prizes to Josue de Castro, the World Council shows its agreement with these principles and expresses the wishes of millions in all parts of the world who have read the books of this great Brazilian with a feeling of hope and encouragement.

§

Joris Ivens

Year by year, from 1928 to the present time, the Dutch film director Joris Ivens, who is recognised today as one of the leading figures in the realm of documentary films, has made a series of films of striking homogeneity and exceptional significance.

All his work extolls man's creative genius, the peoples' constructive ability and the enduring patience and self-denying effort by which mankind strives to overcome all obstacles, both natural and man-made. At the same time are to be found running through his work a deep feeling of human solidarity, a discerning love of all the peoples of the world. Ivens shows them in his films with heartfelt sympathy as they fight for freedom, for bread, or for peace. A third characteristic of his work is its universality. His films were made in many countries, his scenarios take us from Belgium and Holland to Indonesia and China, from the Soviet Union to the United States, from Spain to Egypt. All these characteristics have their source in a constant aspiration for a world in which work and love will flourish in peace.

§

Cesare Zavattini

A British review once stated unhesitatingly that Cesare Zavattini is the world's most gifted film writer. There is no doubt that the millions who have seen 'Sciuscia', 'Bicycle Thieves', 'Miracle in Milan', 'Umberto D', and many other unforgettable films, will agree.

How did Zavattini reach this pinnacle? Perhaps because his film scripts face up to reality instead of evading it; because they are rooted in the realities of our time, full of its problems and present the ordinary man in the street; because they reflect with extraordinary

fidelity and warm sympathy life in a world suffering from the terrible aftermath of the war: unemployment, homelessness, poverty, the orphanage, cruelty....

Zavattini's scenarios are a moving defence of the weak and humble; an appeal to fulfil our duty better towards children and old people; a demand that every man have the right to work; a complete condemnation of war which causes such destruction and has such awful consequences. They express a desire for peace, the only atmosphere in which men will be able, without distinction, to unite in building a less uncertain and less inhospitable world.

§

Since the First World Congress of the Peace Movement in Paris, April 25, 1949, the World Council of Peace has annually awarded a number of international prizes with the aim of honouring before the whole world the work of the writers, artists and scientists who have done most to make their creative activity a bond of friendship between the peoples and an instrument of peace.

These prizes are awarded by a Jury composed of persons from every part of the world, such as Mr. Jorge Amado (Brazil), Professor André Bonnard (Switzerland), Mao Dun (China), Howard Fast (U.S.A.), Guerassimov (U.S.S.R.), Kruczkowsky (Poland), Lundkvist (Sweden), Professor Mukarovsky (Czechoslovakia), Vercors (France), Antoine Tabet (Lebanon), Mrs. Anna Seghers (Germany), Mr. Zalamea (Colombia).

Among the laureates of the International Peace Prizes are such eminent figures as the poets Nazim Hikmet, Pablo Neruda and Paul Eluard; Pablo Picasso; Paul Robeson; Charlie Chaplin; the Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich; and the writer Halldor Laxness.

§

Eigentumer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6
Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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(date)

Mr. Jean Lafitte
General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Estate Haus
Moldwald Platz 5,
Vienna IV, Austria.

Dear Friend:

In reply to your request for a brief statement from me on the forthcoming World Assembly for Peace, I would like to submit the following for publication in the Bulletin:

"When the recent Bandung Conference adopted a resolution calling for the destruction and banning of all thermonuclear weapons, it was the voice of more than half the world's population speaking out on this crucial issue of human survival.

"This unanimous action by the delegates of 29 Asian and African states was vivid evidence that the Vienna Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War truly reflects the will of the people of all nations.

"Bandung, which proved that countries with widely differing political and economic systems can unite upon a policy of living in peace, has had a profound effect upon public opinion in the United States. More and more Americans are speaking out for negotiations to ease world tensions, for trade and cultural exchange, for peaceful coexistence. Steadily the pressure of the people's desire for peace is making itself felt in Washington.

"But peace-lovers dare not relax. The War Party here is still strong and dangerous; leading military men still openly advocate the monstrous policy of 'preventive war'; the testing of atomic weapons continues unabated.

"Bandung, which voiced alarm at the terrible danger of atomic war, makes clear to all of us the urgent importance of Helsinki, where the World Assembly of Peace will be held. Let East and West--the people of all lands--come together through their delegates to Helsinki. Let us there unite the growing strength of the world-wide movement for peace. Yes, let us organize there the final and victorious round of our struggle to abolish the bomb!

"With all my heart, I join with my colleagues of the World Council of Peace in urging the widest support for the Helsinki Assembly."

With best wishes,

Paul Robeson.

May 6, 1955

Mr. Jean Lafitte
General Secretary
World Council of Peace
Estate Haus
Moldwald Platz 5,
Vienna IV, Austria

Dear Friend:

In reply to your request for a brief statement from me on the forthcoming World Assembly for Peace, I would like to submit the following for publication in the Bulletin:

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"With all my heart, I join with my colleagues of the World Peace Council in urging the widest support for the Helsinki Assembly."

With Best wishes,

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, June 6, 1955

O/bw

Mr. Paul Robeson,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Many thanks for your statement which we made immediate use of in our Bulletin Supplement on the Assembly.

The voices which, in spite of the difficulties, are raised in the United States to proclaim their determination to struggle for understanding and friendship between the peoples, are eagerly welcomed by peace-loving people throughout the world.

We send you and your companions our warmest wishes for the success of your work for peace.

Yours very sincerely,
For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

Special Issue June 9, 1955

LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES

A number of public figures from various countries who will be attending the World Assembly for Peace or are giving it their support have just written an open letter to the citizens of the United States. We give this letter below, together with the list of signatories as they were communicated to the American press agencies:

Ten years ago the world was shattered.

After ten years, after various stages of hope and disappointment, the world is still torn apart.

Each and every one of us knows that war is no solution whatsoever, and that a clash between the two main military blocs - considering the monstrous means of mass destruction that science can provide - would lead to a disaster without solving any problems.

The whole of mankind yearns for knowledge, prosperity and happiness.

The whole of mankind rejoices at the hopes of an early meeting of the representatives of the Four Great Powers.

But it is not enough that representatives of the governments meet. There is need for other meetings in which representatives of different trends of opinion and ways of life can examine the problems pertaining to the relations between the nations in an effort to help forward the endeavours of the governments.

Such a meeting will take place at Helsinki from June 22 - 29.

There, people from seventy-five different countries will assemble; it will be attended by or have the full support of all the signatories of this letter.

We all know that Americans are devoted to peace. We know the importance of their contribution in the past; we believe it can be decisive in the days to come.

We all earnestly wish that representative Americans may join in.

If Americans were not to be present at Helsinki, at a moment when the world is entering the path to negotiation - and maybe to mutual understanding - it would be a great disappointment for all men of goodwill, for it would be very regrettable for a great people not to be represented at such an important assembly.

By a free and thorough discussion, we must find the ways and means towards world peace.

Mr. Edouard Herriot (France)
Honorary President of the French National Assembly.

Mr. Frederic Joliot-Curie (France)
Member of the Academy of Sciences,
Member of the National Academy of Medicine,
Nobel Prizewinner.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru (India)
Adviser to the Rehabilitation Ministry of the Indian Government.

Mrs. Soong Ching-ling (China)
Vice-President of the Permanent Committee of the National Congress of the Peoples.

Mr. J.D. Bernal, F.R.S. (Great Britain)
Physicist.

Mr. Georg Branting (Sweden)
Senator, Social-Democratic Party.

Mr. Josue de Castro (Brazil)
Member of Parliament,
Scientist.

Mr. Alexander Fadeev (U.S.S.R.)
Member of the Supreme Soviet,
Writer.

Mr. Akira Kazami (Japan)
Member of Parliament,
Former Secretary-General of the Council of Ministers,
Former Minister of Justice.

Mr. Oscar Lange (Poland)
Former Ambassador of Poland to the United States of America,
Vice-Chancellor of the National Institute of Planning and Statistics.

Mr. Pietro Nenni (Italy)
Member of Parliament
Foreign Minister in the Gasperi Government, 1946/47.

Rev. Martin Niemöller (Germany)
Member of the World Council of Churches,
President of the Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6. - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Gertrude Kaufmann, beide Wien IV, Möllwaldplatz 5.

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"Via W.U. Cables"

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER TO BE MAIN THING NEEDED TO STRENGTHEN WORLD PEACE IN 1955? AND WHAT STEPS SHOULD BE TAKEN TOWARDS ACHIEVING IT? REPLY BY LETTER TELEGRAM PREPAID UP TO 50 WORDS

RADIO PRAHA

455P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Main thing needed to ~~defe~~ strengthen world peace is

- no rearming of fascist-minded germany -

- Unification of democratic Germany

- Necessity to live at peace with S.U. peoples demos & China

- recognition of struggles of colonial people for their full freedom

Mobilization of people to defeat West German rearmament must be basis for European collective security, peaceful co-existence between ~~co~~ nations of different systems of life ~~socialist and capitalist~~ worlds, and ~~recognition~~ victory ~~for~~ of colonial peoples in struggle for full independence. Peace loving peoples must redouble efforts to prevent fascist resurgence. Warmest Greetings -

P

47

As from: 'Peace: A World Review'
15 Rue Feydeau
Paris 2me.

Dear Paul,

This is to tell you of something which I hope Pat has already broached with you. The Journal of the Peace Movement with which I work in Paris is at the moment running a series of biographical sketches of the leaders of the movement. The first was that of Julie-Curie, followed by a study of Nansen. We hope this month to publish one of Bernal.

I have suggested that you be the next or certainly one of the series, and they have asked if I would do it. This I should certainly love to. The only snag is the American background which I have not got. The idea would be to interpret the life from the angle – an American fights for

freedom'. It would have to be well illustrated by photographs of every period.

If you think I am capable of doing it I shall be glad if you will let me know soon and send me any material from which I could get the outlines of your life, particularly the boyhood and early life, together with any photographs you would want used - among them Rosie's book and Shirley Graham's.

If you would prefer someone else to do it in America I should be glad to hear by return if possible whom you have in mind so that we could write to the person direct and explain our needs. But whoever it is, you must stress the importance of avoiding the gaffs of 'Paul Robeson. Negro' and similar studies. The whole aim is to bring out the meaning of the individual struggle against the Negro American background - the world context.

I hope to hear from you. All the best.

Yours sincerely
Peter Blackman

FRANCES C. [redacted]SON
[redacted] W. 136 Street
[redacted] York

(1)

The appeal of the Crucified must arouse the conscience of all man-kind. ~~Especially must we seek to bring~~ The enormity of this crime against the brave Korean & Chinese people should bring down the wrath of all decent humanity

FRANCES C. ROBESON
~~730 W. 148 Street~~
~~New York 30, New York~~

upon the heads of the military & shapers of this general policy.

This documented news of bacteriological warfare unleashed by the United States military has astounded & shamed millions of peace-loving Americans and is moving ~~[illegible]~~

3.

FRANCES C. ROBESON
155 W. 136 Street
New York 30, New York

them to immediate militant Protest.

I cannot condemn too strongly the calculated murder by these long time oppressors of the Negro and Colonial Peoples - and of the working masses of this and other lands.

~~FRANCES C. ROBESON~~
~~155 W. 136 Street~~
~~New York 30, New York~~

The struggle for abolition of atomic - Bacteriological - and all forms of inhuman warfare = the reduction of armaments in general - must be increasingly waged - until such measures are imposed upon the makers and would-be makers of war.

Sincerely
Paul Robeson.

Dr. Hewlett Johnson
~~Dean of Canterbury~~

The Deanery – Canterbury, England

For British Peace Congress –

Dear Friends –

How wonderful if one could be with you at these historic sessions.

As you all know, St. Pancras recalls many struggles. Though cross the ocean, I feel myself a part of you.

Respect ~~thanks~~ gratitude for your contributions to the noble cause of peace.

Here too, we and growing thousands and thousands, struggle for the real, honest America to do its part in insuring a friendly, peaceful world. With all the difficulties we are confident that the peoples of our and many lands will carry through to victory, to ever enriching life and to lasting peace.

Paul Robeson.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL SPEECHES 1952, 1954 12/3

INFORMATION SERVICE
ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЙ БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ
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YOUTH UNITE! FORWARD FOR LASTING PEACE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE — ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ — WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH — FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

SPECIAL BULLETIN

ADDRESS BY JACQUES DENIS,

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE W.F.D.Y.,

BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

BERLIN, JULY 1 - 6, 1952

ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST

DISCUSSION CONTRIBUTION ON THE FIRST POINT OF THE AGENDA

Dear Friends,

In the report of President Joliot-Curie as well as in the discussion, the gravity of the danger to world peace, as represented in the reconstitution of German and Japanese militarism, the reconstitution of their war-potential, has become very evident.

The press quotes daily new information about the Western German and the Japanese armed forces and more generally about the armed forces of the Atlantic Coalition, the so-called "European Army" etc.

Other speakers here have told you facts and figures which show you to what great extent this militarisation has already grown. The aims that are being persued are clearly shown in the recent treaties with Japan and Western Germany as well as in the arrival of General Ridgway in Europe.

I for my part would like to say that these many divisions, these air squadrons, these naval units are not only the arms and machines which are manufactured, but also represent the millions of human beings, and especially young people, who will have use them.

If one remembers this, one understands better the significance of the efforts which are being made to find these young people and to make them willing to place themselves and their strength at the service of war and destruction.

For this, deceptions must be used.

No youngster, what ever his conviction and his origin, will readily accept the sacrifice of his life and that of millions of other human beings, and the uncountable destruction of material and cultural riches, that war involves. In the heart of every young person there are other aspirations, the desire to build and to learn, to live happily and to love all that is connected with peace.

As the interests of the war-mongers do not coincide with the aspirations of the young people, they are obliged to lie to them and to dupe them, and to mix the falsifications with slogans of love and peace, to make the young people accept a horrible fate.

One of the main themes used - and even the principal in most countries - towards this end, is the theme of "European Unity." This is to justify the place which the arsenal of the Ruhr and the old Nazz Wehrmacht is to take in this plan for new aggression: it is necessary also, as far as the youth are concerned to make them accept the uniform of the so-called European Army, the combat force for the Atlantic Pact.

The Paris edition of the New York Times" published on the first of April last year devoted a full page to publicising the American Committee for European Union.

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complete this geography a map of Europe was published including Asiatic Turkey, but excluding the Soviet Union - in the frontiers of 1939. The Secretariat of this "Campaign of the European Youth" has also published 25 talks on Europe, intended for a youthful public. The first explains that: "towards Asia Europe has no naturel frontiers": the vast plain. The Eastern frontier will move in the course of time: it will change according to the balance of forces between the Asiatic powers and Western resistance. And after having planned a picture of this history of Europe, the second world war is explained in these simple terms which I would like you to think about: Russian power was stopped in 1945 on the Elbe-Danube line, after having spread out over a third of Europe. The "Iron Curtain" is said to be the actual frontier of the East, an arbitrary line, marking only the present balance between pressure from the East and resistance from the West."

Also not only do they dare to pass over in silence the aggression and crimes of Hitlerism, but also they are openly preaching to the youth adherence to a policy of revenge, of which M. Hallstein Secretary of State in the Bonn Government has recently given a definition in an interview with Washington journalists when he said: "The final aim of European unification is to unite all parts of the continent as far as the Urals."

But the distinguished members of the American Committee for United Europe are wrong in taking the youth for fools. Their costly propaganda machine has some very significant breaks. In Switzerland, a meeting was organised at Berne. The debates were turbulent and the final resolution in favour of Europe was adopted by 40 votes and.... 200 abstentions. Neither the patronage of Her Highness Gina von und zu Liechtenstein, nor the 15,000 Swiss francs spent on this one-day meeting, expected such a welcome: In England, the principal youth organisations, particularly working youth, rejected this campaign. In Norway, a large hall was hired in Oslo, announcements and tickets were distributed free, a radio orchestra and membres of Parliament were mobilised, and the whole of that produced an attendance of 83. In France, the Eclaireurs, the scout organisation, have left the campaign, having doubts about its origins. And also, on the international scale, there are difficulties, so much so that at a meeting hold in Paris at the end of March, Mr. Spaak was forced to deplore that many of those participating were only interested in the money, not in the idea..... This time, M. Spaak was probably right:

However the lack of success of this enterprise must not make us under-estimate the scope of the effort that was made there, and particularly the permament effort which is being directed in every side of life and activity of the youth.

Education occupies a particular place in this effort, from the kindergarten up to the University, this poison is distilled, and as stated by the military magazine "Forces Aeriennes Francaises": "We must undertake the crusade of moral rearmament starting with the primary and secondary schools, and afterwards at the barracks, by striking ceremonies, processions, and conferences. We must use all means of propaganda, the radio which penetrates everywhere, the cinema which strikes the eye, the newspapers which form opinion...."

Here are some examples of what is done in schools:

A professor of Stuttgart, a former Nazi, gave as the subject for an excercise: "What do you think of German rearmament?", with the following scheme to guide the pupils: "Introduction: The Tension Between East and West. Development: we feel ourselves threatened:

a/ by Russian rearmament
b/ the case of Korea.

On the question of world freedom:

a/ the progress of Russian slavery
b/ in consequence, Germany must range herself on the side of the West."

Under the patronage of the Minister of National Education, an exhibition of design was arranged in France: "On" /everyone/, showing the benefits of the Marshall Plan. A circular was sent to schoolteachers explaining:

"We would like above all to see young artists being able to express themselves in liberty and with spontanaity: perhaps you will think it a good thing to profit from this occasion by explaining to them, in terms which you alone are qualified to choose the idea of a United Europe, peaceful and prosperous, founded on the closest cooperation between the free peoples." The circular ended by proposing the use of several appropriate booklets.

In the same way the American services in France, Italy, Western Germany, Japan, etc. supply schools and youth organisations which accept their offers, films about the Korean war, the Atlantic Pact, European unity, etc, while at the same time supplying them free of charge with projection apparatus, the technicians and eventually the expenses of the hiring of halls.

In French technical training centers and schools, folders are given out, showing dancers and pagodas with suggestive titles such as "if you are tempted to go on a beautiful journey, if an exhalting adventure appeals to you.... join the Infantry, the parachutists, you will taste the charm and mystery of the exotic...."

In the free time there are sports meetings orientated according to a "Western European Programme, holidays with the prospect of a "Youth Passport" valid only for Western countries and of which Mr. Adenauer is one of the authors.

Then the army to which young men are called up and kept for 18 months with the threat of being kept for two years as in all countries within the European army scheme, - the army in which an especially obstinate attempt is made to subdue and demoralise young people, and prepare them for a war of aggression, while the national traditions and everything else which is the pride of an honest young man are trampled on.

The pride of service, or defence of his own country, these lofty sentiments are to be replaced by the mentality of a soldier of fortune, without a motherland, without faith, lawless, ready to carry out unthinkingly, every order that is given. . If one examines the measures setting up the "European Army" one can see clearly that they are all calculated to tear the young soldiers from their countries, distribute the contingents throughout different lands, turning them in effect into a foreign legion ready to carry out the repressive acts envisaged by Article 7 of the Atlantic Pact.

One must pay all the more attention to all these aspects of the preparation of the youth for war, that living conditions become more and more difficult, insufferable to young people, as a direct consequence of the preparation for war. First attacked in body and mind, youth is also badly dare by in its daily life. It sees too often the way to the positive peaceful solutions being closed. Think of the enormous number of young people amongst the 10 million Japanese unemployed, just think that the young unemployed in Western Germany have no rights whatsoever; if they join the army they will get board and lodgings, a uniform and 170 marks per month, wheress a young school master with his matriculation degree and after lengthy studies will earn 170 marks with which he will have to feed, clothe and house himself! That is to underline the importance of every step taken to raise young people from despair and ameliorate their tragic lot.

That is why, amongst other international organisations, the World Federation of Democratic Youth fully supports the welcome initiative of young Dutchmen of all origins and convictions, who have proposed the convocation of an International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth. The fact that in many countries in which this initiative has taken root, young people are pointing out that a lasting improvement in their standards of living, the lasting fulfillment of their conditions is possible only in a world at peace and through the halting of the armaments race, does give to these activities the character of a direct contribution by the youth of all opinions to the vast preparation for the next World Peace Congress.

A thousand examples are there to prove that these activities are possible and that they will unite young men and women of all origins.

Take the vast manifestation of German youth in Essen, on the 11th of last May, organised on the initiative of the Darmstadt Committee, which united various organisations and personnalities in the fight against the abeninable action of reconstitution an army of aggression in Western Germany. The savage repression of the armed force of the

Bonn Government who opened fire, on this peaceful demonstration is well known by all present here. The young patriot Philipp Müller, member of the Free German Youth fell assasinated, around him young social-democrats, christians, independants were wounded. One even saw the police assault people taking part in a "European Congress" organised by the Christian Working Youth, within the framework of the "European Campaign". This episode which proves once more that repression makes no differences between its victims, received its rightful answer. These young catholics fought next to their comrades of other opinions and by doing so showed their own sort of European unity; the unity of youth against the men of war. The funeral of the hero Philipp Müller took the shape of an impressive demonstration of unity, in which for instance scout participated side by side with their comrades in the Free German Youth. The sacrifice made by Philipp Müller will not have been in vain. It can be seen the Essen gun shots have become the signal of a national resistance carried to a even higher level then before.

Even so in Japan, it is in unity that the youth expresses itself in protest against the separate treaty, against the reconstitution of aggressive armed forces and the transforming of the country into a base for war. 670 organisations have united and have constituted a Patriotic Front of Japanese youth with nearly 4 million members. On the 21st of February the day of the International Solidarity of Youth against colonialism,powerful demonstrations took place all over Japan. The youth took a prominent part in the demonstrations of the 1st of May and in the national strikes at the end of May where the students in particular unanimously fought against war and slavery.

Unity is similarly realised against war propaganda in schools. One cannot count the examples of army officers being chased out of schools by incensed pupils and teachers whom they intended to press to join the army in Korea, Indochina, or to join the "European Army". In Geneva packets of American chewing-gum used to be sold including monstrous pictures of Korean war. A united action in which the Christian Union of Youth and the defenders of peace participated forced the stopping of the sale to children and adolescents.

Each of these actions means an obstacle to the preparation for war in the recruiting of those without whose help war cannot be fought. Each one helps in the words of Professor Joliot Curie to make the war machine tremble.

This is why the fight against this "European" propaganda and its equivalent in the Far East is the business of everyone.

It is a pressing duty for all defenders of peace to show up the monstrous calculations which seek to turn the young generation into an instrument of a new war. They are real monsters those who speculate with the noblest feeling the love of peace, the desire for friendship and fraternity. This generation has known terrible times. It has grown up in the midst of a storm and it desires peace above all. They have begun to say "Europe is peace and that Europe is M. Donavan and Krupp. They speak of the interests of the Asiatic people and in fact they mean Mr. Morgans and Syngman Rhee's interests."

It is easy to see the significance of this propaganda to place the youth "outside" national boundaries in a time when contingents "outside of national boundaries" are thrown in the Korean war under the UNO flag.

It is the duty of the peace movement to give a positive answer to this attempt at confusion.

It is true that young people from European countries have common reasons for struggle and cooperation. They have a common interest in peaceful relations benefiting all and respecting the various national trends. They have a common interest in the safeguarding of peace. Too often war has devastated our countries, and mown down our ranks. There is a deep feeling among the youth of Germany, France, Italy, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Czechoslovakia, that their peaceful alliance will guarantee peace in this part of the world. But this represents the real Europe, not this strange "rump" carved to suit the strategy of generals who consider that Ankara is more European than Prague just because American is spoken better there. The dozens of international youth rallies are witnesses for this real Europe. I would like to mention the recent Sheffield Youth Festival where 4000 young people belonging to 179 organisations came to proclaim peace chosing this place which was chosen for the 2nd World Peace Congress. In Sheffield where the representatives of 23 countries gathered in the midst of young conservatives, liberals, communists, labour party members and pacifists. In the same spirit the assembly of young builders of the New Poland will meet in tortured Warsaw young people from 32 countries and with them call for an increased fight against remilitarisation and war.

In the same way young people from Asia and the countries broadening the Pacific express views on what they consider to be the true relations between the people of this part of the world and demonstrate their anger against the reconstituting of Japanese militarism, when in their thousands in Australia they join in a Festival which has been one of the most powerful peace demonstrations which this continent has ever known, when they prepare with enthusiasm for the forthcoming Peking Regional Conference.

All of us throughout the world are united as brothers with equal rights and equal duties in the fight for peace.

This is the noble cause we offer to the youth, there is none more beautiful or more inspiring:

I have tried to demonstrate that it is not only the duty of the youth to see that their strength is not misued in destructive activities, but that it is the business of all of us here and throughout the world.

I wish that this intervention could make all of us in the course of the preparation of the next World Congress realise what a considerable reserve of initiative and enthusiasm youth possesses, just asking to be led by us and to follow our appeal. Where others see nothing but war potential, we must see potential forces for peace and the world of to-morrow. Let us win these new forces in our struggle for peace.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

BERLIN, May 24-28, 1954

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Speech of

M. Jean LAFFITTE

Jean LAFFITTE

Writer
General Secretary of the
World Council of Peace

FRANCE

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace met this morning and asked me to put forward some proposals for the agenda for this session. These proposals are the result of deliberations which I must also present to you.

Our last session was held six months ago in Vienna. Since then a large number of events have taken place, which give us new justification, new support, and we can also say, new reasons for hope in our struggle for Peace. The most important of these events seems to be due to the fact that, after long years of cold war, public opinion has at last succeeded in winning the resumption of negotiations between the Great Powers.

Negotiations on European problems have been opened again, and more especially on the German problem which was the subject of the Big Four Conference, held here in Berlin.

Negotiations on Far Eastern questions have been resumed. They are the object of the Conference at present in progress in Geneva, in which for the first time, the Five Great Powers are taking part, together with other interested powers.

Facts of such importance give an answer to those who, only a short time ago, would not hear of discussions, nor even of a meeting between the parties concerned. Negotiation is possible, conditions do exist which enable us to seek together acceptable solutions to the differences which are dividing the world. New changes in public opinion have been determined by the evolution of events. The Bureau of the World Council stated, after the Berlin Conference :

> " From now on, public opinion can clearly see that insistence on the rearmament of Western Germany as first priority is an obstacle and a serious threat to Peace. The alternative is plain : either EDC will be realised, Europe remain cut in two, the two halves of Europe stay ranged against each other and war threaten to break out, or all the European States will come together, none seeking to dominate another, to guarantee their mutual security and safeguard Peace in the whole of Europe."

Today, these views are not only held by the World Council of Peace. Leading figures from various political parties in the West agree with us that it is not true that the only way open to the peoples of Europe is that of division and war. Another road is open to them : the organisation of collective security, with no one country predominating, and with respect for national independence.

The idea of collective security which has recently been revived with renewed vigour, was often evoked in the past. It

found ardent supporters within the League of Nations. It is being supported to-day by statesmen and politicians who are sincerely seeking to find the best means of building Peace.

This idea is not only being developed in Europe, but also in Asia. It is finding support in various countries and parts of the world which feel that their security is threatened.

The idea of security is of course closely connected with the problem of easing international tension, for no security is possible while a state of tension exists. It is connected with the question of stopping present conflicts and, in the first place, the ending of the war in Indo-China. The pursuance and the extension of this war would considerably increase the danger of a new conflict, thus jeopardising the security of all peoples.

It is for this reason that the Bureau, taking into account the concern expressed on a national scale with regard to this fundamental question, and agreeing with our President's views, proposes that the problem of the security of nations be adopted as an item on the agenda for this session.

The other question that the Bureau proposes as an item for the agenda is that of Atomic and Thermonuclear weapons.

In its statement May 30th, the Bureau of the World Council gave voice to the emotion and indignation aroused in the world by the experimental explosions in the Pacific and their tragic consequences.

One of the first to alert public opinion to the new dangers of such experiments was our President, Frederic Joliot Curie who, speaking as a scientist, pointed out that these experiments wen beyond the control of the experimenters themselves. He stressed the fact that mankind can no longer tolerate such a danger and that an urgent demand must be made for the signing of an international convention for the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

Throughout the world public opinion has opposed the atomic threat unanimously and with unprecedented force. The banning called for by the Stockholm Appeal, and supported by hundreds of millions of people, was suddenly revealed as the demand of all peoples. This great movement is reflected in the wave of protest which is growing incessantly in all circles.

Statesmen in various countries have been called upon to express in official declarations the will of their people to have the H-bomb prohibited and for an agreement to be reached by the Great Powers on this subject. Among them were, quite recently, the Prime Ministers of India, Sweden, Indonesia, the Lebanon, the Dutch Minister of Defence, the Canadian and Egyptian Ministers for Foreign Affairs, and the Mexican Minister,

Manuel Sandeval Vallarta, a specialist in nuclear physics.

A great number of leading figures and constituent bodies, such as the Japanese Diet, the House of Commons, the Italian Chamber of Deputies, the Grand Council of Geneva have taken up almost identical positions on this question.

Religious authorities such as Pope Pius XII and eminent dignitaries of the Church - the Archbishop of Milan, the Archbishop of Paris, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Westminster, the Catholic Archbishop of Washington have called for the banning of Atomic, Biological and Chemical weapons.

The World Peace Movement which, four years ago, was the promoter of the great campaign launched for the banning of atomic weapons fully realises the possibilities which exist today to realise this demand of the peoples.

In more than sixty countries, and especially in Japan, the national Peace Movements have, in the last few months, made this question one of the main foundations of their activity in the present campaign for a relaxation of international tension.

All the same, whatever the extent and repercussions of the movement of opinion roused by this question, the World Council can not be satisfied until a solution in conformity with the interests of the whole of mankind is found. It is natural, therefore, that such a solution and the means of achieving it should be the object of the World Council's work today.

On the other hand, this question of Atomic and Thermo-Nuclear weapons is not an isolated one. It is directly connected with the problem of the easing of international tension, for every one realises now that there is an obvious contradiction between the continuation of this terrible threat and the obtaining of a real lessening of tension.

It is also connected with the question of disarmament, so often brought up at previous sessions. Public opinion is so sensitive to this question today that the Great Powers at the Berlin Conference unanimously recognised the need for agreements on this question.

That is why the Bureau finally proposes, providing you are in agreement, to put the following items on the agenda for this session :

1) The banning of Atomic and Thermonuclear weapons,

2) The security of nations.

Such an agenda confirms the extraordinary character of our session. It gives our World Council great responsibilities

for it is its task not only to discuss these problems, but further, to find and promote activities through which our efforts for Peace can be continued and developed. We meet at a grave hour but at a time when two courses are still open to us. On the one hand the course of negotiation, which is without any doubt full of problems and difficulties but is the only one which, if followed in a true spirit of co-operation, can take us forward along the road to Peace. On the other hand there is the use of force which can only lead the world to terrible catastrophe and perhaps total annihilation.

During the five years of its existence, the World Peace Movement, of which the World Council is the voice, has always based its activities on one single principle : to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over the use of force with the support of public opinion. This effort has not been in vain. Important results have been achieved which have lightened the horizon. The guns have been silenced in Korea, negotiations between the Great Powers, which, for a long time, were interrupted, have been resumed, on a Great Power level; solutions have come to light which seem possible of realisation and which receive the widest hearing from public opinion.

These are the successes which have been achieved by the will of the peoples for Peace. Let this will be expressed yet more strongly and Peace can once more gain ground.

To this end the World Council has the task of making a new contribution in order that the possibilities of a relaxation of international tension, visible today, become the reality of tomorrow.

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Robeson Message to World Peace Council
Stockholm Nov 1954,

Greetings again to that great body of men and women who through the World Council of Peace strive so heroically for the attainment of humanity's most precious goal--a peaceful, secure and happy world.

Since the Berlin 1954 meeting of the World Council of Peace, the peoples have won several important peace victories. The war in Indo-China has been ended. EDC has failed. The views of the Great Powers on the question of general disarmament now seem closer together. The matter of co-existence has become a topic for discussion and debate among important groupings in many lands.

These developments confirm the validity of World Council of Peace policies and campaigns for the relaxation of international tensions through negotiations. The people are heartened by their share in these victories.

Here in the United States, we have just completed an important national election. The results reveal how deep is the desire of the American people for peace. The people were prepared to take a stand clearly on the issues of peace and jobs, for a relaxation of international tensions and an end to the witch-hunts and where these issues were placed, they registered their stand.

Many questions confront the people of the United Stated today. Some have already reached the level of national issues. Failure to resolve these questions are building intolerable pressures on the lives and security of the people.

During this past year unemployment has reached between 3-1/2 and 5 millions. To these must be added several more millions of partially employed and first-job seekers. T hus a significant proportion of our working population has already begun to experience the misery and loss of security which accompanies unemployment.

The majority of the population of our nation, sickened by the bloodshed of the Korean war and growing more and more apprehensive over the present unemployment, seeks an answer which will provide peace and jobs.

Millions of decent Americans have shown a growing concern over the rise of intolerance characterized as McCarthyism during the past few years. The right to dissent and the right to minority opinion have been and are seriously threatened. The right of advocating the majority pro-peace opinion is not free of persecution. Many of the great traditions of freedom and liberty which we in America have cherished for many years have been assaulted. The counterpart of McCarthyism has been reflected in our foreign policy by attitudes of inflixibility, distrust and fear. The architects of this assault base it upon the concept that war is inevitable, which you and I know is not the case.

To all of these things there is now rising slowly but surely a movement of opposition which shall in the end be victorious.

Concern over the H-bomb and other weapons of mass destruction is as great here as it is in many other sections of the world.

There is a widespread but often unorganized sentiment for the abolition of such weapons and for a world policy of disarmament which would turn the fruits of atomic and nuclear research into peacetime uses.

Many important religious, pacifist, women's and labor groupings have expressed their concern over the fact that World War III could bring atomic destruction to many sections of the world, including the United States. Thus we are confronted here in the United States with the choice of either existing together with other peoples in an atmosphere of mutual respect for each other's way of life or dying in a war caused by refusal to recognize the rights of different peoples to choose their own destiny.

Co-existence or no existence has become the topic of wide discussion here.

In May, 1954, the United States Supreme Court issued a historic decision, outlawing segregation in the public schools of our nation. The Negro people of the United States and their white allies had fought for many years for this objective. However, it came to pass only when the majority of the peoples of the world, who are colored peoples, began to question such a practice in a land which boasted of its democracy. That is your victory as well as ours.

It is clear that as the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America continue their struggles for dignity, then so will the freedom of all oppressed peoples including the Negro people of the United States be advanced.

The policy of the World Council of Peace which supports the rights of peoples and nations to determine their own destiny has been a significant contribution.

The most precious possession of any people, the youth, here in the United States are buffeted by many pressures, the most important of which is the insecurity created by the uncertainties of the future. Uncertainties which have as their direct cause the continuation of international tensions and war hysteria.

The roots of juvenile delinquency, which has become a national problem in the U.S.,and many other problems affecting young people flow directly from this cause.

However, to their great credit, it must be said that in their activities against Univeral Military Training and in their enthusiastic participation in the preparation of such international events as the Olympic games and

Olympic games and in their expressed desire to know more about the young people of other lands, they are rejecting these influences.

I must tell you of my great pleasure in participating in the Cultural Anniversaries Celebration here in New York last June. Spohsored by the American Peace Crusade, this even brought many of the top cultural figures in the country together to perform the works of Aristophanes, Dvorak, Chekov and Fielding. The consensus is that this even brought a new and vibrant note to the cultural life of the U.S. How great was my job in realizing that similar celebrations dedicated to the relaxation of tension and greater cultural exchange were taking place all over the world.

We here in the U.S. are particularly honored that the World Council of Peace has proposed that the name of our great poet, Walt Whitman, be among those cultural figures to be honored during the year of 1955.

The American Peace Crusade, with which I work, is at present demanding public hearings by the U.S. Senate on the question of ratification of the German and Asian Pacts. It is our belief that there is a substantial body of opinion here which is opposed to the rearmament of Germany and to the further division of Europe and Asia into opposing blocs. The fact that the majority of peoples in neither Asia nor Europe are parties to these treaties is all the more reason for the people of the United States to demand their rejection by the U.S. Senate.

It becomes increasingly clear that only a peaceful, united, democratic Germany can contribute to the peace and security of Europe. It is also clear that only by according to the People's Republic of China its due recognition as a great power and by the seating of its repre-

sentative in the United Nations can peace be secured in Asia and the world. These solutions, if achieved, will greatly advance the possibility of peaceful co-existence and reduce the possibilities of an atomic war.

The validity of this approach is not yet reflected by the policy of the U.S. Government. However, among the people of the United States there is no enthusiasm for either Treaty. Significant groupings have bitter memories of two World Wars and of the role of a militarist Germany in these wars. Others see an expanding trade with the People's Republic of China as a part of the solution to the problem of peace time jobs in the U.S. These groupings continue to grow and seek real solutions to these problems.

Permit me to express my great gratitude for the many kind messages which I have received from Peace Committees throughout the world, supporting my right to travel abroad. The fight for my passport continues and I am confident that we shall soon see victory on this matter, just as we have seen victory in the past two years on other peace issues. Joyous will be the day when many of us in the U.S., artist, scientist and worker, can be with you in person as well as in spirit.

Our very best wishes to you in your most important deliberations.

Remarks by Mr. Paul Robeson at NCASF Rally - Tuesday, November 16, 1954

Today we feel - we know that we stand at the crossroads in the history of humankind. There could not be a more important turning point. We must find peace - we must find constructive ways to use the vast potential ~~unxxxxxxxxx~~ unloosed by advancing science, new ways to use our tremendous productive capacities toward ending poverty and want all over this beleaguered globe. The alternative - the solving of any part of our problems by piling up armaments and eventual armed conflicts means the end of thousands of years of the noblest and most magnificent creations of the civilization of our forebears and of our own.

This the Peoples of the World, as they make increasingly clear, refuse to accept. In the so-called West their voices of protest mount in England, France, Italy, Scandinavia - in ranks of powerful trade unions - in the churches - among outstanding persons of every political opinion -- and those who guide their nations take heed - press for negotiations at the highest level - and accept eagerly the principle of peaceful co-existence.

India adds its enormous prestige and weight, and its state head goes to visit the powerful neighbor, the New China - to strengthen the bonds not only of co-existence but of century-long friendship.

We - in America are part of the world in which we live, and the current level of discussion in our press - pulpit and public gatherings of groups of most diverse beliefs - reflects the concern today of millions and millions of our fellow-countrymen - as they too seek avenues leading to eventual Peace and end of the terrifying spectre of sudden destruction.

I have just returned from a journey to the mid-West and the underlying change is profound. Not only the concern but the mobilizing ~~of~~ for action of thousands, ~~hx~~ hitherto completely unknown/ing and unthinking or inactive because of the ~~terror~~ terror and persecution. It was an inspiring tour suggesting the possibilities of involving millions in active militant struggle for peace - and sanity.

We are close to the point where no reasonable American will argue the basic ~~R~~ premise of the need for Peaceful Co-Existence - the question can be, only the speediest ways to establish this level of international understanding - with all the incalculable good flowing from mutual advantageous trade of staggering proportions, from highest forms of scientific and cultural exchange - from the continuous knowledge that other peoples of the world are very much like ourselves. They are passionately fashioning their ways of life - as we here in America have tried and go on trying to find the road to freedom and equality for us all, - coming as we do from almost every culture and corner of this so - so wide but indivisible world.

Yes none can deny that we stand at a real point of departure in the history of peoples. Has Asia leaped centuries forward before our very eyes? Has China loosened the chain of centuries old imperialism to assume once more a major role in resolving the fortunes of the human race - a role which soon simply must be extended to the Councils of the United Nations - the double talk can't go on much longer.

Is all of Asia awake and preparing for vast historic change - is not this the meaning of the events in Indo-China - indeed in all South-East Asia? Does an emergent India proudly and constructively contribute in the highest world councils to the solution of civilization's problems? And see the land of Africa - land of my forebears - scene of cruellest centuries of slavery, seeming-

ingly unending. But do you see and hear them as they cry out - as they enter mortal struggle - demanding at last the right to determine their own destinies - yes - still persecuted and assailed but ~~striving~~ striding onto history's modern stage - at ever hastening pace - ready to, to take a tremendous leap and give to the Black man, woman and youth a rightful participation in the shaping of the future.

And these same influences extend - reach to the America to the South - to the Isles of the beautiful Caribbean - indeed to the Southland and Southwest - to the Mid-North and Northwest of these United States/ of North America. Yes, here millions of citizens of color sprung from African - Puerto Rican, Mexican and Indian heritage, together with their multi-language white brothers and sisters in mill, factory and field - struggle for full liberation from tenacious would-be modern industrial slave-holders.

How does all this culminate at this mid-point of the twentieth century? We have not the time to follow the historic struggle of humankind through the long toilsome centuries - but our land, too, has played a stirring and eventful part - especially close is one stirring episode in the still-living saga - the days of 1863 - the winning of freedom ~~from~~ for my own father making it possible for me and others to stand here demanding the last full measure of freedom for my children - for my people - yes by ~~1963~~ 1963 and yes before ~~1963~~ 1963 - even now - for freedom doesn't like to wait.

And with our own eyes we have seen unfold the days from 1917 until this very hour - some 37 years of almost unbelievable change in the tide of human history and how else could all the events of which we have spoken taken place in Asia, Africa and all over the world. In this short space/this brief span - just one generation in the thousands since man's evolution into man - so many age-long and torturing problems have shown themselves possible - capable of

solution.

No - no more talk of helplessly backward people - that's a myth created by oppressors' greed - no more need to ever bend - to supplicate a cruel nature's will.- Nature can become, indeed has already become in many instances, a willing friend and prodigious co-producer in the long fight for plenty and abundance.

Education and the finest culture and art - ever the real creation of the people no longer the special province of king and court - of the few barons of wealth and power - these are fast returning to the people as they inspire new creations based upon ever advancing social societies.

So many of these things have flowed from the courage and struggle of the inheritors of that great revolution of 1917. A continuation in our times of 1632 in England - 1789 in France - 1776 and 1863 in America -in turn this 1917 October Revolution has led to new peoples democracies in many lands, closely tied to millions of Americans - new democracies in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania to mighty China - to the Peoples Democracies in Asia. With these new lands affecting hundreds of millions, many of our own families - we do live and must learn to live in every closer ties not only of peaceful but of friendly and mutual advantageous co-existence.

This is the decision of most other nations, great and small, in Europe and Asia. So a great responsibility rests with us here in our own land. Those who would plunge the world into final destructive conflict are fortunately but the few, - the demagogic fanatic, fascist-minded few. For the American people as a whole are becoming ever more conscious of our great tradition and I feel, as I travelled back and forth across this land, that they are ever more ready - to push aside these last frantic - blindly led years and take up where the New Deal and progressive policies left us. The American people, as they

look at the world today - and we in the end are a realistic people - (the leading Capitalist nation has to be - survival of self and wealth are rather important) are beginning to understand that the great years following 1929-30 and years of depression are far from being 20 years of treason - that the demagogue who says so had better be watched - nay, had better be thrown out of office either by his fellow Senators or by his newly alerted constituents in Wisconsin.

That the only ones subversive of our American institutions are Mr. McCarthy and his like and it's time for them to depart from pages of our history - before they can do any damage like that of their spiritual predecessors - Hitler and Mussolini.

Many, many Americans have become increasingly conscious of the power - the constructive influence of the new-born socialist world. They build in and for peace. For the first time in human history war becomes no solution, war must go, and the power to deter aggression - to answer it blow for blow - helps greatly in ~~[illegible]~~ necessitating negotiations and the recognition of peaceful co-existence. The combined power of almost a billion people - nearly one-half of the whole human ~~[illegible]~~ population - saying we want and will have and will protect our full freedom is nothing to be trifled with. Their combined will for peace is a mighty factor in the imposing of the peace.

Many Americans, especially among the Negro people, recognize the powerful example of socialist lands, where racial prejudice is against the law and ~~[illegible]~~ all morality. This influence too was felt in the historic Supreme Court decision against segregation and this influence will be continuously felt until this decision and other needed ones are fully implemented.

So on this 37th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution, the anniver-

sary of years of toil, suffering, sacrifice but every growing constructive socialist labor in the building of a new society - millions of Americans do not and cannot forget the stirring message of Franklin D. Roosevelt, - to the Soviet people and to the ~~historic~~ heroic defenders of Stalingrad that there on Volga's banks civilization was saved.

These are the kind of people with whom we will be proud to lead peaceful co-existence and with them help to co-build a peaceful world.

They stand ready to work with us in dearly desired peace. As a member of the World Peace Council Executive I know of the will to peace of these tens of millions - ~~I will express a will~~ a will expressed daily throughout the world - ~~indeed~~ in deeds for peace and in constant ~~exultations~~ exhortation. Reverent meetings held ~~xxxxx~~ continuously to help win the peace and if necessary to impose the peace.

We ~~xxx~~ here in our land - in progressive America - and that can be most of America - may well be proud, - our brave leaders have and are suffering - many of us are being persecuted and threatened - but these peoples who long for peace thank us and stretch out their hand to us - our American brothers and sisters of all groups - in this land of Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French, English, Spanish, Russian, Finnish, Hungarian, Mexican, Canadian, Greek and Turk and Czech and double check American - these Americans in their hearts are thankful to you for standing firm, for guarding our precious heritage - a most important part of which is the desire, the determination to have a world of peace and plenty.

They will listen to us ~~xxxx~~ and thousands like us in many different kinds of organizations - labor, church, fraternal, women, student - in every section of our national life - listen to us as we daily, hourly carry the message of peaceful co-existence in a world literally become one and inseparable - not for evil and destruction - but for good - not for hate - but for friendship and love.

For I have learned to love many peoples of this earth, as I love my own. My beloved father so taught me, when I was but a lad - love they neighbor as thyself, - you are your brother's keeper. And so I discovered for myself as I journeyed near and far in song and speech. And I have been privileged to receive and accept the love and affection of millions not just for me but for you and for our children and for all peace-loving Americans.

They have told me in many places - in Moscow - in Stalingrad, in Warsaw, in Prague and they have sent me messages from Budapest, from Bucharest, from Sofia, from Peking, from Bombay, from Africa and India, Johannesburg, from Lagos, from Dakar, Tel Aviv, from Mexico City, from Kingston, Jamaica, from Port-au-Prince, from British Guiana, to give their love to the American people - people whom they know are like themselves, who want a rich, full and plentiful life and the peace in which to achieve it.

Let us work unceasingly to see that their faith is not misplaced and that the faith of American fellow-citizens is not misplaced. They stand ready to help shape the final decision - the decision to have peace forever on this green, pleasant and bountiful earth.

Let us say with Raymond Den in Prokofieff's "On Guard for Peace"

The dawn's light ~~ux~~ is not covered over by the shadow of night -
All world is ready to <u>war with war</u>
Every honest human.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Statement by Paul Robeson, Member of the Delegation of the World Peace Council Received by the Honorable Jacob Malik, Chairman of the Security Council of the United Nations, June 26, 1951

On behalf of the World Peace Council, comprising representatives of many hundreds of millions of peoples of the world, may I express our deep gratitude for your reception of the delegation and the message we bring the United Nations from the World Peace Council.

I wish at the outset to indicate our regret that of the delegation of fourteen */ officially designated for this mission, only the two members resident in the United States, Reverend Willard Uphaus and myself, are present today. It may be said that it is "not in the interest of the United States" for such distinguished leaders of the world peace movements as Signor Nenni of Italy, Gabriel d'Arboussier of Africa, and Pablo Neruda, the great poet of Chile, to enter the United States, even on an errand of official business with the United Nations. We answer that the arbitrary exclusion of such individuals is not in the interest of the American people and is, moreover, contrary to the fundamental objective of the United Nations, the objective of promoting good will and cooperation among all nations.

Thus it happens, ironically to be sure, that I, who am prevented by my government from leaving the United States, have the honor and privilege of addressing you together with Rev. Uphaus, on behalf of those of my colleagues of the World Peace Council who are prevented from coming here.

The first and second World Peace Congresses in 1949 and 1950, uniting the peace-loving peoples of the world, and out of which came the establishment of the World Peace Council and its first session in Berlin in February of this year, were born of the need of humanity to develop new forms of organized resistance on the broadest possible scale against the threatening dangers of a third World War. The present year has seen these dangers mount menacingly high instead of receding.

Not withstanding the fact that the people of Western Europe and America speak out with increasing emphasis and unity for peace, the war preparations of the Atlantic pact powers, led by the United States government, have passed from the discussion and planning to the execution stage.

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*/ The list of the delegation as named at the Berlin Conference of the World Peace Council, February 1951, is given in the document entitled, Address to the United Nations under the "Resolution on the United Nations."

Notwithstanding the fact that hundreds of millions of people throughout the world have registered their unqualified condemnation of the use of atomic weapons, the insane endeavor to develop still more devastating hydrogen weapons proceeds apace in this country, the atom bomb being spoken of as having become obsolete.

While peoples of varied political convictions in both the capitalist and socialist world have voiced the common demand for a peaceful solution of differences among the major powers, and specifically between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., we have witnessed the repeated thwarting of every effort toward finding such peaceful solutions within the framework of the United Nations, at the preliminary conference of the deputy foreign ministers of the four powers in Paris, and in other areas of international relations.

Psychological, economic and manpower mobilization for war is the order of the day for the United States and its Atlantic Pact allies. But the common people of America, England, France and the rest of Western Europe, through the World Peace Council, have joined hands and made common cause with the peoples of China, Korea, Viet Nam, Malaya, India, and the rest of Asia and the islands of the Pacific, with the peoples of Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America, and with the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Peoples Democracies of Eastern Europe. Their common cause is the winning of a world built upon friendship, cooperation and equality of rights among all nations, large and small, and among all peoples.

Peace is the first and all-important prerequisite for building such a world. Thus it is that the Second World Peace Congress held at Warsaw less than a year ago declared in its "Address to the United Nations":

> "When the peoples of the world created the United Nations they reposed in it great hopes. The greatest of these was the hope of peace. But, today, war already disturbs the peaceful life of some peoples and threatens tomorrow to disturb the peace of all mankind. If the United Nations has not fulfilled the great hope reposed in it by the peoples of the World, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented, if the United Nations has not assured mankind security and peace, this is because it has been influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace, the search for general agreement."

It is necessary to remind certain members of the United Nations today that this principle, "the search for general agreement," was and remains the very core of the United Nations Charter. The Charter specifically assumes the development of economic and cultural exchange between different peoples, between countries of varing economic or political systems, and the necessity of such exchange because the world is one. The Charter of the United Nations, moreover, itself

affirms the principle of the co-existence of different regimes. It was at the suggestion of President Roosevelt that the right of veto, which is, in fact, the rule of unanimity of the five great Powers, was written into the Charter in order to prevent splitting and disruption of the world organization by the misuse of majority rule.

The departure from this principle, the attempt to abolish the right of veto and replace the search for agreement and unanimity among the major powers on vital decisions with meaningless majority votes, has violated the spirit and letter of the U.N. Charter and dangerously impaired the work of the world organization. This was pointed out at our first World Peace Congress. Such a figure as Pandit Nehru has noted the manner in which the Charter was being reinterpreted in order to conform with the objectives of the Atlantic Pact.

One of the most urgent steps toward preventing another world war is the speedy peaceful solution of the Korean conflict. We of the World Peace Council wish to thank you, Mr. Malik, and your government, for having placed before the world, just three days ago, a direct, forthright proposal for ending the war in Korea.

I call attention to the fact that the World Peace Council at its meeting in Berlin in February of this year demanded "the immediate calling of a conference of all countries concerned to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question" and further expressed the opinion "that all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle their internal affairs for themselves."

The United Nations bears a fearful responsibility for the awful ravages visited upon this heroic land and its people, for, as the Peace Council's Resolution on the United Nations declares, "It has sanctioned and covered by its authority the systematic destruction in Korea . . . of almost a million human beings, including old people, women and children, crushed or burnt in the debris of their towns and villages."

That was written in February. It is now June. The horrible carnage and destruction continues.

The United Nations instead of admitting the Chinese People's Republic to membership, as is the obvious right of the 450 million people of that land, has still further betrayed humanity's trust by its condemnation of China as an "aggressor". Now, it is true that at the beginning of the Korean conflict, because of restricted sources of reliable information, there were varying opinions in some sectors as to the nature of the conflict. Pierre Cot of France described

to the Second World Peace Congress the confusion which existed at that time among certain of his compatriots. But, he said, and I quote,

> "Gradually their eyes were opened and they began to see the truth. It was President Truman who was the first to make them stop and think. I do not propose sending a congratulatory message in the name of this Congress to President Truman, but it is quite certain that he rendered an important service to peace and the truth when he said that, in order to defend Korea, the United States must also defend Formosa and Indo-China. The common people of whom I speak were shocked by this.
>
> "Next, my compatriots, ordinary people, many of whom are here in this hall, saw that the forces of the United Nations, commanded by General MacArthur,
>
> crossed the 38th parallel. Only then did the common people understand that the defenders of right and democracy as understood by Wall Street were conducting themselves as veritable aggressors, and their general opinion of the Korean affair changed totally."

At this same Congress, Alexander Fadeyev, the noted Soviet writer, speaking on the same point, said:

> "Perhaps Korea is known in history as an agressor country? Perhaps she was a member of the aggressive bloc in the last world war? Perhaps she was now trying to seize U.S. territory?
>
> "No, she is a country that was for many years ground down under the heel of Japanese imperialism, a country which was given the opportunity to live in freedom only after the victory of the United Nations in the last war. As to northern Korea, in the few years following its liberation it established more schools, hospitals, nurseries than Korea had ever seen in all the centuries of its history."

And Fadeyev continued with the proposal to President Truman

> "that he admit to the United States no more than five ordinary Koreans, women--chosen, however, not by him, but by the Korean people themselves--no more than five Korean women, born either in Southern or Northern Korea, who have gone through all that has happened and is happening in Korea. Let them be allowed to speak without constraint in shhools and universities, at workers' meetings and before religious congregations, and relate only what they themselves have experienced and seen with their own eyes. Let the whole American press play up the president's views on the so-called Korean question. Let the whole propaganda machine of the U.S. government operate at these meetings addressed by the Korean women and seek to refute what they say. Better still, let MacArthur get up and speak alongside these women. Provided the police does not put its oar in, as is the practice in America these days, I venture to assert that every child and every adult in the United States will give more credence to the Korean women than to the whole American press and the whole propaganda machine of the U.S. government, while MacArthur will stand revealed to the whole American people as a war criminal. Because the American people too love truth first and foremost, and because there is not a decent human being in the world who would not shudder on hearing the unadulterated truth about Korea."

Against this background the full import of points 3 and 4 of the World Peace Council's "Address to the United Nations" may be clearly understood. I quote:

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the "recrudescence of race hate and caste restrictions in the United States" following the Second World War. With the acceleration of the war drive, the conditions of racial discrimination and oppression have grown acutely worse. "Operation Killer" is mounted not only in Korea. It is found in the South where Negro families have their homes bombed and burned. It isfound in the Negro ghettoes of the North where police have free license to shoot and maim black men and women. It is found in Martinsville, Virginia, known for its seven victims of lynch justice, in Mississippi where Willie McGee was murdered, and in Trenton, New Jersey, where six more Negroes were framed.

For the whole of this vicious and shameful account I would refer you to the documentation just recently presented to the United Nations by the Civil Rights Congress proving the existence of what is in reality a policy of genocide against the American people of African descent. The only country in the world comparable to the United States in its oppression of the Negro people is the Union of South Africa, whose pro-fascist government headed by Malan has flaunted its contempt both of the United Nations and world opinion, but has nevertheless received bountiful loans from the United States.

Such are the domestic reverberations of the callous brutality of American operations in Korea, and of the threat to wage atomic war against the peoples of Asia,--with a remilitarized Japan as an ally of the United States. Is it any wonder that colored peoples all over the earth, including great sections of the Japanese people, have signed the Stockholm Peace Petition and now demand a Five-Power Peace Pact?

But it is, of course, not only the Negro people in America who feel the evil effects of war hysteria and preparations for war. The whole American working class is experiencing the lowered living standards that go with a war economy, and the advancing fascist threat embodied in such legislation as the Taft-Hartley and McCarran Acts, and especially evidenced in the persecution and jailing of the Communist leaders of the American working class.

In the lower strata of the American working class there are many white workers whose lot parallels closely that of their colored brothers and sisters. Many of them, too, were brought to this land as semi-slaves, indentured servants, and have remained part of the cheap labor reserve used to hold back the advance of organized labor. One fraction of this cheap labor reserve, for example, is the more than a million workers of Mexican descent whose virtual enslavement in Texas has been the subject of recently published reports.

The outlook for both white and black American workers, deceived and misled by many of their opportunistic leaders, is indeed ominous unless peace is won and won quickly!

And if such is the case for wealthy America, how much more desperate is the plight of the workers in Western Europe! Increasingly impoverished by American economic domination, by the guns-instead-of-butter requirements of Atlantic Pact commitments, and faced with the nightmare of the remilitarization of Germany and the resurgence of fascism, European labor can have no choice but peace or death. And there can be no question, even though certain interests in the United States may wish to blind the fact, that their choice is decisively and irrevocably for peace.

This decision was reflected in the deliberations of the World Peace Congress in Warsaw and in the meeting of the World Peace Council which followed in February of this year. It is reflected in those sections of the "Address to the United Nations" recommending that war propaganda be regarded as a punishable offense; calling for the prohibition of atomic weapons and other means of mass destruction; and urging a "reduction, progressive, simultaneous and in the same proportion of all armed forces, land, sea and air, to the extent of from one-third to one-half," this representing "the first stage toward general and total disarmament, which remains the ultimate goal of the partisans of peace."

In place of the disastrous war economy upon which the United States and its allies have embarked, the Congress proposes

> "that normal trade relations be restored between the various countries on a basis of reciprocity, thus satisfying the requirements of the peoples, eliminating economic discrimination in any form, and ensuring the development of the national economies and the economic development of states, both large and small."

Constantly reiterated at these deliberations runs the deep and profound belief in the possibility and necessity of the peaceful coexistence of different ways of life, of the capitalist and socialist worlds. Indeed the very composition of the delegates at these meetings necessitated this point of view. As Pierre Cot observed:

> "It is natural that we should not all be in accord on the questions before us, and should approach them from different angles. It could not be otherwise. We come from different countries, we belong to different movements and political parties, which are often opposed to one another. Among us there are admirerers of people's democracy and believers in capitalism, convinced Chirstians and atheists.
>
> "It is indeed this diversity of convictions which constitutes the strength of our Congress and which disquiets our enemies.
>
> "Confrontation of the different opinions can create the basis for the negotiations, agreements and compromises which should lay the foundation for peace, because in a world divided as ours is, peace must at least begin with negotiations and compromises."

Also worthy of notice on this same point is the concluding section of the address by Ilya Ehrenbourg, the great Soviet writer, at the Warsaw Peace Congress:

"We must see to it that not only is war propaganda forbidden, but that the moral conditions are created for the peaceful co-existence of different states. Inculcation in the rising generation of disrespect or enmity towards other peoples must be stopped. All manifestations of national or racial arrogance must be combated.

"I do not ask for the philosophical or political unity of the world--there are believers in diverse systems in the world. Soviet people criticize and will continue to criticize the capitalist system. Advocates of the capitalist system, on their part, may criticize the Soviet form of economy or the Soviet ideology. Criticism, even the most severe, does not bring about the destruction of cities or the death of children. Criticism, even the most severe, does not prevent the exchange of material and spiritual values which is necessary for the development of mankind.

"I am convinced that my proposal will meet with unanimous support, because I am not asking for the adoption of measures against this or that country, or this or that party, or this or that individual; I am asking for the adoption of measures against war....

"We shall not allow war to start. We shall turn aside the gun levelled at the breast of mankind. In this we are united --Communists and Catholics, Liberals and Socialists, Russians and Americans, Englishmen and Chinese. As one of the delegates of the Soviet people, a people which has known all the hardships of war and which sincerely hates war, I clasp the hands of those who are represented as our enemies, the hands of the Americans, British and French, in the firm belief that there is no force on earth than can tear these hands asunder."

I wish also to call special attention to the final point of the "Address to the United Nations" which states that

> "In calling upon the United Nations to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we desire to bring to its knowledge that as a result of our efforts a World Council of Peace will be a body composed of representatives of the peoples of all countries of the world, those affiliated to the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, including those that are stil dependent and colonial countries.
>
> "The World Council of Peace appeals to the United Nations to fulfill effectively the duty it has assumed of strengthening and developing peaceful cooperation between all countries. It will assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace, corresponding to the vital interests of all nations. The World Council of Peace will give to mankind the certitude that, despite all existing difficulties, which, however, must not be minimized, it will accomplish its mission."

President Joliot Curie at the Warsaw Peace Congress summed up the course and objectives of the World Peace Council in the following manner:

> "Our movement betrays no weakness in the face of threats. This characteristic feature of our activity is due to the profound conviction of every partisan of peace that war is not inevitable, that the existing and potential forces of peace are immense, that all differences can be settled peacefully, that the peaceful coexistence of different political and economic systems is possible and, lastly, that it is only a minority of business sharks who, for the sake of their rule, and of immense personal profit, deceive a still numerous mass of honest people and drive them towards war....
>
> "We shall work all together with fresh ardour to accomplish our mission, which is deserving of all our devotion, to convert the force we represent into a supreme international authority,

> capable of making the will of the peoples effective whenever the bodies charged with the maintenance of peace fail in their task....
>
> "Because we believe in the judgment of men when they have been properly enlightened, because we know that the number of honest men in the world is incomparably greater than that of dishonest individuals, because we are conscious that we are working for peace in all sincerity and objectivity, we shall prove to be strongest, and shall succeed in awakening in time the universal conscience which will successfully oppose and triumph over war."

In this spirit and in fulfillment of my responsibilities as an American member of the World Peace Council, I felt it my duty to address a letter to Mr. Austin, chief representative of the United States Government to the United Nations, upon his refusal, so different from your courtesy, Mr. Malik, to meet with the delegation of the World Peace Council. I wrote:

(Text of Letter Attached)

In concluding this statement, Mr. Malik, I wish to say that the many millions of peoples who represent the strength of the peace forces throughout the world heartily support your recent proposals for stopping the Korean war. The hopes of mankind have been lifted. If governments are hesitant, the peoples of the world are not--and we are sure that the peoples's will for peace, friendship and cooperation will triumph.

Thank you again, sir, for your graciousness and good will toward the World Peace Council.

# # #

S T A T E M E N T

by

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

Together with Mr. Paul Robeson, Representatives from the United States Delegation of the World Council of Peace

appearing before

His Excellency, Mr. Jacob A. Malik
President of the Security Council of the United Nations

June 26, 1951

On behalf of the United States' members of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Paul Robeson and I, wish to express to you our deep appreciation for the honor you have extended to us today in receiving us and for the opportunity of assuring you of our profound attachment to the cause of peace in the world. At the February meeting of the World Peace Council in Berlin it was resolved to send to the United Nations a delegation comprising Signor Pietro Nenni of Italy, Mme. Isabelle Blume of Belgium, Mrs. S. O. Davies of Great Britain, Mrs. Jessie Street of Australia, Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie of France, Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov of the U.S.S.R., Dr. Wu Yao-tsung of the Chinese People's Republic, the Reverend Professor J. L. Hromadka of Czechoslovakia, M. Gabriel d'Arboussier of French West and Equatorial Africa, Senor Pablo Neruda of Chile, General Heriberto Jara of Mexico, Dr. Nadan Atal of India, Mr. Paul Robeson and myself of the United States.

This delegation was charged with the duty of: (1) asking the United Nations to consider the various points of the Address of the World Council and the various resolutions of the World Council of Peace and expressing an opinion on each; (2) calling upon the United Nations to return to the role assigned it by the Charter, namely, that it should serve as an area of agreement between the Governments and not act as the instrument of any dominant group.

We deeply regret that the members of this special delegation residing outside the United States are not with us today. It will be remembered that about a month ago Council President, Prof. Frederic Joliot-Curie sent a request to the Honorable Warren Austin, chief United States' delegate in the United Nations to receive a delegation of the World Peace Council, but was rebuffed. As Americans who believe in all possible exchange of opinions among the peoples of the world especially on behalf of peace, we deeply regret that the request was turned down. We believe that the free movement of all citizens of the world who are sincerely dedicated to international friendship and peace is an elemental human right. Trust begets trust in the relations of men.

- more -

We desire, Your Excellency, on behalf of the World Council of Peace, to present to you as the President of the Security Council certain resolutions unanimously adopted in Berlin, February 25, 1951, and in doing so we assure you that we United States' members of the World Peace Council heartily concur in their purpose and content.

1. The Peaceful Solution of the Korean Conflict. It is supremely fitting today to put at the head of the list of these resolutions the one bearing upon the Korean conflict. The Council of Peace in February expressed the conviction that "to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean question" there should be "the immediate calling of a conference of the countries concerned." The resolution called "on all lovers of peace in all countries to urge their respective governments to support the immediate calling of such a conference." The Council strongly maintained "the opinion that all foreign armed forces must be withdrawn from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle their internal affairs for themselves."

We wish to pay special tribute to you today, Your Excellency, for having challenged the world to find a way to end the Korean conflict, when, on last Saturday you expressed the faith that a truce is possible. This expression has revived the hope of peace-loving people all over the world. We are equally grateful for any and all efforts for peace on the part of all nations and peoples. We are overjoyed at the evidence on every hand of approval of your proposal.

2. A Five-Power Pact of Peace. Closely related to the problem of Korea and to all areas of tension in the world is the Council's resolution on a Five-Power pact for peace. "To fulfill the hopes cherished by millions of people throughout the world, whatever may be their view of the causes that have brought about the danger of world war, and to strengthen peace and safeguard security, the Council urges the conclusion of a pact of peace among the Five Powers: the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France." The Council considers a "refusal to meet to conclude such a pact, by the Government of any of the Great Powers whichever it might be, as evidence of aggressive design on the part of the Government in question." The Council invites all peace-loving nations and all men and women of goodwill, all organizations that hope for peace, to support the call for this pact of peace.

Speaking as Americans we consider it to be inconceivable that the Chinese People's Republic be any longer excluded from the United Nations. Our call for the inclusion of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and in a pact of the Great Powers, stems from the conviction that the present government in Peking represents the people of China, and that it has therefore the moral right to

speak for the 475 million Chinese people in the councils of the nations. At this point we American members are in agreement with the preamble of the Resolution introduced into the Senate of the United States by Senator Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado calling for a cease-fire, which says:

> "The people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics', if it were to be applied to Asia, and
>
> "It has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government on any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life unhindered and unafraid, the little with the great and powerful."

Speaking on the question of peaceful relations with peoples in the Orient at the Berlin meeting of the Council was one of the world's most renowned theologians, the Reverend Professor J. L. Hromadka, Dean of the Czechoslovakian Protestant Reformed Evangelical Church. He is known to many American churchmen. "Faith in Christ," said he, "is to have the eyes open before the essential historical events, before the real meaning of the present moment; it is the courage to break with one's own self-complacancy and self-righteousness, to throw away the old traditions and habits, and to give up the old unjust privileges and possessions." ... "The present march of history," he declared, "has found its most obvious expression in the Korean and Chinese situations on the one hand, and in the - what we call - remilitarization of Germany on the other." With a sharp criticism he asked the following questions: "Who has created the unbearable tension in the Far East by denying to New China, with her almost 500 million people, her just place within the family of Nations? Who has insulted her? Who has for many years irritated the sentiments of the Asiatic peoples? Who has backed the most privileged and selfish elements within the Asiatic countries?" We submit that questions like these - questions involving history and morality - should be taken into account in defining what is aggression.

3. <u>The Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem</u>. The World Peace Council asserts in a resolution on the German question that "militarist and Nazi forces are being revived in Germany, in betrayal of the resolve of the peoples in whose name were concluded the treaties which categorically insisted on Germany's disarmament." ... "This rearmament, military and industrial, of Germany constitutes the gravest of the dangers threatening a new world war," the resolution holds.

4. <u>The Peaceful Solution of the Japanese Question.</u> The World Peace Council expresses grave concern over the remilitarization of Japan. It "considers it essential that a referendum on the remilitarization of Japan and the conclusion

of a peace treaty with a peaceful and demilitarized Japan be held in Japan and in countries most concerned in Asia, America and Oceania." It "condemns all attempts to conclude the separate peace with Japan" and believes "that a peace treaty must be the subject of negotiations in the first instance by the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, and agreed by all countries concerned." The Council declares that "The Japanese people must be guaranteed a democratic and peaceful life."

Your Excellency, in concluding these brief remarks, as a churchman engaged throughout my life in religious work, I would refer once more to a faith expressed by Professor Hromadka at the conclusion of his address at the Berlin meeting of the World Council of Peace. He said: "The presence of us Christians at this conference demonstrates our conviction that the World Council of Peace reflects at this juncture, the most important, the most realistic and the most effective effort not only to save the peace but also to satisfy - if it is at all possible - the vital needs of mankind. We stretch forth our hands to reach our numerous beloved and honest brothers, both in the East and in the West, and to bring them into our fellowship of peace and goodwill."

My own experience at the Second World Peace Congress and my ten days' visit in the Soviet Union last winter increased my faith that there are men and women of goodwill in the hundreds of millions in the countries of the world who, regardless of their differences of race, language, nationality, religion or philosophy, are transcending barriers and marching on to peaceful relations. We believe that all nations which bear responsibility to a greater or lesser extent for the mistakes that have led to world tension will now respond to the universal plea for peace and seek the path to peaceful co-existence through treaties of agreement to maintain amity, through intercultural relations and economic cooperation.

* * *

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PROVIDE ABUNDANT AND HIGHER LEVELS OF LIFE FOR THE WORLDS NEEDY MILLIONS

PAUL ROBESON 139 WEST 125TH ST NYC

A MESSAGE TO THE HUNGARIAN PEACE COUNCIL

March 18, 1955

I am honored to have the opportunity, through the Hungarian Peace Council, to send warm fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Hungary.

The founding of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Hungary 10 years ago, out of the misery and ruin caused by the fascist incindiaries during World War II, was an event hailed by peace-loving mankind all over the world. It brought into being a new era in the history of your great country. It added vital strength to the world camp of peace and democracy which is inspired by the achievements of the great Soviet Union, Peoples China, and all the Peoples Democracies.

As the people of the United States fight to restrain the war-makers in our midsts, to establish relations of peaceful co-existence and mutual cooperation among nations of different social systems, and to retain and expand the best in our own proud democratic and cultural heritage, we will increasingly take strength from your example.

I have followed with great interest and pride the flourishing of your economy and, no less, of your rich and ages-old culture. I hope some day soon to win the right to travel freely which has been denied by the U. S. State Department revocation of my passport. Then I will surely join you in Hungary, in singing with you the great songs of your people and of all nations, in sharing your warm fellowship, and in strengthening even further the unbreakable bonds of friendship and peace which bind all working people and all democratic humanity throughout the world.

My thoughts are with you on this joyous occasion. All hail the glorious people of the Democratic Hungarian Peoples Republic! May you move from victory to victory in the cause of national economic construction, cultural development, democracy and peace!

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The world, for some time, has seen possibility of limitations of armament and eventual disarmament. Such debates are being pursued here in the United Nations, and a mighty contribution was made by the late Andrei Vishinsky.

Re-armament of Western Germany runs counter to the desire of the worlds peoples for peace. They, the people must mobilize in ~~the~~ tremendous numbers to prevent final ratification of any such agreements.

There must be insistence upon constructive settlement

(over)

leading to a democratic re-unified Germany. Great sections of the German People who want peace stand ready to assist and to implement such a decision.

THUS, ~~Thus~~ - four Power talks and negotiation are imperative.

Growing numbers in America have been speaking out for peaceful solutions of our problems and for living together with other peoples not planning ~~a~~ ~~mutual~~ common destruction.

They see German Re-armament as fraught with greatest

Dangers leading to revival of ~~[illegible]~~ Nazi domination in Germany and drive toward war.

There must be a fight through to victory on this question and others to the end that war itself ~~[illegible]~~ and with it dreadful atomic weapons are outlawed, and that this vast source of Power is used in a world at peace to provide abundance and higher levels of life for the world's needy millions.

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SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

WARSAW

November 16-22, 1950

(REPORT AND DOCUMENTS)

III

SUPPLEMENT TO **NEW TIMES**

No. 49, December 6, 1950

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Report of the Second World Peace Congress

Morning Session, November 20

(Continued)

Delegate Green, of England, told of the indignation felt by British peace partisans at the British government's virtual banning of the Congress in Sheffield, and assured the Congress that the people of England stand firmly for peace.

Speech by Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie

At this moment when the World Peace Congress is deliberating in Warsaw—in a capital whose name is a symbol of the martyrdom of war—it must be stressed that the movement whose principal goal is universal peace has already attained certain of its objectives. The weapon which certain governments that are inclined or resigned to war used against us was silence. That curtain of silence, which was ever so much thicker than the "iron curtain," has now been rent thanks to the movement of the peoples, and thanks to the ferocity of these governments which so viciously persecute the peace supporters. The large section of the press and radio which is hostile to us on orders from above is today compelled to recognize the scope of our international movement. And though they are still seeking to misrepresent it, their calumnies have become so crude as to rebound upon their authors.

We have also achieved—although partially—another of our objectives, the enlargement of our movement. Only one speaker, Mr. Rogge, has declared from this platform that our movement is becoming narrower.

As to myself, I can only speak here of the state of the peace movement in France. The more than 15,000,000 signatures already appended to the Stockholm Appeal in spite of official counter-propaganda; the public meetings in villages and city districts which made it possible to send to the regional peace conferences 120,000 delegates, among whom Communists were a small minority, in spite of the fact that the French Communist Party is a very big one, and the absolutely free exchange of opinions that took place at our meetings, permit us to smile, as those in this hall did smile, at Mr. Rogge's assertion.

Our rule remains unaltered: we take into consideration all proposals made by people who are seeking for ways to peace, and we always seek a basis for common action with them, however modest it may be. In order to safeguard peace, we set aside all divergencies over philosophical, social or economic ideas, reserving them for discussion on other platforms than the great platform of the search for peace.

In France, every time a group of men or one man made some new specific proposal for the defence of peace, even though in criticism of our position, we agreed to, nay invited, discussion. For instance, we have met in discussion advocates of international reconciliation, who believe that conscientious objection is the best weapon of peace. We have met advocates of a world government, who believe that the best work for peace would be the establishment of a world parliament. We have met believers in neutrality, who would ensure peace for their countries by neutralizing France and Western Europe.

Concluded. For preceding installments see *New Times* Nos. 47 and 48.

Like Pierre Cot, I must particularly acknowledge the contribution of these latter people. In seconding the American atomic scientist Szilard and proposing that Western Europe should be freed of its commitments under the Atlantic pact and become neutral, they are contributing a stone to the edifice of peace, because they are seeking to eliminate a possible seat of war. It may sometimes seem to us, partisans of peace, that some of these groups are hovering in the clouds. But we have always observed that by patiently discussing the facts and the menace which these facts represent, we are able very soon to get away from abstractions and return to earth. Naturally, we do not come to agreement on everything, but we soon find ourselves in accord on some essential points. And already, all those groups I have mentioned are fighting together with us to have the war in Viet-Nam ended, to prevent Germany from becoming a seat of war and keep her demilitarized, and to prevent our enslavement by the Atlantic pact. They are deserving of the attention and friendship of the champions of peace.

When speaking of our aim of enlarging the movement, I said that it was only partially achieved. It must be acknowledged that we have not enlarged sufficiently, saying this not in a pessimistic or disruptive spirit—and not in a personal spirit, as we heard it said here yesterday—but in a spirit of continuous creation, a spirit of disinterestedness and even love, which is the only spirit that can lead to the triumph of peace.

All our hope is in the fact that there is in the world only a small handful of partisans of war, as against hundreds and hundreds of millions of friends of peace who are still isolated, uncertain or deceived. We must extend a hand to these honest people, respect their scruples and anxieties, and the limits which they set to their co-operation. And these limits will disappear of themselves when they observe our own scruples, our own diversity of views, and also our loyalty and the astonishing fraternity which love of peace can establish among people of contrary trends or philosophies. But the enlargement should not extend to action alone. It is not a question only of uniting ever larger numbers of people sharing the common aim of peace. We must also enlarge the scope of the targets of action. The World Committee gave an example of this when, after the Stockholm Appeal, it launched the Prague proposals.

The admirable report of our President Joliot-Curie gave us another example, as did the concluding proposals of our friend Fadeyev. But we must do still more: we must conscientiously and scrupulously study all suggestions made to us by any group of people, or any individual, who may be remote from our movement but devoted to peace. I know that our task is a difficult one, difficult because tares are mingled with the wheat, because provocation and sabotage may mingle with the spirit of defending peace. But our patience and coolness will triumph over provocation and sabotage and permit honest men to recognize them and to join with us.

When we were conducting the campaign against the atomic weapon, there were people who said to us: I will only support you if you also condemn the catapult. When we conduct our campaign for peace among nations, we encounter people who declare that the blow of a police truncheon is also war, that such-and-such a penitentiary regime or such-and-such a social condition is also violence, as much as the invasion of a foreign army. To these people we say: we are agreed to oppose catapults and to oppose any form of violence, but in order that we may one day have a paradise on earth where there are no catapults and no violence, we must first save our still imperfect world by preventing its total destruction by the atomic bomb or by the fire of those bombs and guns which pulverized Warsaw and which are pulverizing Korea today.

But we cannot take seriously a partisan of non-violence like Mr. Rogge, who proposes that such-and-such a regime for prisoners be modified or that we condemn all reforms, however just they may be, and at the same time that the atomic weapon be preserved. I must link this proposal to retain the atomic bomb with another expression of Mr. Rogge's. Claiming to speak in the name of the American people, he said: We shall not tolerate armed attacks and breaches of world peace. These are not words befitting a peace partisan. For no nation can proclaim itself the sole guardian of world peace. It cannot claim to be the sole custodian of good in the world and proclaim itself the sole judge. Views like these lead to the idea of domination as it is conceived by the White House adviser, Mr. Burnham.

We shall never consent to such world domination, established with the help of the atomic bomb in the interest of what some may think good, but what is actually their personal good. We do not want to be people who elaborate a philosophy or a morality in their own solitary heads and declare that they will not work for peace until this philosophy or morality is accepted by all.

While we appeal to all the honest people of the world, while we can and must listen to all opinions, even if they may appear to us to be very singular, while we must work day after day to enlarge our movement, it is well to remark also that there are limits to our complaisance and patience.

I repeat, the men who deliberately want war are but a handful. The more clearly we designate some of them, whose monstrous errors permit no further room for hope, the sooner they will be isolated.

The conference in London in August 1945 and the Nuremberg Tribunal recognized and established the concept of crimes against peace, crimes against humanity. This concept marked a step forward by humanity, and we of course have not the right to allow it to fall into disuse. I know that we must be cautious in this matter and designate only those who directly call for mass destruction, for savagery, in documents that leave no room for doubt.

All I do here is to put the question: is not a man who proposes dropping an atom bomb on another country in order to settle the question of the co-existence of two regimes—is not this man (be he Minister of the Navy of a big country) committing a crime against peace? Is not a man who congratulates himself when he bombs towns and villages from the map—is not this man (be he a military chief) committing a crime against humanity?

I request you to ponder over this, and I repeat that our judgment must be so cautious and so clear as not to repel from us any man of good will. And now, after these remarks, I should like, for my part, to attempt to contribute a modest stone to the edifice of peace. In doing so, I should like to express the wish that such contributions may be more numerous, and that, whether they are accepted or not, they may furnish us with new food for our study and our debates.

The proposals I am about to make are the fruit of our French experience, and at the same time of the reflections of our delegation and of my own personal opinions.

The great aim of disarmament of nations remains the chief objective of the struggle of those who refuse to build peace by preparing for war. I should like to contribute to this end the following proposals, one or other point of which may, together with the important contribution made by the Soviet delegation, bring us nearer to that synthesis which the Statute of Peace should be.

Proposals:

1. Immediate convocation of a disarmament conference of the five Great Powers—the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France.

2. The five Great Powers shall give a solemn pledge to stop armament building and to limit their military budgets to the amount of 1950 immediately the conference arrives at a decision to this effect.

3. The five Great Powers shall pledge themselves to carry out a reciprocal and simultaneous census of their armed forces and of all their armaments, including the atomic weapon.

4. The respective forces shall be examined, taking into account, in particular, the extent of land and sea frontiers and size of population, with a view to determining the next stage of disarmament.

In conclusion, M. d'Astier de la Vigerie drew the attention of the Congress to another measure which might facilitate the prevention of war and weaken the forces that are striving to unleash another war.

Stressing that the rapid transition from a peace to a war economy in a number of countries was favouring these forces, and thereby increasing the menace of war, he proposed *that the Peace Congress appeal to the parliaments of all countries to pass legislation forbidding the receipt of superprofits from military contracts connected with preparation for war. (Loud applause.)*

* * *

The next speaker was Dr. Bernal of England.

Speech by J. D. Bernal

Friends of peace, we are together here in this great and historic city of Warsaw to discover how to ward off the ever more closely threatening war. The transference of this Congress from Sheffield to Warsaw, from West to East is symptomatic of the unity of the peace movement throughout the world. The change is a change of place, but not a change of focus. We went to Sheffield in order to bring to the peace-loving people of Britain a message that they were not alone, but that they formed part of a great and growing world-wide movement. Now we have come to Warsaw, thanks to the generosity and understanding of the people of Poland, and have brought with us the representatives of the people of England, who will be the messengers of the unity of peace when they return to their homes.

Though our purpose is not changed, it has been greatly strengthened by experience in coming here.

The whole of our deliberation is contained in essence in the simple choice between the opposite conceptions of peace by negotiation and peace by armament. The Western powers, the powers of the Atlantic pact, have refused and are refusing to discuss any peace proposals until they think they are sufficiently strong to secure the acceptance by the rest of the world of any terms they may think fit to lay down. To their own peoples, they say: "You will not be safe until you are strong." If history teaches anything, it is that such policies, well meant or not, always lead to war. This lesson indeed should be still fresh in our memory. It is not so many years since we heard it put forward in more brutal, but in essentially identical terms. Hitler, we should remember, also claimed to be a man of peace. He had a plan for a new order which the world was bound to accept. The overwhelming force of Germany was to dictate that order to the rest of the world. War was only to come if people were so "recalcitrant" or so "stupid" as to resist. Hitler's plans were as crude and violent in their statement as they were horrible in their execution, as the ruins of this city and the sufferings of the people of Poland bear witness.

Nevertheless the dangers of war that we face now are likely to be even more extensive and horrible than they were then. The fact that the peoples of the Atlantic pact countries have not yet been trained to be as aggressive as those of Hitler Germany does not lessen the material and moral factors which determine the character of any war they might wage.

The world now possesses means of destruction in the atom bomb, in radioactive and bacterial poisons, more painful, cruel and extensive in their effect, than any used in the last war. There is no guarantee that they will not be used.

Important as these material factors are, the deeply rooted and largely unconscious assumptions of the rulers and to a certain extent of the peoples of the Atlantic pact countries offer an even more serious danger. They draw from their history an assurance that they are the born masters of the world, that they are there to maintain law and order over inferior peoples, and that they have the right to inflict whatever punishment seems necessary on any who defy it. This goes now with a deep fear of the popular forces which are now more and more shaking their plans of domination—a fear itself based on an uneasy conscience as to whether after all they have always been right and just in their striving to dominate other people.

The basic assumption underlying the policy of the Atlantic powers is that the government of the world must not be allowed to pass any further out of the hands that now control it. They consider it right and natural that more than half the people of the world should be ruled by less than a tenth. This is a system, which they accept as the permanent and right state of the world. Any criticism of it in colonial countries or at home is called subversive. Any actual uprising against it, aggression.

Unfortunately it is not only those who benefit by this system who believe in those views. They are, in fact, sincerely held by many millions of good people in Britain and in the United States, and it is those people with whom we must reckon in trying to find a way to peace. They have been told that they are facing a real threat of war, one emanating from the new Soviet imperialism. Most of you here find it difficult to see this. We do not

hear in the news of the Red Army restoring law and order in Ireland because of the aggression of the Southern Irish against the Northern to end partition, as the Americans are restoring law and order in Korea. It is from this attitude and just because the Soviet Union does not behave in this way, that in the eyes of the rulers of the Western powers it is so particularly pernicious. They seem to feel that if only Stalin would give the order, no one throughout the world would any longer seek to secure for themselves independence, liberty and social justice. The peace the Atlantic powers and especially the United States seek to impose, is one in which their domination is unquestioningly recognized everywhere. To secure such a peace they wish to build up overwhelming forces of destructive armaments, and to use them where and when they find their domination threatened. Until they are in a position to do so, they will not accept any proposals for lessening international tension, however reasonable in themselves, and however much they appeal to the genuine desires of the peoples of the world. Indeed it is their very reasonableness that is at this moment most feared and hated. To them, those who want peace by negotiation are their worst enemies. It is you, precisely you here and the hundreds of millions of people that you represent, that they consider to be more dangerous than the best equipped military forces.

War, Fadeyev has said, is knocking at the door. But it was peace that knocked at the door of England, a few days ago. And it was in the face of peace that Mr. Attlee so meanly and rudely slammed it. What they are afraid of is the very idea of peace. They do not even wish their people to discuss it. They cannot admit the possibility that two systems in the world could co-exist. This implies that they do not even believe that in free and peaceful competition, their own can survive, and that they rely essentially on force to maintain their present position. War is the only aim for which they are preparing. But this is seldom openly admitted. Instead, the peace movement is attacked as an attempt to prevent rearmament and possibly to weaken the Atlantic powers.

We are against war. We have no desire to weaken any state, but to strengthen them all by enabling them to devote their forces to constructive rather than destructive aims. The purpose of the peace movement is one of universal and not one of one-sided disarmament. But we still have to convince the people of our countries that we are in earnest. They are now being told about the enormous strength of the Soviet Union and at the same time about the absolute secrecy that undoubtedly prevents this being known. We may be accused of wanting to abolish the atom bomb and to leave the other forces intact. That has never been our policy. But we have now heard at this conference in Fadeyev's great and authoritative speech how ready the Soviet Union is to propose and to carry out effective all-sided disarmament including atom bombs and other forces.

It will be impossible for much longer to hide from all the peoples of the world that there does exist a real possibility to effect this disarmament and to return to a peaceful condition of the world. Indeed already in Britain, under the impact of events, the people are beginning to see through the official attitude of support of indefinite rearmament and refusing to negotiate. The increasing speed of war preparation has destroyed the hopes of a better life to which the people felt themselves entitled after the efforts and sacrifices of the last war. The remilitarization of Germany under Nazi generals makes them feel that that war was fought altogether in vain. Most of all however the events in Korea have brought home to the people of Britain the nearness of the horrors of war. Most of them have been told and have believed that their government have been intervening in defence of the United Nations against aggression. They find it now more and more difficult to swallow the disproportion between what crime may have been committed, and the enormity of the punishment which is certainly being inflicted. Two hundred years ago, men and women could be and were hanged for as little as stealing a handkerchief. That type of justice in defence of property was rejected by the people when they gained some measure of power. The international "justice" which involves the burning of towns and villages, the killing and torturing of men and women is beginning to seem equally intolerable. The people of Britain are revolted by the horrors of which they are made, however unwillingly, the accomplices. At the same time they begin to dread what will follow. They are seeing the dangers of war spreading from Korea to China and

beyond, until all are involved. The people of Britain have no quarrel with China, indeed the Chinese people, now at last the masters of their own country, have already won a deep sympathy and support from the people of Britain. They are horrified at the very idea of being involved in war with the people of China, they are beginning to ask whether there is not some way to end all this, to get away from these apparently inevitable steps to universal war.

The task of the peace movement is to persuade first the peoples and through them their governments that war can and must be prevented from starting. It may not seem so difficult to prevent the launching of an aggressive war; for an aggressive war a lot of preparation of the people has to be undertaken as we have seen it done in Hitler Germany. But today the real danger is that aggressive war can be disguised by clever propaganda as a defensive one. Our first problem is to counter this propaganda by defining or, even better, exposing the nature of aggression. It is precisely this that the Korean war is bringing about.

It is on this new awakening and feeling that the peace movement in Britain will have to be based. We have had in the past to face the most elaborate means of suppressing discussion of peace that have been used in any country. The press has first ignored and then vilified our movement. The official Labour Party has imposed and reimposed a ban on its members or organizations to take part in it. If they could, they would prevent any serious discussion of peace. Now, after Sheffield, it is becoming impossible to maintain this position much longer. The great and representative delegation of the British people of all classes and professions that is here at this Congress bears witness to it. The whole tradition of the people of Britain is against the policy that their government is following under the leadership of United States Big Business. Once a break is made in the walls of pressure and prejudice which surround the movement, it is bound to spread through the essentially peace-loving people of Great Britain. The interest aroused by the sabotage of the Sheffield Peace Conference and by its transference to Warsaw may well be the event that marks this decisive break.

We here in this great Congress are together for one common end. Since we come from countries with very different governments, and must find accordingly diverse means of securing it, each country, each organization must find for itself the best way of working for peace. We recognize that in the Soviet Union, in China and in the People's Democracies, it is the work for peaceful production, for increasing the welfare of their people, that is in itself the greatest contribution they can make to peace. There is beyond this another such contribution of which the very symbol is this Congress. By throwing open the doors of Poland to people with no more passport or visa than a desire for peace, the first great step has been taken to destroying the wicked legend of the iron curtain. We now see the iron curtain for what it is, a veil of prejudice which the architects of reaction have tried to weave over the eyes of the people of the Western world. By exposing it, the prejudices and fears on which the policy of war preparations is based will be largely dispelled. We earnestly hope that Warsaw will only be the first of the cities which the people of all the world will be able to visit freely in the cause of peace.

In Britain we have another task. All of us here have been inspired by the experience of Warsaw. Let us go back to our own country determined to tell what we have seen and learned. Let us be prepared to face and to overcome the disbelief with which we may at first be met. We must make people see that it is only by the coming together of all peoples without exception, that any genuine peace movement can be built up. Let us prove from our experience that this is possible. Men of different political creeds must also learn to work together in a genuine peace movement. In the world as it is, it is impossible to imagine an effective peace movement without the support of the Communists, who have the allegiance of half the peoples of the world. But a movement confined to Communists or their sympathizers would be equally ineffective. Such segregation could only make the cold war worse. It is just as much to the interest of Socialists, Liberals and Conservatives that Communists should be in the peace movement as it is to that of Communists that there should be a common cause with persons of fundamentally different economic and political opinions and beliefs. If, as we do, we main-

tain that war is not inevitable, and that the different systems of the world can exist peacefully together, we must assume and practise from the beginning unity in the peace movement itself.

We have been asked at this Congress to try to be practical in our work and to embody our ideas in definite proposals. I would like to put before the Congress a draft resolution which attempts to give reality to our aspirations of extending and enlarging the peace movement, which has been the general theme of this speech. The resolution, which has already been forwarded to the appropriate commission of the Congress and has the unanimous approval of the British delegation, is as follows:

Proposals for Extending the Peace Movement Unanimously Approved by the British Delegation

1. With the object of facilitating the greatest possible extension of the peace movement, this Second World Peace Congress, in addition to its general appeal, should address several and all organizations, political, religious or other, in every part of the world who are at present working for peace or would be able to do so. It should propose to them the closest co-operation between them and the appropriate organizations of the world movement of the defenders of peace, along the general lines of its policy, without any obligation of accepting this in toto. The co-operation should be on a basis of non-discrimination on racial, religious or political grounds and should retain the fully international character of the World Movement of Defenders of Peace.

2. To secure that this co-operation shall be most rapid and effective, the World Movement of Defenders of Peace and its associated national organizations will use all their influence to ensure that the fullest freedom of communication, movement and assembly nationally and internationally be granted in every country of the world.

The resolution aims to break down the barriers that have hitherto hindered the spread of the movement and to give it a more genuinely international character.

To those who like myself have seen this world peace movement grow from its first roots at Wroclaw to this great Congress at Warsaw, it must appear that a real new force has come into the world, and that it is growing fast and well. It is a force which, based on peace, is building a new unity of all the peoples. We are all friends here. We are from day to day and from month to month gaining new friends among all the peoples of the world. We have come together in this hall, men and women of all religious and political views, to find ourselves agreed on the essential need to live together in peace. Look around you to the statues that stand by the doors, holding the dove of peace in their hands. Let us loosen them now to fly over the face of the world. (*Loud applause.*)

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Other speakers at this session were Mihail Sadoveanu of Rumania and Sekou Touré of Equatorial Africa.

Afternoon Session, November 20

Liu Ning-yi, delegate from China, addressed the Congress at this session.

Summary of Speech by Liu Ning-yi

After telling of the achievements of the Chinese People's Republic in industry, in agriculture and in the cultural field, Liu Ning-yi said:

"The Chinese people urgently need peace. We want to turn agrarian China into an industrial country. We want to achieve a happy life. We want to co-operate closely with the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and all lovers of peace and democracy throughout the world. Together with them, we want to work for the peace and happiness of all nations."

Liu Ning-yi spoke of the anger which had been aroused among the Chinese people by the brazen American aggression in Korea and the Chinese island of Taiwan, and stressed that the Americans were preparing for a military attack on the Chinese mainland.

After pointing out that the Chinese people entertain the friendliest feelings for the people of America, Liu Ning-yi appealed to all men of good will to rally still closer in defence of peace.

Speech by Pero Popivoda

Our delegation will take advantage of the opportunity offered by this World Peace Congress to tell about the real position in Yugoslavia, about the gravity of the situation that has developed there and about the attitude of the absolute majority of the Yugoslav people towards it.

Yugoslavia is ruled today by a government which has robbed the people of all rights. It is terrorizing the people, destroying them en masse, whipping up war hysteria, provoking frontier incidents designed to bring on military conflict in the Balkans, and it is the sworn enemy of the international peace movement and of this Congress, in action as well as in word.

The Tito-Rankovic clique obediently do everything the imperialist aggressors order them to. Yugoslavia is being turned into a ramp for war; military airfields and fortifications are being built in large numbers, the population are being evicted from the frontier areas, a military frontier zone is being established, the youth and the mass organizations are being militarized. Further age classes—both officers and privates—have been called up from the reserve, and transport vehicles and livestock mobilized.

All this is accompanied by a vicious press and radio campaign calculated to increase war hysteria and panic in the country. For example, at the time when in other countries signatures were being collected for the Stockholm Appeal, the Titoite press published an order of the Yugoslav General Staff for the mobilization of vehicles and livestock for military needs. The papers which printed this order also tried to mislead the Yugoslav public into believing that the campaign for prohibition of the atomic weapon was a failure.

Yugoslavia's army is of wartime size. Together with the police, it numbers over a million men. Military expenditure accounts for over a third of the total national budget for 1950. For espionage and war propaganda the Tito clique have allocated 16 billion dinars—more than 9 per cent of the total budget expenditure and double the 1949 appropriations for public education.

The present government of Yugoslavia is hard at work militarizing the country, it is turning it into a military vantage ground for the imperialist aggressors, it is dooming our tormented people to want and hunger. And this is the government for which President Truman, as has now become known, is urging maximum assistance and support.

In a message to Congress, he made no secret whatever of the fact that the purpose of this support for the Tito government, which has the largest armed forces in Europe, is to protect American strategic interests in Yugoslavia.

To further the interests of the imperialist aggressors, and at their bidding, the Titoites in the first eight months of this year engineered over 200 incidents and acts of provocation on the borders of neighbouring countries, with much loss of life resulting.

To deceive the people, they have set up a so-called "Yugoslav National Peace Committee," whose sole occupation is to slander and attack the world peace movement. Respect for the delegates at this Congress forbids me to quote the filthy calumnies which this spurious peace committee spreads in the Titoite press.

The Belgrade radio and the big Titoite newspapers have special bureaus which fabricate lies about peace supporters and the peace movement, collect military intelligence, sow war panic and spread false reports.

Engaged in the infamous work of these bureaus, which are directed by Milovan Djilas and Mosa Pijade, are over 400 propagandists who have sold their conscience—journalists, writers, cartoonists, and so on.

Tito in all his speeches does his best to make people doubt the victory of the peace cause and to whitewash the warmongering Anglo-American aggressors. A few passages which I shall quote suffice to show what aims these enemies of peace and democracy pursue and who are their masters.

Seeking to provide an explanation for the country's disastrous economic position, Tito at a meeting in Drvar on March 12 of this year said literally the following: "We must first of all build a strong army and give it what it needs.... We have to build new war factories, and so you must understand our position...." In Zemun on March 21 he said: "Only a few years have passed since the war ended, yet we must speak of armaments, and not of the possibility of a better life, not of building up our cities and villages, not of all the things that would make our life better and happier. It is our duty to speak of armaments...." And again: "I think the time will soon come when we shall be in a position to give you the very best weapons."

Every upright man and woman can by now clearly see what aims are pursued by the present Yugoslav government, that servitor of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The reign of terror to which the Tito-Rankovic clique have subjected the Yugoslav people is such that even the Nazi terror in the occupied countries during the last war pales by comparison.

The people's most elementary rights and liberties have been suppressed. Masses of people are being put to death without trial; hunger and want, corruption and lawlessness prevail.

Over 150,000 Yugoslav patriots, genuine champions of world peace, have been thrown into concentration camp. Such camps as the "Postanski fach-45/4," the "Mermer," "Goli Otok," "Dugi Rt," "Mamula," "Vis," "Preporod," "Ekonomija 4," and many others are notorious. The innocent names the Titoites have given them cannot conceal that in reality they belong to the gruesome Oswiecim category. The commandant of one of these camps fled from Yugoslavia recently, and he states that only in the camps he knows, over 130,000 patriots are confined. They are subjected to horrible torments, and many die of torture, and of starvation and thirst. The tortures include electric shocks, poisoning of the prisoners' food, blinding by unbearably bright electric light, and similar atrocities. Small wonder that the bloodthirsty Minister of the Interior Rankovic and the murderers under his command are referred to by the people as Americanized Gestapo men.

Upwards of a score of Ministers of the federal and republican governments, one Skupschina President, two Vice-Chairmen of republican Councils of Ministers, over 100 deputies, 5 generals, 30 colonels, thousands of officers, Yugoslavia's finest writers and poets are kept in these camps and prisons, and many of them have been brutally murdered. Particularly savage are the Titoites in hounding peace supporters. Circulation of the Stockholm Appeal was banned as soon as the Appeal was published and anyone who signs it is cruelly persecuted.

Most revealing is the statement Tito made at the congress of Yugoslav women in October of this year, in connection with the underground struggle for peace and democracy. "We have arrested a few individuals here and there," he said. "Anyone who follows their propaganda will bring on his own destruction, whoever he may be; whether he is the highest leader or the humblest citizen, it makes no difference." We could cite numerous facts to prove that these are not empty words and that this is exactly what is happening.

The frightful terror practised against the people, who cherish and desire peace, has considerably hampered the peace movement in Yugoslavia. But even so it cannot be said that the Tito clique have been successful. The Yugoslav people want peace, they are fighting for it, and the Tito clique will never succeed in embroiling them in aggressive war on the side of the Anglo-American imperialists. Our people have already given clear enough indications of this to the Tito clique and those who are behind them.

Despite all obstacles, the peace movement in Yugoslavia is gaining in scope and intensity. Nothing the Titoites do can break or destroy it. Yugoslav patriots and peace champions are hindering the transportation of armaments and export of raw materials for the aggressors, they continue to gather signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, they tell the masses the truth about the peace movement and its significance, and expose Tito's military adventurism.

The Yugoslav political exiles have one and all signed the demand for prohibition of the atomic weapon and are prepared to fight for peace wherever, whenever and in whatever way may be necessary.

It should be stressed that the peace movement in Yugoslavia has made especially good progress since the ejection of the Titoite representatives from the World Peace Congress Permanent Committee, as these used to deceive the masses with unspeakable shamelessness and hypocrisy and disrupt the organization of the peace movement.

Although all sincere and decent people recognize how terrible things are in Yugoslavia, and although it is proved by countless plain and conclusive facts, one advocate has nevertheless come forward to make out a case for the Tito clique.

More, this gentleman has the effrontery to identify the Tito clique with the Yugoslav people and recommend them as a good example. Unfortunately, this Titoite advocate is here among the members of this historic Congress. You all heard his speech and understood its purport.

What is behind this? Why has Mr. Rogge, on top of everything else, taken upon himself the unsavoury and shameful role of defence counsel for men who have no possible defence, men against whom their own people is in revolt?

When Mr. Rogge visited Yugoslavia this summer, the Tito clique gave him an honorary Doctor's Degree of the University of Belgrade. How much honour attaches to a degree received from a traitor and butcher of the people such as Tito, is something we need not go into here. The fact remains that while up to that time Rogge took no hand in Yugoslav affairs, after being given this bribe which no decent man would have cared to accept, he started spreading lies about Yugoslavia, and tried to mislead world democratic opinion by singing the praises of Tito and his, to put it mildly, anti-popular regime.

In March of this year, Mr. Rogge asked me to meet him, and I did. He said he wanted to find out the truth about Yugoslavia. I did everything to enable him to learn the truth about the actual conditions in the country, referring him to facts which he could have verified on the spot. He did not do so, however, and, apparently, had no desire to do so. Evidently, Mr. Rogge has adopted a position of open hostility to the truth. As an advocate, Mr. Rogge failed. He was not able to make out a convincing case for Tito. Everybody knows that Tito is at war with his people, and to put oneself in opposition to the people—as Mr. Rogge and all like-minded individuals should be aware—means certain defeat.

Mr. Rogge tried to pass himself off as a friend of the Yugoslav people. But we, the representatives of that people, have to disappoint him. We declare that the Yugoslav people consider him anything but their friend and emphatically decline such friendship.

As to the truth about the position in Yugoslavia, that truth is that the Yugoslav people want peace, that they are prepared to fight for peace and that no one will be able to divorce them from the other peace-loving peoples and the progressive forces that are fighting for peace. But another truth is that the present Yugoslav government opposes the interests and aspirations of its people, and so it is the interests of the Tito clique, and not of the people, that Mr. Rogge is advocating. We wish to stress once again that the way of Mr. Rogge and the Tito clique is not the way of the Yugoslav people and all partisans of peace.

Hail the Second World Peace Congress! Long live peace throughout the world! *(Loud applause.)*

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Following a speech by the Belgian delegate d'Alard, David McCans, of the American delegation, took the floor. He said that it was the duty of all Americans who had dedicated themselves to the fight for peace to demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Korea, the seating of the true representatives of the 475 million Chinese people in the United Nations, implementation of the U.N. Charter, and acceptance of the Soviet proposals for peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

"American progressive youth," McCans declared, "pledge themselves to rally the youth of America around the great cause of the defenders of peace."

Speech by Ibrahim Hamsaoui

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the Syrian delegation greet you and desire to thank the Polish people for the hospitality shown to all the delegations that have come to Warsaw for the Second World Peace Congress. We express our gratitude to the inhabitants of Warsaw for their friendly reception. The preparations for the Congress which they completed in four days bear witness to the achievements of the Polish people.

Fellow delegates, since the First Peace Congress was held in 1949, momentous developments, historic changes have taken place in the world: on the one hand, the forces of peace have everywhere grown in numbers and strength, and the movement now embraces all continents; but, on the other, the danger of war has become more ominous.

We in Syria have our Peace Committee, around which have rallied men and women of various religious creeds and political convictions. Our Committee has accomplished much in the time that it has been in existence. More than twenty district committees have been formed, which have launched a signature drive for the Stockholm Appeal. Signatures are being collected everywhere, in town and country. This movement is evidence of the desire of our people for peace, and has helped to weld and unite them. More than 160,000 Syrian citizens have signed the Stockholm Appeal. Besides tens of thousands of workers, peasants and artisans, its signatories include prominent statesmen—the President of the Constituent Assembly, eleven Ministers, thirty Deputies, and about half a score well-known religious leaders. The peace movement in Syria is meeting with the resistance of the reactionaries. Men and women canvassing for signatures have been cruelly victimized and persecuted. Many of them are still in jail. Reactionary elements have been trying to split our movement. The Americans and British are bringing pressure to bear on the government and have inspired calumny campaigns in the press.

We consider it necessary again to remind our people and the other peoples of the world that the Soviet Union stands for peace and defends the cause of peace. Proof of this is the full approval given to the Stockholm Appeal by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., proof of this is the effort of the Soviet Union to have all conflicts between nations settled in a peaceful way.

The peace partisans of Syria recently held a national conference. Although it was not officially banned, the government put every obstacle in its way. Nevertheless, three hundred delegates were present at the conference. They unanimously resolved:

1. To approve the Prague decisions of the World Peace Committee.
2. To oppose Syria's participation in any blocs and the utilization of her military bases and airfields by other states.
3. To oppose war propaganda.
4. To acclaim the President of the World Committee, Professor Joliot-Curie, for his contribution to the cause of peace.

It was also resolved to demand the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, the cessation of hostilities, and the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

Ever more intensive preparations for war are going on in Syria, Lebanon and the other Middle Eastern countries. The warmongers are unable to reach agreement among themselves on many questions—oil, for instance. But on the question of using our country as a strategic base they are one. They are building military bases in Tripoli and other parts of the country. Wherever they build airdromes, they also construct strategic roads, demolishing villages and leaving their inhabitants homeless. Fortifications are being built on Syria's frontiers. Under Truman's Point 4 and the Clapp plan, the Americans control our national economy, particularly our oil resources, and the distribution of credits.

In June of this year a declaration was issued by the U.S.A., Britain and France, in which the governments of the three countries openly stated that they would arm the countries of the Middle East and interfere in their affairs. It was actions of precisely this kind that preceded the events in Korea, Viet-Nam and Formosa. The warmongers want to incorporate Syria in Iraq. A Damascus paper recently published a statement to the effect that the American mission intends to build airfields and military bases. The strategic

roads under construction in Syria are to be linked up with the roads of Turkey and Iraq.

We must fight for peace, because the imperialists are planning to make Syria, Lebanon and the other Middle Eastern countries the spearhead in a new war.

The Second World Peace Congress will be a big factor in helping the peoples of all countries to carry on their fight for peace. We are confident that the proposals made by our esteemed President Joliot-Curie and by Pietro Nenni will promote unity among the forces of peace. We are confident that the decisions adopted by the Second World Congress will be approved by all peace-loving peoples. We are confident that our own people will continue to fight in the foremost ranks of peace, side by side with all the peace-loving peoples.

May friendship reign among nations! Long live peace! *(Loud applause.)*

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Summary of Speech by Abbé Boulier

Warmly acclaimed by the delegates, French peace fighter Abbé Boulier spoke of the need for combating war propaganda, which, he went on to point out, was usually coupled with anti-Communist propaganda and calls for a crusade. These calls had become the keynote of the anti-Communist propaganda so rabidly conducted in the religious press of Spain, Ireland, the U.S.A., Belgium, France and Italy.

Abbé Boulier concluded by saying that the Congress would render a great service to peace if it denounced the calls for a crusade as the most infamous war propaganda, and thereby reaffirmed the sacred right of all people to live peacefully side by side, no matter where they might be, and no matter whether they were religious believers or not.

* * *

Another speaker at this session was Walter Diehl, theological student from Western Germany.

"It may be said without exaggeration," he observed, "that the people of Western Germany are against the creation of a German army and are opposed to war. One West-German newspaper recently conducted a readers' poll on the question of remilitarization, and only 3 per cent of the replies were in favour." Diehl told of the peace demonstrations in Western Germany, and also of the way peace partisans are persecuted there. He added that the German youth welcome the proposals of the Prague Conference of Foreign Ministers of Eight States, because they are genuinely aimed at a peaceful solution of the German problem.

Summary of Speech by Shirendyb

"A Mongolian National Peace Congress was held in the early part of October," Shirendyb said. "It discussed the present world situation and our tasks in the fight for peace, and, voicing the sentiments of all the people of Mongolia, instructed us to declare at the Second World Peace Congress:

"1. The Mongolian people have unanimously signed the Stockholm Appeal, and have thereby expressed their determination to strive for the realization of the demands contained in this historic Appeal;

"2. The Mongolian people brand with the stigma of shame the American aggressors who are drenching Korea's peaceful towns and villages in blood, and demand that the bloodshed in Korea shall cease;

"3. The Mongolian people condemn with profound indignation the gross violations of the United Nations Charter by the governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France;

"4. The Mongolian people pass the strongest condemnation on the American and British governments for obstructing the admittance of our country to the United Nations, and demand that these governments discontinue their policy of discrimination against our peace-loving country;

"5. The Mongolian people join with the people of China in demanding that the U.S. and British governments cease their aggressive actions against our great neighbour, the Chinese People's Republic, because the threat to China is a threat to our country and to all the Asian peoples."

Summary of Speech by J. G. Crowther

J. G. Crowther, of the British delegation, told in detail of the preparations made in England for the Sheffield Congress, and of the way the Labour government had tried to stifle the voice of the people. In spite of the actions of the government, he said, many members of the Labour Party were actively supporting the peace movement.

Some of the members of the British delegation at the Congress had been expelled from the Labour Party and had to resign their posts.

The British government's act in sabotaging the Sheffield Congress had only strengthened the peace movement in Britain, Prof. Crowther said. Millions of people in Britain who had never heard of the British Peace Committee now knew that it was an organization which the British Prime Minister feared.

When the delegates got home, Prof. Crowther said in conclusion, they would work still more resolutely and enthusiastically to enlarge the peace movement in Britain and make it worthy of their people and their country.

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The next speaker was Dr. Hewlett Johnson, the Dean of Canterbury.

Speech by Dr. Hewlett Johnson

Mr. President and delegates of the Conference, let me first pay my tribute and give my thanks to the Polish government and to the city of Warsaw for their magnificent hospitality to our Peace Congress after the tragic refusal of my country. And may I express my deep shame and regret that my country should have shown such dishonour to you all and particularly to my dear and most reverend friends, the Metropolitan Nikolai, the Metropolitan Sebastian, Father Plojhar and others whose visit to my country was rendered impossible.

Legend speaks in England of a certain King Canute who set his throne on the seashore and said to the waves, "Thus far and no further," but the tide still rolled in.

Attlee and his cabinet have placed their chair athwart the grand tide of world peace. "Thus far," they said, "and no further." But it is not the tide of peace but the enemies of peace that are in full retreat. Sheffield has been a magnificent advertisement for the peace movement of the world. But it has been more.

Sheffield like a lightning flash illuminates the various countries of the world.

Sheffield reveals which are the countries that delight in the word "peace," and which in its reality.

Sheffield is the city which reveals the countries that dread peace and scorn it. Sheffield has distinguished between the policies of the East and of the West. (*Loud applause.*)

For while there are innumerable features which distinguish Eastern Europe from the West, none is so vital as that which relates to peace. The East thinks peace, speaks peace, plans peace. Nothing strikes a traveller like myself who is moving constantly from East to West and West to East so much as the emphasis of the East on this word "peace."

Four times in four years has Stalin made proposals of peace in his replies to Elliott Roosevelt, to Wallace, to Stassen, to Kingsbury Smith. Time after time has Russia declared that socialist countries and capitalist countries could live together peaceably side by side.

What has been the result? How were these offers received? Let John Foster Dulles, architect of the United States' foreign policy, reply. Speaking after the Paris conference in the spring of last year, Dulles said that at Paris there was some discussion as to whether to accept at all the Soviet offer of truce and resume the three-power discussions. Some feared that relaxation of East-West tension would mean a corresponding relaxation for the American people, who needed, he said, to be kept artificially alarmed. Nothing was done.

But are these Eastern peace offers sincere? Do the facts substantiate them? Most emphatically they do.

Consider four facts alone. I see, for example, your city of Warsaw with its immeasurable destruction. I look at the wide ranges of your country, of Russia, and of all Eastern Europe. What fool could have any taste for war, which is still bitter in their Eastern mouths?

Again, I see with amazement and delight your fair city of Warsaw rising once more by your own colossal efforts in all its glory. I see stupendous schemes throughout all the Eastern world. What fool would risk all this creative work in the gamble of another war?

I study the planned economies of the Eastern world, which fears no unemployment because it can consume all that it produces and only seeks world peace and the liberty to increase

still more that production which raises the living standard of all its citizens.

Lastly, I study your attitude to peace at home as well as abroad. You speak peace at home as well as abroad. Yours has been the world which bids peace conferences welcome, which placards its streets with emblems of peace, which teaches its children the slogans of peace. (*Loud applause.*)

But what of the West, why in the West is the word "peace" dreaded, why is the peace congress banned? Let the Voice of America give the answer. Let me quote the American press so widely read, the influential press which was handed out to me and to every traveller in American planes this last summer time.

I quote from the *United States News & World Report:*

"The day the nations talk peace," it says, "the United States faces economic disaster."

The *Journal of Commerce* says that if it were not for the events in Korea, they would have good reason to expect a serious recession in business activity this summer.

Over and over again this note recurs. I quote again:

"Peace would upset things. Arms expenditure is bolstering up business."

This is the American press in reference to the Korean war: Before the Korean war, it says, the United States businessmen were very cautious, uncertain of the future. Since the Korean war, businessmen have cast out their fears and are plunging ahead into an era of prosperity. The fear of depression, it adds, is dead since the beginning of the Korean war. The Korean war, it adds, will mean for the United States bigger incomes, more cars, more profits, more houses, more food, more and better clothes.

Could anything be more plain? United States economy cannot consume all that it produces at home, and, refusing to trade with the East, is threatened with collapse without the stimulus of war or the scare of war. Wall Street said it.

Get it clear. While in the East the arguments for rearmament lie entirely outside of the borders of the Eastern world, in the West the arguments for rearmament lie entirely within its own borders.

No wonder that the West bans peace conferences, no wonder too that the East welcomes them.

No wonder also where my sympathies as a Christian minister should lie.

One final word, a word of hope and encouragement, a word of grave warning.

The five hundred million and more pledges for the Appeal represent something like a third of the adult population of humanity.

From Peking to Prague a thousand millions of people seek and demand world peace. And in the lands beyond, tens of millions more. In my country, in France, in Italy, and throughout all Europe, in Canada and in Australia, and aye, in the United States itself, millions line up in mind and will behind them.

Years ago Sir Halford Mackinder, the British geographer, spoke of the great world island of Asia as invincible, its population illimitable, its resources boundless; fighting on interior lines, no foe could ever crush it or defeat it.

Woe betide any foe which challenges these millions to war when these millions fight behind the banner of peace and when they are morally armed and pledged to defend the peace they seek.

Lift up your eyes, you lovers of peace. The future is yours, your feet are on the highroad to lasting peace. The dream of illimitable peace and illimitable prosperity draws near; the day which Jesus Christ together with all great leaders of the human race so clearly foresaw would come is on the road, that day for which He taught us hopefully and confidently to pray, that day of the kingdom of justice, righteousness, mercy, brotherhood and peace, here and not in some distant realm, now and not in some far-off time. (*Loud applause.*)

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Soviet delegate Academician Volgin was the next to take the floor.

Speech by Academician V. Volgin

Dear friends, the torment and misery the Korean people are suffering today give us an insight into what war would spell, on a still larger scale, for all the peoples of the world.

Yet we hear calls for another world-wide slaughter; and to the accompaniment of these war cries, the men of evil will are breaking world economic ties.

In the United States, in Britain and in other West-European countries a rabid campaign is being carried on against trade with the Soviet Union, the Central and Southeast European People's Democracies and the New China.

In the United States new restrictions on trade with these countries are being introduced all the time. Things have gone so far that a ban has been imposed on the shipment of spare parts to Czechoslovak penicillin factories. Britain forbids machine tools to be exported to Eastern Europe. The United States is exerting pressure to make other countries go against their own interests by restricting their trade with all who refuse to bow to the dictate of the U.S. monopolies. The Marshall plan law has a clause which calls for open discrimination in exports against non-Marshall-plan countries.

In 1949, U.S. exports to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies were little more than half of the figure for 1948, and less than a fifth of what they had been in 1947.

Britain's trade with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies was down to two-fifths of what it had been in the prewar year 1938, France's was nearly halved. More items are being added constantly to the "black list" of goods whose export from the U.S.A., Britain and France is prohibited.

Curtailment of exports from the U.S.A. and the other countries goes hand in hand with equally deliberate cutting of their imports from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

This policy of undermining international trade strikes first and foremost at the interests of the common people. Even Harold Wilson, President of the British Board of Trade, has admitted that the housing program in Britain would be impossible without imports from the East-European countries. Moreover, for three years these countries have been supplying one-third of all Britain's grain imports.

An American progressive weekly, the *National Guardian*, has remarked that "the U.S. embargo on trade with Russia, Eastern Europe and the New China is costing the American workers 3 million jobs, which a resumption of East-West trade could provide."

And not only are the Western countries practising trade discrimination against the Eastern to suit the plans of the warmakers, but normal trade relations among the Western countries themselves are being sacrificed.

U.S.-West-European economic relations are being put on a wartime footing. This year's American exports to Western Europe consist largely of planes, tanks, guns, ammunition and other war material. Deliveries of war supplies are more than double the deliveries of peace goods.

All this saps the roots of the economic life of nations. The boosting of armaments and sabotage of peaceful trade worsen the conditions of the ordinary man. The enemies of peace have taken up the sinister Nazi watchword of "guns before butter," which for the millions means want and poverty today and the prospect of physical annihilation tomorrow. Huge peacetime armies and production of ever-growing quantities of weapons for mass murder lay a heavy burden on the masses and consume the fruits of their labour.

In their savage lust for profit the monopolies are driving their countries into the slough of militarism and deliberately inflating military expenditure. U.S. military appropriations today swallow up not less than 35 per cent of the net national income, as against about 1.6 per cent before the second world war. In France, the figure is around 30 per cent. Britain's war preparations are eating up about a third of the total national expenditure. And even more monstrous military outlay lies ahead, unless this criminal policy is stopped. Already 200-250 billion dollars is being mentioned as the figure of U.S. armaments expenditure in the next five years.

Life proves daily that not only does war spell death and destruction, but that the very preparations for it mean suffering and hardship for millions of ordinary folk.

Militarization leads to high prices, high taxes, falling wages.

Even according to official statistics, the monthly price index of consumers' goods in the United States is today 30 per cent higher than in June 1946.

In Britain taxes consume nearly half of the workers' wages. And in all the countries that are boosting armaments, non-military expenditure is being cut.

The only ones to gain by militarization are the big monopolies. It is not by chance that the profits of 486 big U.S. corporations in the third quarter of 1950, after America launched its war against the Korean people, were 51 per cent higher than in the same quarter of 1949.

The economy of the Soviet Union, in which the victory of Socialism has forever eliminated crises, is by its very nature stable and firm, and for this reason is a stabilizing influence for all countries that develop their economic relations with the U.S.S.R.

Economic discrimination against any country because its social structure is different from its own is a policy utterly alien to the Soviet Union.

When Elliott Roosevelt asked J. V. Stalin: "Do you believe, Generalissimo, that an important step toward world peace would be the reaching of an economic agreement of broader scope for the interchange of manufactured and raw materials between our two countries?"—J. V. Stalin replied:

"Yes, I believe that it would be an important step for the establishment of world peace. Of course I agree with that. Expansion of international trade would benefit in many respects the development of good relations between our two countries."

In the United Nations General Assembly and other U.N. bodies, the delegates of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies have repeatedly submitted practical proposals for developing commercial and economic relations between countries, irrespective of their social and economic systems, and urged that discrimination in foreign trade be abolished.

However, as everyone knows, the Anglo-American majority rejected these proposals.

Economic discrimination is a product of the evil will of the men who are preparing war. Our way—the way of the men of good will—is maximum development of trade among all countries on reciprocally advantageous terms.

Interchange of goods strengthens friendly relations between nations. We stand for helping the war-ravaged countries and promoting their economic recovery, for developing the peace economy of all countries and assisting their economic progress—and, consequently, for raising the living standard of the ordinary people.

We are against the armament drive, for it means misery and suffering for the ordinary people, leads to economic retrogression and increases the danger of war. (*Loud applause.*)

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Other speakers at the afternoon session were delegates Cosyns (Belgium), Pasternak (Poland), von Fischer (Switzerland), Klosiewicz (Poland), Yaari (Israel), and Popov (Bulgaria).

Evening Session, November 20

When the session opened, numerous greetings to the Congress from all parts of the world were read out. The debate on the reports of Joliot-Curie and Nenni was then resumed, the first speaker being the Brazilian writer Jorge Amado.

Speech by Jorge Amado

Thirty men and women of the most diverse station in life and of different views and religious beliefs—workers, peasants, scientists, writers, artists and political leaders—have crossed the ocean and come here from another part of the world to bear witness to the ardent desire of the Brazilian people to work for the preservation of peace.

I have the honour to address you as a Brazilian writer and as a member of the Brazilian delegation. At this tense moment, when the menace of war has become more

serious than ever before, we are conscious of the value which the support of our people may have for the defence of world peace.

Fifty million people live and work in Brazil, and in spite of very difficult conditions, they are building up an original culture of their own.

Though the Brazilian people are bereft of the most essential requisites for this constructive work, they have never ceased to strive for peace. This is a tradition in our political life. Our people have never ceased the struggle for bread, which many of our working people lack, for public health services, which are being sacrificed to war expenditure, for a national educational system which will serve the Brazilian people, for the majority of them are still illiterate. Never in our history have the Brazilian people ceased to struggle with all the means at their disposal for the progress and prosperity of their country. This struggle continues to this day, growing ever more intense and acute, and embracing the widest sections of the population.

Today, when the warmongers threaten to plunge humanity into misery and grief, the Brazilian people are alive to their responsibility and are conscious of the righteousness of their struggle.

On Brazil's magnificent seacoast, lying opposite to the shores of Africa, by the "road to Europe," over military, naval and air bases wave the stars and stripes of the United States, which is a menace to peaceable nations, instead of our precious national flag, which is the more precious to us because on it are inscribed words of peace and of respect for the sovereignty and liberty of the people.

Men from the northern part of the continent come to our land and give orders to our government, and our government blindly obeys them. These men even compel our people, like slaves, to protect interests which are anything but the interests of our country. It is this that for us lends very definite and concrete meaning to the struggle for peace.

The four million and more Stockholm Appeal signatures which were gathered in our country, under very difficult circumstances, are proof that the majority of the Brazilian people desire peace and are determined to fight for it.

We owe this success to the fact that the Brazilian people are beginning to understand what a menace the ever-increasing preparations for war represent to their struggle for liberation and national independence.

In Brazil, as in other countries whose political and economic position is similar, the struggle for peace and the struggle for national existence are one and indivisible.

To separate the word peace from the word independence means depriving it of its concrete meaning and fundamental significance. It also means assisting the warmongers.

The wretched creatures who are brandishing the atom bomb spread the dangerous idea among us that the problems confronting our country will be solved as a result of armed conflict.

This is why the war in Korea has stirred our people so profoundly. Our people, who have always cherished the tradition of peace, who have never experienced the horrors of war as the European peoples have, and for whom Korea had no particular significance, were told to send 20,000 of their sons in order to impose upon the heroic Korean people decisions adopted against its wishes and ostensibly approved by the United Nations.

This demand that Brazilian soldiers be sent to die in Korea was followed by a deluge of unbridled propaganda for war.

The Yankees, with brazen inhumanity, widely advertised in their press the atrocities they were perpetrating in Korea. But the Brazilian people realized that the inhumanity and cruelty were even greater, that they actually beat the record of Nazi barbarity, even as practised in Guernica and Warsaw.

Under these conditions, and with Truman and his fellow-adventurers threatening to hurl the atom bomb on Korea's cities, the Brazilian people became conscious of the full significance of the Stockholm Appeal.

They manifested in the most diverse ways their profound abhorrence of this piratical war. They categorically refused to let the aggressors have their soldiers or to assist them in any way.

The masses of our people have begun to ponder over and discuss the war in Korea and the problems arising out of it. This war is convincing our people that the imperialist masters of the U.S.A. intend to brand as aggressors peoples that rise up to fight for their national independence and the development of their countries, peoples that refuse to remain

criminally indifferent to oppression and to the systematic pilfering of their wealth.

The perpetual demonstrations of disrespect for the United Nations Charter, which is being violated, and the refusal to recognize a government which has arisen out of the struggle of a nation of 450 million and their aspiration for national independence—the government of Mao Tse-tung—all this is making it clear to our people that the question of war or peace is the decisive question.

The warmongers' claims to our national wealth, the destruction of our democratic liberties, the rate at which our country is being turned into a colony, have all been greatly increased and intensified. Because of this, the Brazilian delegation at this Congress heartily approves the proposals made by the chairman of the Chinese delegation, the eminent writer Kuo Mo-jo, and especially his proposal for a speedy and peaceful settlement of the Korean question. We consider that this is the most urgent question of the moment. (*Applause.*)

Of exceptional importance to our people will be the definition of aggression and the aggressor which this Congress is to give, since, geographically, Brazil lies in the hinterland of U.S. imperialism, which may any day proclaim our struggle for national independence to be aggression against democracy. For this reason, too, we approve Ilya Ehrenbourg's proposal to prohibit all war propaganda. (*Applause.*)

We likewise attach exceptional importance to observance of the United Nations Charter, as well as to the participation of People's China in the work of the U.N. General Assembly. This would be a proof of respect for the right of nations to self-determination, a right habitually violated by the United States government, which changes governments in the Latin American countries at its discretion, and does not even attempt to conceal its interference in our political life.

We also approve the proposals of M. Fadeyev, chairman of the Soviet delegation, regarding reduction of armaments, which will make it possible to use the respective budgetary sums for the good of the people.

The Brazilian people realize that the war preparations and the growing war danger are a threat not only to far-off Eastern countries, but also to the vestiges of our own independence, to our ardent and legitimate aspiration for national liberation.

I have just spoken of the Eastern countries, of the free lands over which waves the banner of humanity's future and gleams the star of happiness for all mankind. It is against these countries and their peoples, especially against the Soviet Union and its people, that the present war propaganda is directed. War is represented to us as an essential measure against "the Bolshevik menace."

Now millions of people in my country esteem the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, their ideas and their way of life. These are principally the common folk, the workers in town and countryside, but they also include renowned savants, who want culture to be placed at the service of the people. There are also some who do not like the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and do not sympathize with their ideas and way of life. These are people unfamiliar with hardship and poverty, which are the common lot in Brazil. But, except for a small group of big feudal landowners and other allies of imperialism, neither the ones nor the others want to take up arms against these countries. The vast majority of our people want peace and are ready to protect it with all the means at their disposal.

Former Foreign Minister Senhor Oswaldo Aranha has firmly declared that all means are good means for the defence of peace, with the sole exception of war.

To us Brazilians the matter is clear and simple: peace is a premise for the realization of our ardent desire for national liberation and for the progress, prosperity and happiness of our country. Conversely, we know that our most valuable contribution to the cause of peace will be an effective struggle for our national independence, for the solution of the problems confronting our people.

Brazil! How well I know this country and its people! I know their tenderness, their kindness, their generosity, their fiery hearts and bravery, their industriousness, their deep patriotism and their creative ability.

I am a son of this country, a writer belonging to this brave and noble people, born and reared amid its cares and anxieties, sharing its troubles, its struggle and its hopes. I therefore consider that I am fully authorized to

assure you that the people of Brazil are prepared to make an effective and concrete contribution to the cause of world peace. (*Applause.*)

Our struggle is hard and bitter. It is costing us the lives of our finest sons. But our cause—the cause of peace—is the source of life and liberty. The Brazilian people are ever more clearly realizing that, besides violence and persecution, war would spell the doom of our independence, the complete enslavement of our country. This explains why the peace movement is growing and spreading from day to day. Ever new thousands of Brazilian peace supporters are joining the millions upon millions who are already prepared to exert every effort to prevent war and make Brazil a firm bastion of peace.

This is the message that I am authorized to convey to you, to all the representatives here of the partisans of world peace, of that vast movement whose strength mounts daily. I convey it to you with an overflowing heart in this heroic city, Warsaw, which is a magnificent example of the triumph of the forces of peace and life over the forces of war and death. I convey it to you with love and confidence. (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Pablo Neruda

I am acquainted with many of you, and I know what sacrifice and effort it has cost you to be present in this hall. I also know that many who are not here have been detained in their countries by outright coercion or coercion hypocritically veiled. We know what methods of terrorism the enemies of peace employ against the noble cause which unites us.

We have heard stories of matchless heroism. We know the places where some of our finest comrades fell. We cannot forget them. Many a champion of peace has been killed in the street or done to death in jail. Many who have enhanced the prestige and glory of their countries have been flung into prison or driven from their posts.

Glory to these champions of peace. Their persecution only adds to the grandeur of our debates.

Let the resolution I here propose express the unanimous protest of our Congress against these crimes, and let that protest re-echo from this hall to all the corners of the earth.

I propose that the Congress unanimously approve the following resolution:

In numerous countries, peace partisans are being subjected to police persecution. In Latin America, the U.S.A., France, Italy and the dependent countries of Africa and the Middle East, thousands of peace partisans have been thrown into prison. Many who were delegated to this Congress have been unable to attend it. Peace meetings are banned. Peace supporters are fired on by the police and killed. Even scientists are persecuted.

The Second World Peace Congress salutes the peace partisans who have been made victims of police terror and voices its solemn protest against the persecution of partisans of peace.

The Congress demands the immediate release of all victims of police persecution. It calls upon the peoples of the world to voice their solidarity with these noble defenders of peace, to secure their release, and to protect and support all who are fighting for peace. (*Loud applause.*)

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Prof. Brandweiner, delegate from Austria, stressed in his speech that even under the inadequate existing provisions of international law, the atom bomb belonged to the category of prohibited weapons and its employment was a crime for which both the state and the individuals responsible could be brought to the bar of justice.

"It is quite obvious," Prof. Brandweiner said, "that the world peace movement is now the most up-to-date weapon in the struggle for peace. Peace will not be presented to us, we shall have to fight to achieve it."

* * *

A speech that commanded the keenest interest was that of the Soviet composer, Dmitri Shostakovich.

Speech by Dmitri Shostakovich

Dear friends in this hall, and dear friends all over the world. I am a musician, that is to say, an exponent of an art whose language is the same for all the peoples of the earth. It always remains common to all, and it therefore cannot be a cause of strife. I should, of course, prefer to speak to you and to all people through the medium of the music score, the piano or the orchestra. I should like my art to help make your lives easier, to help you to work more happily, to love more deeply. But, I repeat, the language of music has no word for war. And so my conscience bids me speak to you not in music, but in words.

In Korea today, not only are music, books and pictures burning—burning too are houses in which people lived, and, most terrible of all, they are burning with people, with little children inside them. Yet newspapers and broadcasts obligingly disseminate through the earth the statements of people who for some reason are convinced that not only their safes but their mansions, too, are fireproof, and who are demanding that the conflagration be spread to all countries and all continents.

I know that no symphony, no novel, and not even the Venus of Milo herself can restore their homes to these homeless Koreans, and still less can it bring their dead children back to life. But can science and art do nothing that other homes may be saved and that no bomb and no fire shall interrupt the play of living children?

I am proud that in my country, the U.S.S.R., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has instituted special prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace Among the Peoples," to be awarded annually to people who have contributed conspicuously by their creative work and public activity to the defence of world peace. These prizes bear the name of the Great Stalin. *(Loud applause.)*

In face of the menace that threatens all, nothing can more quickly and easily create an atmosphere of mutual understanding than can science and art.

For this only one condition, a simple and quite feasible condition, is necessary: the cultural workers of every nation must have the opportunity to show their achievements, to communicate their ideas to other nations. In other words, it is necessary to arrange for exchange of all cultural values—whether belonging to the past or the present or only conceived for the future—between all the nations of the earth.

One day I heard over the radio a long argument to the effect that European civilization must be saved from the Asiatics, and I learned that a son-in-law of Mr. Churchill (I can't remember his name) was preparing to take up this defence, and that the Asiatics were not only the billion inhabitants of Asia, but also the entire Soviet people. I also learned from the same source, or it might have been from some other (I hope you will pardon me, I have a bad memory not only for Mr. Churchill's family, but for his spiritual confreres too)—I also learned that to these gentry European civilization is synonymous with Christianity. Perhaps I am a naive sort of person—I am only a composer. But I could not help thinking with apprehension of Mr. Churchill's Turkish friends: poor things, they are both Asiatics and Moslems. Are they, too, going to save the civilization that is so inimical to them?

And what about Leo Tolstoy, who was undeniably a Christian? And can those who held Nazim Hikmet in prison for twelve years protect the so-called "Western" civilization from his East, although, true, it is the Middle East?

In my Seventh Symphony, I militated to the best of my ability against the fascist barbarian, who also posed as a paladin of the West. And I still consider it barbarism to reject or belittle the culture of other countries, which, incidentally, are often more ancient than the European. It would be well before making a vaunt of this or that national culture to count up its achievements; it would then be found that many paladins of the far West are crass ignoramuses. After all, culture is not the sum total of electric bulbs in a country, but the sum total of its spiritual light; and it must shed its rays on all people of the earth, otherwise it surely turns into the cold glitter of advertising signs.

Our enemies know that lying assertions on the subject of culture are not very convincing, and they therefore battle against culture with

other and more effective weapons. The chief of them is the boycott. They accuse us of not always being quick enough in publishing translations of foreign authors, and of choosing for translation that which we need most and like best. But as for them, they make no choice at all—they simply do not print Soviet books. Soviet books are not published in the United States. Because they are banned? No, there is no ban. It is just a conspiracy of silence.

In France there were special debates on banning Russian films. Russian films are banned both in France and in a number of other countries. In France, Italy and elsewhere, exhibitions of the art of the People's Democracies have been forbidden.

This applies not only to works of art, but also to artists. We have always welcomed prominent writers to our country, no matter what their views might be. Of the Americans, the last to visit our country was Steinbeck, and I think he never complained of the way he was received. Yet England has just denied entry to such writers as Fadeyev, Tikhonov, Ehrenbourg and Simonov. France, acting under pressure coming we know from where, did not allow Ehrenbourg to leave the airport, although he wears the ribbon of the French Legion of Honour. And allow me to say something about myself. I was once told to get out of the United States, and was unable to fulfill a number of concert engagements. A little while ago I was invited by the BBC to perform for its listeners. But the British government, in refusing to grant me a visa to go to Sheffield, decided to make no distinction between Shostakovich the Congress delegate and Shostakovich the composer. True, both these Shostakoviches want to serve the cause of peace.

Genuine culture always serves peace, and, consequently, familiarity with and knowledge of the culture of any country lessens the danger of war and increases the chances of peace. Defence of culture does not lie in segregation, in closing the frontiers to it and its faithful ally, truth, but in opening the doors to them. No sooner does the culture of one nation penetrate the borders of another than it finds new friends—not adherents, not at all, but friends, who argue, who do not agree, but who at the same time never conceive that such arguments can be settled by force of arms. The average American is told that bombs must be dropped on Soviet, Chinese, Polish cities. I am perfectly certain that if this average American were to realize what universal and timeless values are represented by the Kremlin, by the treasures of Peking's museums, by the architecture of Wawel and Hradcany, he would feel deeply outraged. To attempt to wipe these memorials from the face of the earth would seem to him monstrous.

I am certain that if this same American were to read "Anna Karenina" in full, and not in "digest" form, with only the juicy bits picked out of this work of genius, he would not agree with the assertion that Russians love and suffer differently from Americans.

And if he were to read a few books by Soviet authors, he would exclaim: "These people want war? Nonsense! These people need peace as much as we do." And the more a man reads books, the more he hears symphonies, the more he sees pictures and films created in different countries, the clearer will he realize the supreme value of our culture, and the more criminal will seem to him attacks on either the culture or the life of any man, whether near or far.

That is why I consider that it is the duty of all peace supporters, and not only of workers in the cultural field, to strive by all means in their power for cultural exchange between countries. And I submit for the approval of our Congress a number of measures designed to bring about, augment and promote such exchange:

In the field of science:

Facilitation of the formation of international scientific associations embracing scientists of all countries;

Arrangement of scientific congresses in various capitals, in rotation;

Arrangement of visits by scientists (groups and individuals) to other countries to acquaint themselves with their scientific institutions, deliver lectures, and get to know the country and its people;

Exchange of literature between academies, universities and big libraries. Publication of periodical bulletins giving annotations of literature appearing in other countries;

Arrangement of vacation trips of young people and students to other countries.

In the field of the arts:

Arrangement of visits by theatre troupes,

orchestras, choirs and choreographic groups, and individual performers;

Popularization of all forms of the creative art of other countries;

Arrangement of musical festivals for the purpose of acquainting people with the music of other countries—national, folk and contemporary;

Similar arrangement of cinema festivals;

Arrangement of art exhibitions, including exhibitions of folk art;

Invitation of representatives of as many countries as possible to national celebrations of notable dates in the history of the arts, and arrangement of the celebration of such dates in other countries. (I should like to mention that in my country, for example, the recent Goethe, Balzac, Voltaire, Bach, Chopin, Smetana and Cervantes anniversaries were widely observed);

Encouragement of the translation of fiction, and the publication and performance of musical compositions. Diffusion of such works, as well as annotations to them and critical opinions;

Wide publication of the world's literary and musical classics, and of reproducible painting, sculpture and architecture.

I hope that our Congress will add to these proposals or make other suggestions.

We must utilize everything that can help to bring people together, not divide them, everything that contributes to mutual understanding, not hate.

On one occasion, after the performance of one of my works, I received a brief note. It said: "I know how terrible war is. I think I have lived through all its horrors. Thank you for reminding me how glorious peace is."

Let all understand how terrible is war! Let all understand how glorious is peace! We who speak the common language of mankind, the language of science and art, the language of culture, must remind people of this, everywhere and always! (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Li Teh-chuan

Mr. Chairman and friends in the fight for peace, on behalf of the 30,000,000 members of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation, and of the broad masses of Chinese women, I greet the people of Poland and wish the Second Peace Congress every success. (*Applause.*)

After a long and arduous war, the Chinese people have now routed the internal foe, driven out the foreign aggressors and achieved unparalleled victory in their popular revolution. We have created a people's state and are working all over our country to build a new China.

You can imagine, under these conditions, how earnestly the people of China desire peace in order to build up their homeland and make a happy future for their rising generation.

The Stockholm signature campaign, which has been going on among our people during the past six months, has met with the most enthusiastic response.

Everywhere men and women, young and old, irrespective of nationality or religion, put their names to this peace appeal. By now the total number of signatures exceeds 223,500,000, a third of them belonging to women. This is a very telling indication of our desire and determination to uphold peace. Every signature bespeaks a heart beating in unison with the hearts of all the peace-loving people of the earth.

Allow me, dear friends, to cite some examples of Chinese women's work in the signature campaign.

In Peking there are two women, both of them over fifty, named Kao Yu-tsuen and Chang Yang. At the beginning of August, after the aggressive war in Korea had begun, these two women pinned to their coats the figures of two doves cut out of cloth and strips of cloth bearing the message, "Defend lasting peace, fight imperialist aggressive war!"; and with signature blanks in one hand and pen and ink in the other, they went about from morning till night, foregoing meals and rest, asking the people in the streets to sign the Stockholm Appeal. In seven days they collected 8,700 signatures.

Another splendid worker in the signature campaign is the Shanghai housewife Chang Li-ping. This woman's mother and elder broth-

er lost their lives in a bomb attack by the Japanese imperialists during Japan's aggressive war in China; and her husband and child were killed when American planes bombed Shanghai last February. A devoted worker for peace, she enlisted over 3,000 other housewives in the campaign, and in the course of a month they obtained 270,000 signatures to the Stockholm Appeal.

And these are only a couple of instances of the activity of China's women in the peace movement.

Thwarted in its aggressive policy in Continental China, the American government is, as you know, doing its best to hinder our work of peaceful construction. What right has the U.S. government to send its Seventh Fleet into our Straits of Taiwan? What right has it to send its land, naval and air forces to Korea and massacre her people? What right has it to bomb peaceful towns in our Northeastern and Shantung provinces?

There is no doubt at all that the American aggressors are following in the footsteps of Japanese imperialism in Asia, trying to occupy Taiwan and Korea as a preliminary to striking along a wide front at Continental China.

The American aggressors have, actually speaking, already disrupted peace in Asia, and they offer a direct threat to peace throughout the world.

Since peace is indivisible, we call on the peace-loving peoples of the whole world to unite and stop these criminal actions of the American aggressors.

In their desire to save the world from disaster and protect universal peace, the Chinese people wholeheartedly support the Declaration on Eliminating the Danger of a New War and Strengthening the Peace and Security of the Nations which was submitted to the U.N. General Assembly by Soviet Foreign Minister Vyshinsky, and his proposals for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

We consider that peaceful settlement of the Korean question is the only way to restore the prestige of the United Nations, and to maintain peace throughout the world.

The terror practised by the fascist warmakers and their attempts to intimidate the world cannot break the will of the peoples in their fight for peace.

The peace lovers of the world are increasing their activity in behalf of it. The international movement against war, in defence of peace, is gaining in scope and strength from day to day.

This World Peace Congress is itself a forceful demonstration of the indomitable will of all peoples for peace. This great strength of the peace movement should be a warning to the aggressive bloc headed by the American imperialists.

Dear friends! The women of China, and the whole of the Chinese people, cherish peace and are fighting for it.

We shall not sit back with folded arms and look on with indifference at the American aggression in Asia. We are determined to liberate Taiwan, defend our frontiers and come resolutely to the Korean people's support in their just and heroic war. We are determined to smash the intrigues by which the American imperialists are trying to undermine the peace of the world.

The Chinese people are fully convinced and firmly confident that the world forces of peace and democracy will foil the criminal schemes of the instigators of another war.

Long live peace all over the world! *(Loud applause.)*

Speech by Tran-Tanh

I should like, on behalf of the Viet-Nam Permanent National Peace Committee, to give you a general picture of the peace movement in my country. The people of Viet-Nam are fighting for universal peace in two ways: first, they are intensifying their struggle against the French colonialists and the American interventionists; second, they give every support to the world peace movement.

It is in this order, then, that I shall make my remarks.

The French Colonialists and American Interventionists Disrupt Peace in Viet-Nam

First, the crimes of the French colonialists. On September 23, 1945, with the support of British troops, the French colonialists started

a predatory war in the province of Nam-Bo (South Viet-Nam). On December 19, 1946, the war spread to all parts of the country, and now it has been going on for five years.

The French colonialists are perpetrating the most inhuman atrocities in Viet-Nam. In the south of the country, in the region of Binh-Tri-Thien, they cut captured Viet-Namese to pieces, and display the pieces for public view. They cast young boys into the flames, they compel mothers to throw their babies into rivers, and laugh as they hack children to pieces with their knives.

All through 1949 they made piratical raids on communities in the delta of the Red River and the region of Bac Bo (North Viet-Nam), setting fire to homes and slaughtering the inhabitants. Sometimes they would surround a village suddenly, seize its young people and either bury them alive, several at a time, or line them up and shoot them. They brutally raped women, including nuns and even minors.

The French mercilessly bomb towns, villages, temples, hospitals and schools. They have formed special squads which destroy standing crops by various devices, in order to starve the Viet-Namese into submission.

In the political field, the French colonialists stop at nothing to split the ranks of the Viet-Nam people. They have set up the puppet Bao Dai government, they enlist for their ends reactionary-minded monks and the Caodaites (a religious sect which has its own armed detachments—*Ed.*), they form armies of traitors in order to pit one section of the Viet-Namese against another, trying to turn their war of conquest into a civil war in the hope of deceiving world opinion as to the true character of our struggle.

The American imperialists have for five years been criminally abetting the French colonialists in their aggressive war in Viet-Nam by supplying them with arms. This American aid is increasing from day to day. The aggressive plans of the American imperialists are now perfectly clear. Their strategy is to bring disunity among the Viet-Namese people, to assist the French colonialists in consolidating the position of the puppet Bao Dai government, to send so-called "advisers" to Viet-Nam, and to utilize Viet-Namese traitors, the most despicable of whom have been included in the present puppet government.

The American imperialists practise other measures too: they distribute adulterated drugs in the not yet liberated regions, show corrupting films, circulate reactionary placards, leaflets and newspapers, and smuggle spies into the liberated areas in order to undermine our resistance movement.

Since the early part of this year various American missions, American warships, aircraft, pilots and war materials have been arriving in Viet-Nam.

It is the American imperialists who give orders to the French colonialists to start military operations, the development of which they observe from the air. Actually, it is the American imperialists who are directing the war in Viet-Nam, which they want to turn into a base of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The Peace Struggle In Viet-Nam

Viet-Nam took an active part in the second world war, fighting by the side of the peoples of the world against the Japanese fascists, and itself wrested its national independence from the Japanese. The French colonialists have forced a war upon Viet-Nam in an effort to reconquer it, and the American imperialists are helping them and interfering in Viet-Nam's internal affairs, with the object of turning its territory into a base of aggression against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. They want to make Viet-Nam a vantage ground for aggression in South-East Asia.

The people of Viet-Nam know that they must fight the invaders, and that in doing so they are defending both their national independence and peace and democracy throughout the world.

In this fifth year of their struggle for national liberation, the Viet-Namese have launched a general counteroffensive. In these past few days the struggle has reached its culmination point even in the occupied areas. Whereas in the past it fought with clubs and hunting guns, the Viet-Nam regular army is now employing heavy artillery and is undertaking large-scale operations. From skirmishes for possession of small posts, it has proceeded to the liberation of large towns.

In honour of the Second World Peace Congress, the Viet-Namese people have redoubled

their efforts, because they know that liberty and independence for Viet-Nam will strengthen the peace camp throughout the world.

In May of this year, the Central Committee of the Lien Viet (Viet-Nam People's National Union) and the Central Committee of the Viet Minh (Independence League) called upon the people of Viet-Nam to join the world peace movement. In June, a National Peace Committee was set up, headed by that tried and tested peace fighter, Ton Duk Thang. The Committee has rallied the Viet-Nam masses in support of the Stockholm Appeal. Mass organizations like the General Confederation of Labour of Viet-Nam, the Peasants' Association for National Salvation, the Federation of Viet-Nam Youth, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party and the Indo-China Association for Marxist Studies, explain to the people the danger of war created by the imperialists, and the great importance of the Stockholm Appeal.

In areas where hostilities do not permit an individual canvass for the Stockholm Appeal, the Viet-Nam people voice their support of the peace movement at meetings and conferences.

We have not been able to receive all the reports because of existing conditions. But according to the figures that had come in by the end of October, 3,350,775 persons have signed the Stockholm Appeal. We intended to convene a National Peace Congress on September 1, but in view of the military developments, we decided to postpone it to the end of the year. This will give us the opportunity to popularize more widely the new resolutions adopted by the Second World Peace Congress. All the people of Viet-Nam hail this Congress, and the daily newspapers are putting out special issues about it. As soon as we receive the latest returns of the signature campaign, we shall let you know them.

I should like to conclude by proclaiming our confidence of the victory of the democratic camp of peace, headed by the Soviet Union, and our support of the Congress, whose resolutions we await with great interest.

Down with imperialism! Down with the warmongers! Long live peace! Hail the Second World Peace Congress! (*Loud applause.*)

* * *

In strange contrast to the speeches of scores of delegates, representing millions of people, who had evinced a sincere desire to fight for peace, was the feeble and incoherent statement of British delegate Moore, who tried to persuade the Congress to give up the peace struggle.

Moore urged the colonial and dependent peoples not to fight for their independence and liberty. He also attempted, without success, to justify the American aggression in Korea, and argued against denouncing warmongers in the press.

Voice of Paul Robeson

The Italian delegate Repaci, who presided at the session, asked for attention. "They wanted to deprive us," he said, "of the opportunity of hearing that fine peace champion, Paul Robeson. But we are going to hear him now."

Repaci informed the delegates that a recording of greetings from Robeson to the Congress and of his rendering of two songs had been brought from America.

The hall rang with the deep and vibrant voice of this dauntless soldier of peace, so well known to the whole world.

Robeson said that no meeting held at this mid-century turning point of world history held more promise for the future, and that the purpose of the Congress was to provide a peaceful solution to the burning issues of the times.

War, he said, was the program of the fascists and imperialists, who seek to enslave nations. The struggle for peace was closely linked with the struggle against imperialism and fascism.

"I am sure," Robeson said in conclusion, "that we can halt the chariot of war in its tracks and bring to pass in the world the dream of people growing in friendship, cooperation and peace."

The delegates were deeply stirred by Robeson's speech and the recordings of his songs, and in a burst of thunderous applause expressed their sympathy for this friend whom the American government had prevented from coming to the Congress.

* * *

H. Chattopadhyaya, the Indian poet, read a poem dedicated to peace. A delegate from Paraguay spoke of the peace struggle in his country, and on concluding held up the blood-stained clothing of a Paraguayan student, Mariano Roque Alonso, who was murdered by the police in Asuncion for his championship of peace.

Speech by James Healy

Mr. President, friends, the call of our President, Mr. Joliot-Curie, to make our forces an international power will, I am confident, find a ready response in Australia. Though an island continent and situated many miles away, nevertheless the activities and plans of the warmongers have already named it as a future base for war in Southeast Asia. The servile manner in which the Australian government has accepted the domination of Washington in regard to foreign affairs has been clearly exposed by its refusal to recognize the People's Government of China, its rush to recognize the puppet government of Bao Dai in Viet-Nam and its rabid support of the United States in its illegal intervention in the affairs of the Korean people. In addition its armed forces are being used to assist to suppress the fight of the Malayan people for national liberation. All this in an area where the interests of the Australian people are so closely interwoven with those of the native people of each neighbouring country.

Of course, the present Australian government is the direct representative of monopoly interests and its policy is dictated by the need to protect their existing concessions in the colonial countries of Southeast Asia and to extend them wherever possible.

It is not surprising, then, that Australia is being named as the future base for the prosecution of war in Southeast Asia. And whilst the present government has talked hypocritically about the necessity of lifting the living standards of the Asian peoples, top-level discussions have taken place between high-ranking military and naval experts with a view to co-ordinating the defence plans of the United States, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand. Defence from what? This has not been made clear. By malicious propaganda the attempt is made to implant in the minds of the Australian people a fear of the teeming millions to the northwards, who according to these warmongers notwithstanding their backwardness and low standard of living are likely, at a moment's notice, to try to remedy their position by a sudden attack over miles of ocean on Australia. Whilst this rubbish is peddled by our daily press, the government, instead of making friends with our neighbours and encouraging interchange in trade and culture, builds aerodromes that will accommodate the largest American bombers, and increases our "defence" expenditure.

Not so long ago the official organ of a returned soldiers' organization suggested that we should cede Cape York Peninsula to the United States. This actually is a very large slice of the State of Queensland, and if you look at the map you will see that this suggested 49th state of the United States points like a dagger at the heart of Asia. However, this kite did not fly. And during the months since our most successful peace conference held at Melbourne in April last, we have been able to arouse a very large section of the Australian people to the warmongering plans of the present government. Whilst the results do not appear spectacular and most certainly can and will be improved, we have obtained to date approximately 200,000 signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and the rate of signing is showing acceleration. We have been able to extend the work of our Peace Council through all the six states, and we have obtained strong support within the key unions representing up to approximately half a million organized workers. I am here officially representing the Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia, with 27,000 members. Special mass meetings in all ports following a national congress in September last endorsed the following policy resolution:

"The Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia declares itself for peace and security. We call upon the government to demand through the United Nations Organization in

the name of humanity the total banning of the atom bomb, such to be under strict international control. We believe the bomb is not a weapon of war but a means of exterminating whole populations. We brand now in advance as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon. Further, we call upon all branches of the Federation to declare for peace and the banning of the atom bomb in the spirit of this resolution, and to take such declarations to their local trades and labour councils."

Like the dockers in other parts of the world, the Australian waterside workers have a traditional attitude on the question of war. In 1938 we were able to stop the shipment of pig iron and other metals to Japan when engaged in the war of aggression against China. Although the full force of the government was directed against this we gained the support of the Australian people and won through. Then, after the defeat of Japan in 1945, we were able to render some little assistance to the republic of Indonesia, and later, during the so-called police action by the Dutch imperialists, we were able, with the assistance of the Australian seamen and twelve other maritime unions, to prevent the removal of any goods from or to Indonesia.

We believe that these actions not only furthered the cause of peace but established a bond of friendship between the peoples of China and Indonesia and the people of Australia, which could have been extended further by neighbourly relations to the mutual benefit of all.

Apart from the waterside delegation, we have been able to muster a delegation of twenty-eight, of these twenty are delegates and eight are observers. Eleven of these delegates officially represent trade unions, including the Federated Iron Workers' Union, the Seamen's Union, the Building Workers' Union and the Clerks' Union. The remaining delegates represent youth organizations, the Peace Council, returned servicemen, churches, social groups and student bodies.

Whilst not spectacular, these developments have seriously annoyed the government, because there can be no doubt that the growing strength of the peace movement threatens their war plans. Recently an act was passed banning the Australian Communist Party and removing from public office and posts in the trade unions any known or suspected Communist. I am named as one to be removed, although elected to office by an outstanding majority of the members at a democratically and secretly conducted ballot.

But this is not the worst of the reactionary legislation. Whilst the act was being debated in the House of Representatives, the Australian Prime Minister said that he regarded the Australian Peace Council as an auxiliary of the Communist Party, and that when the act became law, it would be possible to declare the Peace Council a subversive organization, confiscate its assets and punish anybody assisting in its operation.

There we have a complete example of how the agents of the warmongers exercise democracy. The Australian government is a signatory to the Charter of Human Rights and still loudly proclaims its adherence to the principle of the Four Freedoms. Freedom for whom? Not for lovers of peace, only for the warmongers and their supporters.

If by any chance it were possible to let the million organized trade-unionists in Australia see Warsaw and the spirit of its people as we have seen it this week, I guarantee that the political life of the potential murderers who blindly serve the interests of monopoly capital would be quickly ended, and Australia would be an outstanding bastion of peace in the not-so-Pacific ocean. *(Applause.)*

Another indication of the war policy of our government is the attitude toward the delegates elected by the trade unions and other bodies to attend this Congress. In the first place passports were refused on the grounds of security, so the demand for peace was featured as a threat to Australia. This refusal caused a storm of protest from trade-union and other bodies, even from some organizations who had hitherto not supported the peace movement. This caused a change in government policy, and passports were then issued on a restricted basis. The passports are now endorsed not available for the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Albania, China, Korea, Indo-China—an excellent example of the iron curtain! *(Applause.)*

This restriction did not appear to affect our delegates attending the conference to be held at Sheffield, and the government claimed credit for its readiness not to forbid delegates to attend the conference. But of course the actions of the Attlee Labour government clearly expose

the machinations of those who plan for war, in Australia or elsewhere. The Australian government has now become more annoyed because we have succeeded in getting to Warsaw in spite of the restricted passport, and according to a Reuter report the Minister for Immigration has within the last few days made the following statement: "Canberra, November 16. Holt, Australian Immigration Minister, cancelled passports of Australians wishing travel Warsaw Congress without official permission. Withdrawal of passports means they will be thrown on their own resources. Shipping and airline companies must not give passages without proper travel documents."

It was said the other day that the iron curtain was draped over the English Channel, but it is clearly shown to be draped around other self-acclaimed democratic countries.

It is certain that the vast majority of the Australian people will be astonished to learn that they have to obtain permission of their government to visit any particular place, and another storm of protest is certain if any attempt is made to carry out the implied threat in the above statement to prevent Australian citizens returning to their own country. The Australian government can be safely assured that their punitive actions will not succeed. The Australian government first attacked the Communist Party, now they attempt to suppress workers for peace who they know from their own security reports have no connection with the Communist Party. But these actions will not deter us. The messages of this Congress will be taken back to Australia and will be reported in full from one end of the country to the other. (*Applause.*)

We say this because we are confident in the strength of the Australian working class to resist and defeat these latest attacks on democratic liberties and demand its rights, and at the first opportunity to sweep from office this warmongering government that has shown so clearly its fear of the growth of this great world-wide peace movement.

On behalf of the Australian delegates and the Australian people we represent, I salute the delegates to this mighty Congress. I salute the people of Poland and tell you that we will return to Australia inspired by your enthusiastic welcome to this historic city of Warsaw, and will tell of the evidence we have seen in every street of your fight to recover from the damnable horrors of war and your resolve to build an everlasting monument to world peace.

Long live world peace! (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Saad Kamel

Mr. Chairman, dear friends, in the name of the people of Egypt, of its workers, peasants, intellectuals, in the name of the Egyptian patriots who want to see our country independent, I greet the Second World Peace Congress and proclaim our support of all the decisions adopted at the First World Peace Congress in Paris and also of the Stockholm and Prague decisions of the World Peace Committee. (*Applause.*)

Today I am the only Egyptian delegate at this Congress. But this does not mean that our people do not aspire to peace and freedom. On the contrary, their determination to fight for peace is so strong that the Egyptian government, acting in concert with the imperialist occupiers, is resorting to reprisals and police terror in an effort to prevent them from organizing and from uniting with the peoples of the world to champion peace and liberty. Even things like coming to this Congress are treated as a crime and people are imprisoned for them. Collectors of Stockholm Appeal signatures are flung into jail. Leaflets with the text of the Appeal are destroyed and those who sign it are dismissed from their jobs.

But whatever moves the imperialists may make, and whatever repressive measures the Egyptian police may employ in its eagerness to serve them, nothing can prevent our people from organizing and sharing in the world-wide movement for peace. The Egyptian people's fight for peace is part and parcel of the peace struggle of all the peoples, though in form it differs from the struggle in the non-colonial countries.

For 70 years Egypt has been ground down under imperialist rule. These have been 70

years of misfortune, ignorance and disease, of exploitation, oppression and terror. But they have also been years of incessant struggle for our freedom and independence.

The imperialists have turned Egypt into one huge plantation supplying cheap cotton to the big Lancashire trusts. The result has been to make our country a classical example of the most miserable living standards and appalling poverty. All manner of disease is rife. Egypt has the highest child mortality rate in the world, and the average life span of its inhabitants is among the world's shortest. The imperialists and their servants are doing everything they can to keep us segregated from the progressive ideas that today are gaining strength all over the world. Egyptians who they think might sympathize with the principles of democracy and peace are forbidden to go abroad. Anyone who shares in the great movement for democratic and peaceful ideas is denied entry to our country. By methods like these the imperialists hope to keep us in subjection.

Such is the state of affairs in Egypt, and the imperialists are bent on maintaining it, by any and every means. What particularly alarms them, even more than in the past, is the growth of our people's sense of nationhood. The struggle in Egypt today is a struggle between the Anglo-American warmongers and all the Egyptian people, who stand guard over peace and are fighting to win national independence.

Already in the days before the second world war the people of Egypt were swindled by the imperialists over the right to self-determination. They demanded that the imperialists keep their promise of giving Egypt independence, and, faced with the tide of popular indignation, the British government withdrew its troops from our principal cities—but it kept them on in the Suez Canal zone. By these means the imperialists sought to check and arrest the development of the national movement. Talks were started, and the British said they would withdraw their troops from Egypt if it consented to replace the treaty of 1936 by an agreement for mutual military defence. But Egypt realized that "mutual defence" would only mean defence of British imperialist interests and employment of Egypt's territory as a military base for aggression against the Soviet Union. It realized that no one had any intention of attacking it and that the one enemy of its people was Anglo-American imperialism.

The imperialist countries' present preparations for a third world war are aggravating Egypt's already desperate plight and delaying the day of its national liberation. The Anglo-American imperialists' domination over it becomes particularly obvious when one recalls the inordinate number of military, economic and other missions that have recently visited our country. Without consulting a single Egyptian, the U.S. State Department has decided to send to Egypt 6,000 American officers at present stationed in Germany.

Jefferson Caffery, the American Ambassador in Cairo, has been consulting with U.S. political agents in the Middle East to determine the extent of the "aid" to be given to the countries in that area, and at this same time, a strategic conference of U.S. military attachés in the Middle East and the Balkans has been held in Ankara—two examples which bring out very saliently the connection between the American policy of "economic aid" and America's aggressive strategy. These conferences and missions are definite proof of America's military preparations. All such people come to Egypt to execute one part or another of the vast plan of war preparations against the Soviet Union. Military bases are being constructed on Egyptian territory, and armed forces are to be quartered in them.

These war preparations mean that the British occupation of Egypt is to continue. Under the treaty of 1936, Britain is allowed to keep in Egypt a force of 10,000 men and 400 airplanes. But that is not enough for the imperialists, and at present there are 15 times as many British troops in Egypt. And even that is not all. In view of the growing strength of the countries that have shaken off imperialist rule, the imperialists are casting about for additional cannon fodder. And the militarist policy of the present Egyptian government appears designed to serve these ends. Within a few months, the Egyptian armed forces have been increased from 25,000 to 80,000. This is a very costly army. And, with the money diverted to other uses, all the plans for combating illiteracy and poverty have remained on paper.

In order to make the Egyptian people accept this policy, which goes against their national

interests, various local conflicts are fomented. The war in Palestine is a case in point.

As the climax to these policies, efforts are made to conclude military treaties which would bind Egypt and the entire Middle East in servitude to the imperialists. In fact, the American imperialists have even more ambitious plans. They want to engineer a Mediterranean pact of which Greece, Turkey and Italy are to be members, and also an African pact whose member countries will be linked with the Middle East by Egypt. By this system of military blocs the Anglo-American imperialists are trying to ring in the Soviet Union and China with their forces.

The declaration drawn up at the London conference of the Big Three last May establishes a collective protectorate of the imperialist powers over the Middle East with a view to turning it into an Anglo-American strategic base.

Such are the imperialist schemes against which our efforts are directed. Pressure of public opinion has so far kept the Egyptian government from signing any of these pacts. More, the growing might of the people's resistance to a treaty that would place Egypt in complete subjection to the warmongers compelled the resignation of Ministers Sidky Pasha, Nokrashy Pasha and Khashaba Pasha.

An Egyptian National Peace Committee was formed last February. At once attempts were made to isolate it from the international peace movement by a draconic censorship, and we did not know at first how we would be able to link up the strong anti-imperialist movement of our people with the world movement of peace supporters.

The peace movement has been joined by prominent Egyptian statesmen and public leaders. Among them are Mohamed Kamil el-Bendari-Pasha, formerly Egyptian Envoy in Moscow; Reish Fix, Secretary of the Young Women's League; Fathy Radwan, Secretary of the National Party of Egypt; Mme. Chiza Nabraoui, President of the Women's Party; Mme. Fatmana, President of the National Women's Party; San Huri Pasha, President of the Council of State, and Amr Omar, distinguished jurist.

Our Committee has approved the Prague decisions, as their four points serve to defend the interests of the peoples, the Egyptian people included. We approve the prohibition of war propaganda, because for the colonial peoples all war propaganda and war preparations mean still greater servitude to the imperialists and warmakers.

We approve the absolute prohibition of the atomic weapon, an instrument by which the Anglo-American imperialists try to intimidate the colonial peoples fighting for national independence.

We approve the reduction of all types of armaments, particularly as it would mean the removal of the occupation army from our country.

We approve condemnation of all aggression against peoples aspiring to decent human conditions, and specifically of the American aggression in Korea, the French aggression in Viet-Nam and the British aggression in Malaya.

We approve the endeavour to have all issues settled by peaceful means.

We approve all this in the name of a people which for seventy years has been the victim of imperialist rule, and which cannot do other than march shoulder to shoulder with the other colonial peoples, who are our brothers.

Hail the struggle of the peoples for peace and freedom!

Hail the Second World Peace Congress, symbol of unity in our common fight! (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Erzebet Andics

Dear friends, permit me to convey to you a message of greeting from the Hungarian people.

We want above all to thank our Polish friends, whose energy and devotion has enabled our Congress to make such splendid progress.

It is a great joy to us that the Second World Peace Congress is being held in Warsaw, because here we have the opportunity to make closer acquaintance with the Polish people, our long-standing friends, whose brilliant achievements arouse our admiration.

The Hungarian people are sincere peace

lovers; they are one in their opposition to war and their resolve to safeguard peace.

Our determination to uphold peace is strengthened by the experience of these past years, by the present struggle, and by our plans and hopes for the future.

We have emerged from long years of trial and tribulation. Our people suffered the poverty and misery of devastating wars waged by Hungary's reactionary governments. Today we are engaged in great constructive endeavours.

The Hungarian people do not want to see the things they have created with so much effort destroyed by another war. In the few years since the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Union, we have not only succeeded in repairing the ravages of war, but have built new factories, new power stations, new bridges and libraries and even new cities.

The Hungarian people have drawn up plans which are converting Hungary from the poor and backward agrarian land she recently was into an industrial country. Our people fight for peace because in peace alone can they carry on their constructive work. Only those want war who hate to see our progress and who resent our conversion from a poor and oppressed into a free and independent nation that is prospering materially and culturally.

For the first time in their history the Hungarian people have become really free men and masters of their country.

In defending peace, the independent Hungarian people are defending their liberty, happiness and well-being. We all know from the press that in the American-occupied parts of Korea the land is being returned to the landlords, and the factories to the capitalists. The Hungarian people are well aware that the American imperialists are plotting the same fate for them, and they are therefore prepared to battle to the end in defence of peace.

The Hungarian people gave proof of their determination to defend peace when they exposed the Rajk gang, those despicable agents of imperialism and accomplices of Tito, as well as the criminal activity of American and British spies. The exposure of these imperialist agents was a telling blow at the warmongers.

The Hungarian people have had the opportunity to see for themselves who are their friends and who their enemies.

All this has contributed to the immense success of the peace movement in Hungary. Today there is no Hungarian village, no town or factory without its peace committee.

There are 27,000 of these committees in our country, and 7,500,000 persons have signed the Stockholm Appeal.

The American aggression in the heroic little land of Korea taught the Hungarian people to understand still more clearly what the aims of the warmongers are, and made them stand up still more resolutely in defence of peace. They have given demonstration of their solidarity with the heroic people of Korea.

Our friendly sentiments have found expression in the tens of thousands of gifts we have been sending for Korea's soldiers.

Our people are profoundly outraged by the atrocities which the American imperialists are committing. They demand that MacArthur and his confederates be punished for all their crimes.

The inflexible determination to defend the peace spurs Hungarian workers to further achievement at their jobs. It is a stimulus to our peasants to raise bigger harvests. It animates our scientists to make new discoveries. It is an inspiration to our artists.

Our youth are educated to prize and uphold peace. Our poets tell of the beauty of peace in their verses.

A big achievement in the struggle for peace is the agreement signed between the Hungarian state and the Catholic Church.

When the spreading peace movement in Hungary embraced the majority of Catholics, hundreds of Catholic priests aligned themselves with the peace supporters, in spite of the resistance of the higher church dignitaries, who acted on orders from the Vatican. The Catholic bishops had no alternative but to yield to the demand of their flock and accept the proposal made by the government for an agreement. In pursuance of this agreement, the Hungarian Catholic clergy support the Stockholm Appeal and the peace movement.

The scope of the peace movement in Hungary was brought out very well at the Second National Peace Conference, held at the beginning of this month. The two thousand delegates represented all sections of the Hungarian people. There were workers among them, peasants, scientists, artists, writers and others. The Congress was attended by more than one hundred

ministers of religion, most of them Catholic priests. The 2,000 delegates, representing different occupations, political views and religious convictions, proclaimed their unanimous and enthusiastic support of peace.

The provocative action of the British government has only strengthened the peace movement in Hungary, and there can be no doubt that its behaviour has opened the eyes of millions of common folk all over the world.

We swear in the name of our people that in the Hungarian People's Republic the fight for peace will not abate for a moment. Our people wholeheartedly support the world peace movement, headed by the Soviet Union. The cause of peace is invincible.

Long live the world peace movement!

Hail the Second World Peace Congress! *(Loud applause.)*

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Other speakers at this session were delegates Buchaca (Cuba), Jessie Street (Australia), Iturraspe (Argentina), Metropolitan Sebastian of Moldavia (Rumania), Lundkvist (Sweden), Ellen Appel (Denmark), Professor Fog (Denmark), Elena Caporaso (Italy), Blackman (Antilles), Father Beresztoczy (Hungary) and Poblete (Chile).

Afternoon Session, November 21

The debate on the reports of Joliot-Curie and Nenni continued at this session, the first speaker being delegate Musaraj of Albania. He was followed by the Iraqi delegate Youssef Mastané.

Speech by Youssef Mastané

Dear friends, our Iraq delegation was to have consisted of five persons and to have been led by Mohamed Jewahiri, the greatest and most popular poet in our country. However, of the five delegates, three were stopped by a double "iron curtain," the one erected by Mr. Attlee, that hundred-per-cent and exemplary democrat, and the other by his faithful henchman Nuri Said. Unable to be present here, Mohamed Jewahiri nevertheless expresses his full solidarity with our Congress and wishes it every success in its work.

The peace movement in Iraq began rather late in the day. This is because of the fascist regime prevailing in our country. In illustration, it will be enough to mention two facts.

At the time of the Congress in the Salle Pleyel, the British imperialists had plunged Iraq into a regular bloodbath. On February 14, 1949, three of the most prominent leaders of our liberation movement were brutally murdered—Fahad, general secretary of the Iraq Communist Party, Shabibi, founder of the National Liberation Party, and Bassim, member of the Communist Party Central Committee. Martial law was instituted, ten concentration camps were set up, thousands of militants and anti-imperialist patriots were thrown into jail, 237 newspapers and periodicals were banned. The most terrible of all was the Nukrat al-Salman camp, that Iraq Oswiecim, located in the desert 160 kilometres from the nearest town. Into this camp the authorities flung 200 patriots charged with having taken part in the glorious revolt of January 1948, which resulted in the annulment of that instrument of slavery and aggression, the Portsmouth Treaty, the edge of which was turned against the peace-loving nations, and notably the Soviet Union.

Now the warmongers and their underlings mean to make these 200 patriots die a slow, lingering death. We have proof of it in the fact that one of the 200, the young oil worker Ben Huendi, a hero of the battle of Barbari, died on July 15 of this year, and that twenty other patriots in the camp are on the point of death.

However, the fascist regime in our country has not deterred our people from linking themselves with the peace movement. After a period of preparatory work at the end of June and the beginning of July of this year, the movement assumed an organized form. A provisional National Peace Committee was set up

in Baghdad, under the chairmanship of Mohamed Jewahiri. Our great poet issued a manifesto to the people of Iraq, denouncing the aggressive plans of the Anglo-American warmongers, and calling upon our compatriots to sign the Stockholm Appeal en masse.

Jewahiri's appeal met with an enthusiastic response. The Peace Committees received hundreds upon hundreds of letters and lists addressed to the poet. These letters urged the formation of virile peace organizations, and expressed approval of the Stockholm Appeal. People of different political opinions and religious persuasions, and belonging to different tribes, pronounced in favour of the prohibition of atomic weapons. I shall name the leaders of political parties who associated themselves with this demand: Abdullah Mahmud, leader of the Liberal Party, Kamil Chaderchi, leader of the National Democratic Party, Mohammed Mahdi Kubba, leader of the Independence Party, and also many members of parliament, ex-Ministers, 110 lawyers, and a large percentage of our physicians, professors, workers, students and peasants. All of them signed the Stockholm Appeal. Among the signatories, special mention should be made of prominent religious leaders, such as the Great Ulema Mujtahid, who writes to our President Joliot-Curie as follows: "At this grim hour, when the terrible spectre again looms on the horizon, I cannot but join my voice with the voices of the lovers of peace, wherever they may be and whatever their nationality."

Our government is trying to crush the growing peace movement. It has instituted large-scale repressive measures, and has ordered journalists to publish no news of the peace campaign. It has found a few servile souls vile enough to write articles against the peace movement. Reprisals have been visited on signers of the Appeal, and the police has been hounding and arresting peace partisans generally. On August 26, a gang of hirelings broke into the home of Mohamed Jewahiri, ransacked everything, confiscated documents, letters and filled signature blanks, and intercepted the poet's mail.

Yet, in spite of all this, the peace movement in Iraq is growing all the time.

Dear friends, the British and American warmongers are feverishly active in our country. Everywhere they are building airfields, barracks and roads, besides the Erbil-Baghdad railway, already completed. Most active of all are they on the Kurdistan plateau, in the northeast of the country, which swarms with British and American military missions and spies. The warmongers want to build a line of fortifications there. They are also enlarging and modernizing the port of Basra, and similar operations are in progress at airdromes.

Obedient to their masters, the Iraq servitors of the imperialists are allocating one-half of the national budget for the army and police, and only 8 per cent for public health and social services, and 8.8 per cent for allowances and pensions. And this in a country where 94 per cent of the population are illiterate and the incidence of sickness exceeds 100 per cent, to say nothing of the dreadful poverty of the working masses and the frightful scourge of unemployment.

The warmongers and their menials are trying their hardest to lash us to their war chariot; again they want to force upon us a vile aggressive treaty similar to the Treaty of Portsmouth, and to further their imperialist plans by engineering an Iraq-Syrian treaty.

I shall conclude by saying that our delegation support the Prague proposals, as well as the proposals made at this Congress by President Joliot-Curie and by our friends Fadeyev, Ehrenbourg and the Chinese delegate. We demand the cessation of American aggression in Korea and a peaceful settlement of the conflict; we also demand that the Chinese People's Republic be admitted to membership of the United Nations; we demand the withdrawal of the British troops which have unlawfully occupied our country; we do not want our country to be used as a base against the U.S.S.R., which, far from having done us any harm, has always championed the rights of the oppressed.

Confident that we express the general opinion of our people, our delegation vigorously condemn the barbarous persecution of peace supporters in Iraq. We energetically protest against the Nazi reign of terror in our country. We resolutely demand the abolition of the ten concentration camps existing in the country, and above all of the death camp at Nukrat al-Salman.

Concretely, we propose that this historic Congress pass a decision condemning terrorism, which is an instrument of the reaction-

aries in their preparations for another war. In our opinion, the word "terrorism" should be understood not only in its direct sense, and our condemnation should extend not only to such things as concentration camps, but also to the villainous bombing of civilian populations and attempts on the lives of militants and political leaders known for their anti-war sentiments. Accordingly, we suggest that this Congress denounce the Franco, Tito, Tsaldaris, Malan and Nuri Said governments as fascist governments, and brand them as assassins, criminals and warmongers.

Long live the heroic, peace-loving and industrious Polish people!

Long live the peace movement in Iraq and throughout the world!

Down with war! (*Loud applause.*)

* * *

Delegate Temi, a representative of young Moroccans studying in France, spoke of the Moroccan people's struggle for liberation from French colonial rule, and of their aspirations for peace.

Speech by Costas Partasides

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow champions of peace, the Cyprus delegation brings ardent greetings from the people of Cyprus to the Second World Peace Congress, to which turn the eyes of millions of men and women who believe in peace and are striving to promote peace. (*Loud applause.*)

In the 72 years that the Cypriotes have been suffering under the yoke of British occupation, they have never ceased to fight for their national independence. They are deeply outraged by the attempts of the imperialists to turn their island into a military base.

Finding themselves unable to cope with the national-liberation movement of the Cypriotes, the British imperialists are resorting to dictatorial methods in order to terrorize and subjugate our people. These dictatorial measures have been still further intensified since the plebiscite in January of this year. During that plebiscite, 215,108 out of the 229,747 Cyprus Greeks who had the right to vote—that is, 96 per cent of their number—voted for the reunion of Cyprus with Greece. And this in spite of the savage terror instituted by the British authorities in the island. Progressive newspapers were shut down, and their publishers arrested. The British authorities discharged many of our political leaders from their jobs, and dissolved municipal councils. They forbade people to gather in groups of more than five, or to hold peaceful demonstrations in which more than fifteen persons took part.

Cyprus is subjected to the most ruthless foreign economic exploitation. Its rich mineral resources are owned by British and American companies, which pay the workers miserable wages, while themselves raking in huge profits.

Cyprus' workers and artisans live in hunger and wretchedness. The army of unemployed is growing. The tragic effects of economic servitude are felt most cruelly by our peasants, and especially by our winegrowers, who make up one-eighth of the population of our island.

The bad economic situation in Cyprus compels many of our people to quit their country and seek work in other parts of the world.

The British and American imperialists want to retain their hold on our island and use it as a military base, or, as it is frequently referred to in the British and American press, an aircraft carrier in the Eastern Mediterranean. The alien occupiers have built powerful radio stations in many parts of the island, and have turned the big airdrome in Famagusta into a military base which they employ for air manoeuvres. The British have also erected many other military installations in our island for the use of their army, immense sums being allocated for this. The Americans too are taking an active part in the military preparations in Cyprus. In the northern part of the island, the U.S. government has set up a radar station—the "big ear of the West," as the Americans themselves call it. At the behest of their masters, American journalists have been demanding brazenly that the liberation movement in Cyprus be outlawed.

Dear friends and fellow fighters for peace, the Cypriotes are a people with a culture going back for many centuries, a people which has

been steeled in struggle and has borne heavy sacrifices battling for liberty and peace, and it is with mounting indignation that they see foreign imperialists converting their island into a military base. They cannot ignore this portentous fact, because it is a menace to their very existence. They are determined not to allow Cyprus to be turned into a military outpost, and they are fighting, and will continue to fight, to foil the plans of the warmongers. They will make Cyprus a fortress of peace, they will not let themselves be used as cannon fodder in the new war the imperialists are preparing.

The Cypriotes have no quarrel with other peoples. They desire only one thing—the deliverance of their island from the British intruders. Our people will never fight other peoples. They will fight only those who are preaching and plotting another war. This the men and women of Cyprus who signed the Stockholm Appeal vow to their fellow champions of peace assembled here at the Second World Peace Congress. The toiling people of our island vow it to their fellow champions of peace—it is the vow of our workers, peasants and artisans, youth and intellectuals, of all our democratic organizations, which wholeheartedly support the decisions of the World Peace Committee. The Cypriotes affirmed this at the peace conferences convened by the labour, women's and youth organizations of the island.

The peace fighters of Cyprus also demonstrated their desire for peace when American warships visited the island. Our people held mass anti-war demonstrations protesting against their presence in our ports, and compelled the American squadron to leave our shores.

Our peace-loving people are deeply aware that their fight for liberty and for reunion with Greece is a fight against the imperialist plans for a world war, that the fight for peace and the fight for liberty are inseparable. We fully realize that only when we have thrown off foreign dependence shall we be able, as free Greeks, to fight side by side with our brother Greeks for a free, democratic and independent Greece.

That is why our people are cementing their unity, repelling all the imperialists' attempts to make a colony of our island, and raising ever higher aloft the standard of peace, the standard of struggle for liberty and for close and harmonious friendship with all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Long live the World Peace Congress!

Hail the struggle of all oppressed peoples for their national liberation!

Hail the reunion of Cyprus with Mother Greece!

Long live peace! (*Loud applause.*)

* * *

The Dean of the Theological Department of Warsaw University, Prof. Czuj, told the Congress that Polish Catholic intellectuals had decided to take an active part in the peace movement and to do everything in their power to unite the efforts of all honest people in defence of peace.

Speech by Ambrogio Donini

I would like, on behalf of the Italian delegation, to make a proposal which I think conforms with the hopes which have been fortified by the work of this great World Peace Congress, and which opens up prospects for its further development. I think we all agree that, since our last Congress in Paris, the actions in which peace defenders in all countries are partaking have already met with a wide response, and that through the Stockholm Appeal they have become known not merely to hundreds of millions of people, but to new social, religious, cultural and political groups.

The discussion at this Congress has shown that our movement has already considerably expanded its scope and secured fresh opportunities to bring in new people who are anxious to save world peace and build a better future for our children. I think that not only in the discussions which took place at the national congresses in each country, but also in a considerably wider field, we have succeeded in reaching new political and social groups. As the result of Attlee's action against the holding of the Congress in Sheffield, a big debate took place in the House of Commons, which

showed the people everywhere the importance of our work. In the Italian parliament, following a speech by one of the deputies, a collective message of greetings to our Congress was adopted and sent. These actions signify that we have actually received the support not only of individuals and of the millions of the common folk, but also of new political, new national forces, forces united in diverse organizations.

We here believe, I am sure, that we must, and can, extend our movement still further. And the peace proposals which will be contained in our resolutions will themselves open before the world the possibility of new actions, sporadic or permanent joint actions for ensuring better forms of relations and intercourse among nations in defence of peace. This is not a chance thing. In the opinion of the Italian delegation and, as far as I can judge, in the practically unanimous opinion of other delegations, it reflects a new state of affairs, resulting from our work and our common experience.

I also want to stress the fact that at this Congress complete freedom of speech, complete freedom of opinion and discussion has been enjoyed by representatives of all political, social, cultural and religious trends. This is a fact of very great importance. It brings out the root principle of that new form of co-operation which we want to establish. We have seen men and women of all creeds, we have seen people of Right and Left views, we have seen poets and writers, and representatives of big and small nations and of colonial peoples fighting for their life and independence, freely expressing their opinions from this platform. I think we have all received a fresh impulse to carry on this campaign, as soon as we return to our countries, on a broad mass basis, through public meetings, and addressing ourselves not only to groups and organizations, but to the governments themselves and the people's elected representatives in all countries. It is our desire, by acting in this way, to give the opportunity for expression to all who wish to voice, in their own way and by their own means, the common urge to protect peace and human civilization.

Furthermore, the debate at this Congress has shown that we cannot allow the decline of the United Nations to dampen the great hopes that mankind reposed in this medium of international discussion and broad intercourse among nations. We think that there are now new forces that could serve as a firm support for our concrete actions in defence of peace throughout the world under any conditions. We think that the possibility of peaceful co-ordination of action between countries, peoples, and social and political groups must be promoted, because at any moment new frontier incidents in other regions of the globe may bring before us with tragic immediacy the problem of world war or peace.

We have already seen, in connection with the war in Korea, that the failure of the United Nations has alarmed not only the peoples, but even men who occupied, or occupy, government posts, and who would probably like us to extend a hand to them with a view to creating the possibility of joint co-ordinated action. The work of this Congress has shown that there are representatives of the peoples who possess definite opportunities to carry on this work, to carry on discussion and become active diplomats of their countries in the fight for peace.

The Italian delegation therefore thinks that the most earnest attention should be given to a proposal made by Yves Farge of the French delegation, who recommended setting up a permanent organization that would meet this necessity arising out of the international situation. After studying this very important matter, the Italian delegation would like to propose that right here, at this Congress, after proper discussion and study, a World Peace Council should be elected, as a permanent body representing the 80 and more countries which are already working together for the general good. We would suggest that this World Peace Council should not be too big, so as to signify our firm intention to leave its doors open to all countries and organizations that are not yet represented here, to all political, religious, social and cultural groups and to all political trends that may desire to work, from occasion to occasion or permanently, on a common peace platform.

I think that, in view of the seriousness of the present situation, all national peace movements and all organizations, even if they disagree with one another on some specific question, should always have the right of entry into the World Peace Council.

We have seen in the course of the campaign for the outlawing of the atom bomb that such big organizations as the International Red Cross Committee sometimes agreed to work with us, although at the same time they did not wish to merge with our movement organizationally. Such a situation may arise at any moment. Every group, every organization, every political or national body should have the opportunity to send its delegates to our World Peace Council, in order to reinforce the common struggle in behalf of peace. (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Djekhanabaglu

Mr. Chairman and dear friends, on behalf of the Iranian delegation I want to convey the fraternal greetings of the Iranian peace partisans to the Polish people and to thank them for the hospitality they have accorded us. I also want to convey the greetings of the Iran Peace Committee to the Second World Congress. (*Applause.*) We, representatives of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of Iran, proclaim our full solidarity with the peace partisans of the world rallied under the banner of the Second World Congress.

We have gathered here in order to devise new methods of combating war, the avoidance of which is our dearest hope.

Iran, which has a population of 14 million, is a land of poverty and hunger. Conditions in our country are very difficult. Still, the Iran Peace Committee has scored considerable success in the battle for the Stockholm Appeal, the battle for peace. I use the word "battle" advisedly, because in our country, as in many others, to collect signatures for the Stockholm Appeal is to engage in a regular battle.

For the Iranian people, the direct result of the two world wars was the growth of imperialism, and we inhabitants of colonial and dependent countries know what imperialism means. To us, the word "imperialism" is synonymous with robbery and persecution, suffering and want.

The semi-official *Ettelaat*, whose reactionary sentiments are known to all, printed in its issue of March 27 of this year an article about the Iranian peasants. The author says that passing not long ago through a village near Isfahan, city of roses and nightingales, he asked a peasant about life in the village. The peasant told him that practically all the inhabitants had quit the village without any hope of return. Only a few hundred were left, and they were hungry and ill-clad and doomed to extinction, because a large proportion of these unhappy people die every year from starvation. The author also passed through the village of Karka; there he found the inhabitants living on grass roots, which is not a very nourishing diet, and dying off like flies. When he was travelling through Meshed last year, he saw groups of two or three hundred peasants who had abandoned their villages in search of food.

This same *Ettelaat* reported on January 19 that in the winter the majority of the inhabitants of Datchemohan in Iranian Azerbaijan had perished from cold and hunger. Every day hundreds of starving people abandon their homes and flock to the towns. An editorial in the *Mardom* on March 13 last said: "Under the impact of British and American competition, a considerable part of our national industry has gone out of existence, many factories have been shut down and thousands of unemployed roam the streets."

So you see that our land of poetry and romance has now become a graveyard, where imperialism is dancing the dance of death. More, the Americans and British are not only out to rob us; they want to turn our country into a base of aggression against our dearest friend, the Soviet Union.

The Iranian government has drawn up a seven-year plan of economic recovery, but it has already been given out that Overseas Consultants, Inc., an American institution, is to advise how the credits are to be used, and mention has been made of teams of foreign experts numbering four thousand in all.

The Iranian government is spending too much money on the building of naval bases in Bandar Abbas, Bandar Shahpur and other southern ports, and also of twenty big airfields for the use of the American imperialists. In addition, the Americans are now building, with funds squeezed out of the Iranian people, strategic railway lines between Bandar

Abbas and Kermanshah, Shiraz, Isfahan and other towns.

Several months ago, General Collins, chief of staff of the U.S. army, made a tour of Iran for the purpose of studying various strategic points on our territory. The *Ettelaat* reported that the general repeatedly observed to his entourage that the third world war might start very soon. Now Mr. Douglas is making his second tour of Iran. He evinces a very strong interest in mountain climbing in the parts of our country inhabited by nomad tribes. One is led to wonder, is it only because of his passion for mountain climbing that Mr. Douglas makes such lengthy journeys through our country? I might point out that only a few days after his trip, armed rebellions broke out in these areas.

The people of Iran forget neither good nor evil, and let the warmongers know that the Iranians will never permit their country to be used as a base of aggression against the Soviet Union. Before the soldiers of the aggressive forces can reach the Soviet Union, they will have to pass over our dead bodies; they will be able to do it only when Iranian hearts have ceased to beat. (*Applause.*)

I think I have given you a faithful idea of the sentiments of the Iranian people, who are firmly determined to preserve peace. I also think I have cited convincing enough facts to enable you to judge of the conditions in which our peace partisans have to work. I must tell you, however, that, in spite of all persecution and obstacles, we have been able to secure over 500,000 signatures for the Stockholm Appeal. (*Applause.*)

The Iran Peace Committee was formed in June of last year under the presidency of the well-known poet, Professor Bahar, and it immediately met with support among many different sections of the population. I should mention that the Stockholm Appeal is supported by eminent religious leaders; it has been signed by such of them as Kashani, Sharazani and Boreli.

In the new phase of our movement we shall be able to win over much larger numbers of workers, peasants, women and young people. We shall make our appeal to the people, and we are confident of being able greatly to enlarge the scope of our movement. Permit me to say that our delegation fully endorse the Prague appeal, as well as the proposals made by our President Joliot-Curie and our friend Fadeyev.

Long live peace and brotherhood among nations! (*Loud applause.*)

* * *

The Congress was also addressed at this session by delegates Paredes (Ecuador), Buckle (South Africa), Ben Sliman (Tunisia), Rasoanoro (Madagascar), Bracho (Venezuela), Palacios (Colombia), Moiroud (France), Bracchi (Italy), Dukelskaya (Argentina), Sandy (Great Britain), May (France), and Ezuman (West Africa).

Evening Session, November 21

Delegate Hermann of France dwelt on the remilitarization of Western Germany by the Western powers. This, he pointed out, was a matter that vitally affected France. He further stressed the necessity of securing a solemn undertaking by all nations not to use atomic energy for military purposes.

Summary of Speech by Pieter Keuneman

"The people of Ceylon," Keuneman said, "cherish peace and detest war. We may declare with pride that never in their history have our people waged aggressive war.

"Our delegation would like the Congress to give special attention to the colonial wars in Asia. If in Europe the task is not to let the imperialists unleash war, in Asia the task is to put an end to the wars going on there and not allow them to grow into a world war."

Keuneman went on to speak of the peace movement and the Stockholm signature campaign in Ceylon. Preparations were being made for the second national peace congress, to be held next month. Many public personalities had signed the Stockholm Appeal, which also had the support of high Buddhist leaders. A Buddhist congress, attended by nearly 2,000 delegates, had unanimously declared in favour of absolute prohibition of the atomic bomb.

"Our delegation," Keuneman said in conclusion, "welcome and support the Prague proposals of the World Peace Committee."

Speech by Tjoa Sik Ien

Dear friends, we bring you greetings from the Indonesian peace movement, and all the Indonesian people interested in the struggle for peace and democracy. (*Applause.*)

We wish to express our most cordial thanks to the Polish and Czechoslovak people's governments for enabling us to have our Peace Congress here in Warsaw and we express our admiration of the magnificent results of the work of the Polish people in organizing and arranging this Congress in such a splendid way.

We will support wholeheartedly the decisions passed by this Congress and other decisions of the peace movement, such as the Stockholm Appeal, the Prague resolution of the Bureau of the World Peace Committee, and also the firm stand taken by the Committee regarding complete and real independence for colonial and dependent countries, such as Indonesia.

We in Indonesia have also been in constant activity to build the peace movement. In Djokjakarta during the last week of October this year, the Indonesian Peace Conference decided upon and approved the program of the people who are struggling for peace and independence.

Since the end of World War II the imperialist powers have been facing a constantly increasing crisis, one which is becoming worse and worse daily. The factors causing this are:

The territories subject to their colonial and economic exploitation are becoming smaller and smaller, and consequently their influence is decreasing;

The force and power of the national-democratic movement against the imperialists is gaining daily;

The tremendous rate of unemployment and the uprisings of the oppressed and exploited.

These are all directly contributing situations causing the crisis of the imperialist economic system. And these same imperialist powers are trying to free themselves of their crisis, and to maintain their influence by war preparation. This is shown by the following facts:

The introduction of the Marshall plan and the proclamation of the Truman doctrine;

The formation of the Atlantic pact of Western Europe, and simultaneously the preparation of another war pact for the Pacific, and the perversion of the United Nations Organization into an instrument of the aggressive policy of the United States;

The building of military bases by the imperialist powers not only in their own countries, but also in their colonies and semi-colonial countries;

The increased production of war materials, such as atom bombs, hydrogen bombs and bacteriological weapons;

Armed aggression in Korea and Formosa by the American imperialists, armed intervention in the colonial and dependent countries, such as Viet-Nam, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc.;

The war propaganda of the imperialist powers, directed at the peace-loving people of the world in an attempt to distort their loyalties from the real struggle for peace in order to accomplish their aim of world domination;

The attempts of the imperialist powers to suppress and destroy the people's movements against imperialism by formation and support of puppet governments, such as Bao Dai in Viet-Nam, Li Seung Man in Korea, Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, Quirino in the Philippines, etc.

The people in Indonesia want peace and liberty, freedom from every shape and form of oppression and exploitation, and because of this they will determinedly oppose any threats of war. They realize that Indonesia is strategically of great importance in another world war. Whether our people want it or not, if there is another war, Indonesia will be involved.

With reference to the compromise between the Netherlands and Indonesia during the round table conference of 1949, as a continuation of Dutch colonial policy, the following events are happening in Indonesia:

Indonesia still has the same economic and financial system as in prewar days. There is a constant pouring in of foreign capital into Indonesia, such as loans from foreign imperialists, mainly the United States. Land taxes are being raised by 200 per cent, and other taxes are being imposed. These all burden the

life of every Indonesian. Inflation is flourishing and the old feudal land system of Indonesia is still in full swing.

I suggest the following points to be considered by the Congress:

1. Holding a peace conference of the big five—the United States, England, France, the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

2. Demanding the fulfillment of the appeal of the Prague session that aggression and foreign intervention in the affairs of other countries be forbidden.

We demand the withdrawal of Dutch troops from Indonesia, and of all foreign troops from Korea, Viet-Nam and Malaya.

3. Effecting the right of every nation to self-determination and annulling agreements which abolish or diminish freedom and national sovereignty, such as the round table agreement signed by the Hatta government and the Dutch government in 1949.

4. Developing and improving economic relations by mutual respect for national and social freedoms.

5. Establishing a peace economy throughout the world, making use of all available human resources and natural wealth for the greatest possible welfare of all nations.

The Indonesian Peace Committee advises and urges the Indonesian republican government to do everything in its power to prevent war, not to take part in any aggressive pact and to oppose any overt or covert effort of the warmongers to violate peace. (*Loud applause.*)

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The last speaker in the debate on the reports of Joliot-Curie and Nenni was delegate Thordarson of Iceland.

STATEMENT BY THE CONGRESS SECRETARIAT

On the conclusion of the debate, the Secretariat announced that there were 2,065 persons from 81 countries present at the Congress, 1,756 being delegates and the remainder guests and observers. Among the delegates were 446 women.

The occupational composition of the Congress was as follows: statesmen and members of parliament—59; scientists—49; writers and poets—116; professors—124; ministers of religion—72; leaders of international organizations—13; leaders of national organizations—151; cinema workers—3; architects—13; composers and musicians—7; engineers and technicians—73; journalists—67; lawyers—83; physicians—61; actors—68; military men—12; workers—341; peasants—57; manufacturers and merchants—47; students—121; office workers—222; municipal councillors and mayors—20; schoolteachers—72; others—234.

The Congress had been addressed by 120 speakers. The proceedings had been translated into nine languages.

With this the Congress adjourned.

Concluding Session of the Second World Peace Congress

On November 22, the Second World Peace Congress held its final session. Pietro Nenni (Italy), chairman of the Policy Committee, informed the Congress that the Committee was submitting two documents for its consideration: a Manifesto to the Peoples of the World and an Address to the United Nations.

As Nenni read out the documents, he was interrupted by frequent bursts of applause.

The session was then adjourned to enable the individual delegations to consider the documents and take a vote on them. Bursts of applause were heard at intervals, as one delegation after another finished voting and hailed the decisions of the Congress.

When the session resumed, a resolution on victims of persecution, moved by Pablo Neruda (Chile), was passed unanimously.

Nenni announced the results of the voting on the Manifesto and the Address: 1,755 persons had taken part; 1,750 had voted in favour, 3 against, and 2 had abstained.

Thus, Nenni said, the Manifesto and the Address had been adopted by the Congress by a practically unanimous vote.

The announcement was greeted by loud and sustained applause, the delegates rising in their seats and crying: "Peace! Peace! Peace!"

Nenni further announced that more than fifty guests and observers from Czechoslovakia, Italy, Denmark, France, Sweden, Canada and the Netherlands had applied to the heads of the delegations from their countries requesting to be regarded as delegates and permitted to take part in the voting on the historic documents. The permission had been given and they had all voted in favour of both documents.

Delegate de Chambrun (France) stated that the Bureau of the Presidium and the Secretariat had a list of candidates to the World Peace Council to submit to the Congress, based on nominations made by the various delegations. By decision of the Congress, he observed, the Council would have the right to co-opt additional members.

The list of nominations to the World Peace Council was read out by de Chambrun and was enthusiastically endorsed by the Congress, only one delegate voting against.

Nenni declared the Second World Peace Congress closed, and on behalf of the delegates and all peace supporters expressed deep gratitude to the President, Prime Minister and Government of the Polish Republic, the Warsaw Rada Narodowa, the Polish Peace Committee and the Polish people for the hospitality accorded to the peace partisans in Warsaw. He also expressed thanks to the Czechoslovak Peace Committee for the splendid way it had organized the transit of the delegates through Prague to Warsaw, and to the British friends who had made the arrangements for the meeting of the Congress in Sheffield. (*Loud applause.*)

Nenni announced that the Congress would award the Peace Prizes, and that the first prize had been adjudicated to a man who had laid down his life in the cause of peace—Julius Fucik. (*Loud applause and cheers.*) Nenni added that the Congress expected all who desire the triumph of peace to display the same fidelity to the principles for which this courageous peace champion had given his life.

The delegates rose to their feet and the hall re-echoed to round after round of applause and cries of "Long Live Peace!"

*Speeches by Congress Delegates**

Speech by Lombardo Toledano

MEXICO

The Mexican delegation greets the Second World Peace Congress on behalf of the people of Mexico, who are traditional believers in peaceful relations among all nations. (*Loud applause.*)

Our delegation also wishes to express its heartfelt thanks to the people and government of democratic Poland for the brotherly hospitality they have extended to this assembly of men of good will and fighters for peace from all parts of the globe. We heard with great satisfaction the report made at the opening of the Congress by that eminent scientist and peace leader, Joliot-Curie. His report was at one and the same time a survey of eighteen months' struggle for peace and a precise and clear-cut program of the struggle we must carry on until mankind's aspiration for peace is fully realized.

It should be a source of pride to us that we, who come from all corners of the earth, from Warsaw and Buenos Aires, London and Peking and all the places that lie between, are, in the name of hundreds of millions of people, performing one of the most noble and lofty missions in history. A year and a half ago we gathered from diverse countries of the world at the First World Peace Congress in Paris. But in view of the growing danger of war, we did not stop at that. We organized

* Received after the others.

a world-wide poll of public opinion, appealing to the minds and hearts of all the common people of the globe. This poll was the signature campaign for the Stockholm Appeal demanding the prohibition of the atomic weapon.

And today, when we assembled here are supported by the will of many hundreds of thousands of people who have expressed, each individually, their desire for peace and their abhorrence of the atomic weapon, our task becomes wider and deeper.

It is now our mission to convert this immense urge of the peoples for peace into something more organized and coherent, more permanent and effective. That is why we greeted with such enthusiasm what Joliot-Curie said about the necessity of extending the peace movement to all fields of human endeavour and notably to the field of economy and culture.

The people of Mexico understand this very well, because their own experience has taught them that military aggression is always preceded by economic penetration and cultural discrimination. Our country is poor and weak, and this is a result of its oppression by Yankee imperialism.

Our country has been able to show the world only a fraction of what it is capable of in science and art. The reason for this is that imperialist interference has deformed our material and social development. These are the conditions in which our people have developed and been brought up. And therefore in Mexico the fight for peace, as well as the defence of our people's liberty, is inseparable from the fight against imperialism; and for us, more than ever before, the incarnation of imperialism is Yankee imperialism, the long-standing enemy of the Mexican people and the principal menace to their independence.

Since the second world war we have opposed the aggressive actions of Yankee imperialism with all the means in our power. We are resisting the so-called Clayton plan, first presented at the Chapultepec conference in February 1945, which is an attempt to secure free entry for American goods into our country, to the detriment of our incipient national industry and the living standards of the Mexican masses.

We are opposed to the Rio de Janeiro pact, which we regard as a pact of death, because it may embroil the Latin American peoples in the imperialists' warlike ventures in any part of the globe. We have resisted and are resisting to the utmost the attempt to make Mexico's youth serve as cannon fodder in the criminal and senseless war which the United States government is waging against the peoples of Korea and China. On this matter all Mexicans, irrespective of political or religious persuasion, are united. I am happy to be able to tell the people of the world that in Mexico all sections of the population categorically object to our country taking part in the American aggression in Korea. (*Loud applause.*)

Our country is true to its historical traditions. Our people are active members of the camp of peace, which unites all the working folk. Our people are organizing, and in the near future will form a powerful national front of peace, embracing workers and peasants, eminent scientists and artists, intellectuals and honest-minded members of the national bourgeoisie. This national front of peace coming into being in Mexico unites the struggle of all of us. Witness of this is our delegation here. Besides representatives of various political parties, it includes people without political affiliation; side by side with peasant leaders, we have men of science in it, and side by side with workers' leaders, we have schoolteachers and representatives of the youth and the women of my country. Thus backed by the will and the interests of all sections of the population, the Mexican peace supporters demand a just and enduring peace for the whole world.

We want a peace based upon commercial interchange and technical co-operation among all countries of the globe, without the lies and iron curtains created by the imperialists in order to divide the peoples. We want a peace that will clear the atmosphere of the poisonous fumes of the warmongers' propaganda, and will facilitate the progress of the culture of the new man, and cordial intercourse between all peoples.

We want peace in order that all countries, and especially the weakest and most backward, may take part on an equal footing and with equal opportunities in the promotion of civilization and progress.

The people of Mexico are alive to the fact that their country is the neighbour of the major

imperialist power, the most rapacious and cynical of all imperialist powers known to history. But we repudiate the doctrine of so-called geographical fatality, and will not submit to it. We Mexicans belong to a nation which for several centuries has been fighting unceasingly for its liberty. And we shall be worthy of this glorious tradition. From the borders of the U.S.A. to the borders of fraternal Guatemala, all the people of Mexico defend with pride and faith their flag, their future and their ideals. This is the nation which in 1810 began the war for its independence and fought the Spanish Empire for eleven years. This is the nation which in a three years' war defended its land against "Napoleon the Little." These are the Mexicans who in two heroic wars upheld their independence against the American interventionists. And later, our people were prompt to extend a friendly hand of assistance to the Spanish Republic in its struggle against fascist aggression. We are proud that Mexico, together with the Soviet Union, helped the Spanish people in their righteous struggle. (*Applause.*)

In the light of these traditions and historical facts, the Mexican delegation assures the Second World Peace Congress that Mexico will not be an imperialist stronghold. It will be a bastion of peace. Together with all the sister peoples of our continent, we shall bend every effort to frustrate the criminal schemes of the American monopolies for unleashing another war. We wholeheartedly endorse the report of our respected President, Joliot-Curie, and vote for the enlargement of the peace movement.

We consider that this movement must promote peace by securing the prohibition of war propaganda, the removal of all obstacles to the peaceful co-existence of different social regimes, and the return of the United Nations to a normally functioning state, or, if you like, the rebirth of the United Nations. The Mexican people, I earnestly assure you, will spare no effort for the accomplishment of this great task. (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Väinö Meltti

FINLAND

Dear fellow fighters for peace, the Finnish peace partisans wholeheartedly support the decisions of the Prague meeting of the World Peace Committee. They have instructed the delegates from Finland to this Second World Congress to declare the following in the name of the peaceable Finnish people:

First, the Finnish partisans of peace hope that the peace champions will go on working energetically until the atomic weapon is internationally banned, and the terrible menace of another world war which now looms over mankind is removed.

To date, over 900,000 Finns have appended their signatures to the Stockholm Appeal, which has thus become a powerful factor in our country, uniting masses of peace lovers of diverse political views, religious opinions and world outlooks.

The Finnish peace partisans feel that they must strive still more perseveringly for the constant extension of the peace front. This will consolidate the results already achieved and erect a barrier to another world war.

Secondly, the peaceable people of Finland support every initiative designed to relieve international tension. We therefore approve the proposal for a general reduction of armaments and the establishment of an effective international control body to supervise the reduction.

The Finnish people saw for themselves, and not so long ago either, how heavy a burden of material privation was inflicted upon our country by a huge armament program, and what dreadful suffering war spells for the people.

Happily, international obligations undertaken by our nation prevent the rearmament fever from being carried to the utmost limit in our country. But the Finnish peace partisans are aware of the menace which the armament drive offers to world peace. History has shown many a time that when talk about safeguarding peace is accompanied by a feverish increase of armaments, it is sheer deceit, intended to dupe the peace-loving peoples.

In the present very strained state of international affairs, it is the duty of the Great

Powers to relieve the tension by acting in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and to undertake, within the United Nations framework, a gradual and effective reduction of armaments.

Thirdly, the Finnish peace partisans lay stress on the supreme importance of consistently promoting international co-operation in furtherance of peace.

Every nation has something valuable to contribute to the common treasury of world culture. Co-operation between different nations must therefore be based on full equality of big nations and small. Finland's postwar experience is an example of two peoples—the little Finnish people and the great Soviet people—living in equality and peace, and of the big nation respecting the liberty and sovereignty of the small nation. Such free relations between peoples, based on equality, and a common desire for peace are the surest earnest of the consolidation of peace.

But there are those in our country, and still more so outside our country, who do not like this. They are again trying to disrupt the friendship between the Finnish and Soviet peoples, stirring up animosity and disseminating calumnious fabrications. But the Finnish people will repel these attempts by being vigilant and actively working for the defence of peace.

Fourthly, liberty for all peoples is one of the cardinal conditions for peace. And, therefore, the fact that some states still refuse to recognize the justice of the liberation movement of the Asian peoples assumes a fatal significance.

The Finnish peace partisans sharply condemn the war which is now sapping the foundations of world peace, and which is a consequence of this characteristically imperialist defiant disregard for the demands of the times. The atrocities in Korea are a crying instance of shameful misuse of the name of an international organization—the United Nations. The Korean people, too, have a right to independence, and therefore all foreign troops should be withdrawn from that country.

Fifthly, the Finnish peace partisans, who are in favour of peaceful co-operation among all nations, point to the great importance of promoting cultural and economic relations between the various countries.

When peoples get to know each other better, they learn the truth, there grows an awareness of unity of interests, and the ground is cut from under lies and calumnies, which are the keystone of war propaganda.

The Finnish peace partisans also observe that there is at present a tendency to exploit sport as a means of stirring up national enmity—sport, which, being one of the most popular forms of peaceful international intercourse, is so well adapted to promote friendship among nations. And the stirring up of national enmity prepares the ground for war propaganda.

Finnish sportsmen belonging to the peace movement request the Second World Congress to remind the sportsmen of the world that the fate of sports entirely depends on the preservation of world peace, and that sportsmen who decline to be instruments of war propaganda in any form and boldly come out in favour of co-operation among all nations and of world peace are in an excellent position to work for peaceful relations among the peoples.

The preparations for the international sports festival, the Olympic Games, must be closely associated with the fight for peace. The Olympic Games to be held in Helsinki in 1952 must be made a grand festival of peace.

Sixthly, the Finnish peace partisans demand the prohibition of all propaganda in favour of war. We must still more vigorously denounce the criminal propaganda of the warmongers, and we must counteract this propaganda, which certain elements in Finland are also endeavouring to utilize in order to mislead the peoples and split the united peace front. We must denounce and oppose the use of literature, art, the cinema, education, broadcasting and public utterances generally for the propaganda of war, and of gangsterism and nationalism, which breed the fascist ideology and prepare the ground for war.

The peace partisans must appeal more convincingly than before to the creative artists and the spokesmen and educators of the people—to the writers, actors, artists, scientists, teachers and ministers of religion, that is, to all whose words carry far, and who therefore bear a great responsibility in helping to weigh the scales in favour of peace or in favour of war.

In addition to denouncing the criminal war propaganda, we must stress the constructive character of our peace movement, its optimism and high moral power, which attracts to it all who are helping to promote the human culture

of our time and the advance towards a better future.

The Finnish peace partisans desire to add their sincere and honest work in the cause of peace to the general effort of all the peoples of the globe to ward off another world war and establish enduring universal peace.

May the will of the peoples for peace resound at this Second World Congress with such unity and power that the governments cannot help but hear it.

We, on our part, are anxious to devote all our energies and potentialities to supporting the Second World Peace Congress and carrying out its decisions.

May the alliance of the forces of peace grow stronger and stronger!

May the Second World Peace Congress be a decisive step which will lead the world out of the present state of war and fear into a state of lasting peace and security! (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Gabriel d'Arboussier

AFRICA

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the twenty delegates from French Black Africa bring the Second World Peace Congress enthusiastic greetings from the peoples whom they here represent. (*Loud applause.*)

The problem of war or peace is the most fundamental of the problems confronting the African peoples. It is our central problem. For, indeed, political emancipation, the unfolding of our cultural potentialities, and the social and economic development to which we so ardently aspire, can only be achieved in conditions of peace. We perfectly realize that the struggle we are waging to safeguard world peace merges with our struggle for deliverance from colonial slavery.

The problem of war or peace is always one of immediate concern to us, colonial peoples, for we are the victims of wars of conquest, unjust wars which keep us, and have kept us for many long years, under the yoke of colonial exploitation, destroying our cultural values, our customs, our civilization, preventing us from displaying our abilities and robbing us of our fundamental liberties. Being the victims of these brigand imperialist wars, of obscurantism and perpetual humiliation, we have every reason to hate war and to fight it with all our strength and with all the means at our disposal.

The last war was accompanied by an accentuation of colonial, economic, cultural, social and political oppression.

In Africa, only the commercial companies profited from this war, while all the people saw throughout its duration was suffering, injustice, restrictions and heavier servitude, which assumed the most humiliating and degrading forms. For this reason the African peoples cannot remain indifferent to the problem of war or peace. Perhaps even more than any other peoples, we colonial peoples are opposed to war. (*Applause.*)

We do not want to serve as instruments in the war the imperialists are plotting in order to preserve their privileges. We can agree on our common objective—the safeguarding of peace—with those in our countries, and in the metropolitan countries on which we depend, who are determined to safeguard peace, even if they do not agree with our opinion on the colonial question.

We, the African peoples, like all other dependent peoples, have served too often as small change, our national resources have too often been the object of the greed and rivalries of imperialist states, for us not to insist on the following fact: we loudly proclaim that in our countries, more than anywhere else, the road to peace lies through the road to liberty. (*Applause.*)

Recognition of our imprescriptible right to the free realization of our political, economic and social aspirations, our right to the free and democratic administration of our own affairs, and reduction of the number of seats of international conflict and rivalry, would increase the chances of peace throughout the world.

That is why, on behalf of the dependent peoples of Africa, we insist, among other things, on the need for a definition of aggression based on the definition which was adopted by

the League of Nations in 1933 on the proposal of the U.S.S.R. In this we see the best guarantee that our struggle for liberation will not be crushed and checkmated by our oppressors or their gendarmes, and that our imprescriptible right to decide our own destiny will be safeguarded. The dependent peoples that are fighting for their emancipation are, in effect, the permanent victims of unjust aggression on the part of states whose sole justification is their material might and their claim to be performing a "civilizing mission." The criminal plans of the warmakers are again assigning to Black Africa the role of a supplier of raw materials, of a strategic vantage ground studded with air and naval bases, and, as always, of a provider of man power for sacrifice to the guns, tanks and bombs. The preparations of the imperialist warmongers are no longer a secret to anyone: the press, the radio, the conferences, the activities of our present rulers are all driving towards the end of imposing war upon us.

The imperialists are out to conquer new markets to replace those which they have lost forever in Asia and Eastern Europe, where the peoples have thrown off the yoke of their exploitation. We already see them carrying on their war of colonial conquest against our sister-people of Viet-Nam, a country where African soldiers are being infamously used against their will, and where the French expeditionary force is reduplicating the crimes and barbarities which were characteristic of the execrable Nazi regime. The peoples are mulcted of hundreds of billions of francs for the continuation of this dirty war.

The war orientation of the French imperialists has seriously reduced the purchasing power of our population, who continue to live in miserable hovels and to lead a half-starved existence. Such a policy cannot bring the African peoples speedy emancipation. On the contrary, it is in crying contradiction to our interests. We have one doctor for every 50,000 inhabitants. With a school-age population of two million, only 101,680 children attend school, that is, only one child out of twenty receives the benefits of education. Under the decennial plan, 10 per cent of the budget expenditure is assigned for social services, and 56 per cent for military purposes.

With the concrete example before us of the changes that have taken place in this hospitable city of Warsaw, we can see how much can be accomplished by a country whose budget is designed to promote the welfare of man. In five years, Warsaw, which was 90 per cent destroyed, has been raised from the ruins, whereas our country, after a hundred years of colonial domination, still knows nothing but insanitary hovels and almost total illiteracy.

For three years our rights and liberties have been constantly menaced. The African anti-colonial movement and trade unions are witnessing the continuous extension of measures designed to destroy them. Nearly four thousand peace champions in our country are incarcerated, among them our friend Doudou-Gueye, general secretary of the peace organization in Senegal, the director of our journal *Réveil*, and the vice-president of the African Democratic Union. Their unpardonable crime is that they cried aloud what Black Africa and all the peoples of the world think: peace, freedom, progress. (*Applause.*)

These measures are not calculated to make us love war. On the contrary, they make us hate it all the more, because if in their preparation for war the imperialists interfere with the normal exercise of our liberties, we can well imagine what war holds in store for us.

And so, the imperialists' plans are everywhere encountering the growing resistance of the African peoples. Our trade unions and our anti-colonial movement, the African Democratic Union, whose activity extends all over French Black Africa, are helping to denounce and to curb the forces of war. Together with peasants, workers, intellectuals, women and the youth, we have formed Peace Committees, which embrace people of all political trends, and which are working to open the eyes of the broad masses in our countries to the danger of war. It was these committees that organized the Stockholm Appeal signature campaign, and they collected 450,000 signatures among a 95 per cent illiterate population, which proves that Black Africa is no longer isolated from the progressive movement in other countries.

The various trade-union and political congresses have all sought for better ways of fighting for peace.

In conclusion, our delegation want to say that they approve and support the proposals made by the various speakers calling for:

1. Prohibition of atomic and all other weapons of mass destruction.

2. A definition of aggression on the lines of the League of Nations convention of 1933.

3. Denunciation of aggression wherever it may occur, and condemnation of armed intervention in the internal affairs of peoples, who must be allowed to order their own destiny.

4. A peaceful solution of the Korean question by procedures conforming to the United Nations Charter.

5. Resumption of free interchange among all the countries of the world.

6. Implementation of a plan of assistance to economically backward countries through the United Nations and on conditions that will permit the free development of the colonial countries.

We request the Congress to adopt these proposals, which tend towards the establishment of peace among men, among peoples, among nations. French Black Africa reaffirms its love of peace and liberty, and assures you of its resolute determination to do everything for the sacred cause that unites all of us here and all honest men and women of the world—the safeguarding of human life.

Black Africa says: Long live peace! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Speech by Jose Luis Gonzalez

PUERTO RICO

I bring you fraternal greetings from the peace partisans of Puerto Rico. Greetings to you also from thousands locked up in jail. (*Loud applause.*) These greetings have outlived those who sent them, for a few days ago they perished from the bullets of our enslavers, who have been oppressing our people for more than half a century.

I mention this because it, too, is very important for the struggle for peace. Those who butchered the insurgent patriots of Puerto Rico are also enemies of peace, men who are out to precipitate another world war.

We inhabitants of Puerto Rico know full well that peace and liberty are one and indivisible, and that the struggle for peace is intimately connected with the struggle for national independence and freedom. We are fully persuaded that in the struggle for peace, political, religious and philosophical differences recede into the background.

We, the peace partisans of Puerto Rico, have always striven to bring into our ranks those who are not yet in the camp of national independence and liberty.

The Puerto Rican Peace Committee is composed of people of the most diverse political opinions. It includes representatives of the workers' and peasants' movement, men and women of various religions, intellectuals, artists, and representatives of youth and women's organizations.

The Puerto Rican peace partisans' devotion to their noble cause was put to a severe test. The warmongers started a slander campaign in the press, the radio and the church, and then resorted to open police persecution of peace champions. However, we passed this test with flying colours. In spite of this brutal police persecution, thousands of additional signatures for the Stockholm Appeal were collected in our island in the weeks that followed.

The rabid persecution of the peace partisans in Puerto Rico is quite understandable. The warmongers are unable to refute our charges against the government which is building military, air and naval bases in our country. We said from the very outset that these bases were being built with the sole purpose of aggression, and tragic facts were soon to corroborate our words. It was from these bases that North-American planes took off a few days ago to bomb one of the big Chinese cities, and, it should be added, the misdeeds of the American airmen outdid the worst crimes of the Nazis.

The war criminals do not stop there. They have compelled Puerto Rican troops to fight alongside MacArthur's adventurists and hirelings against the freedom-loving Korean people, who are battling for their independence and happiness.

I am sure that all the delegates at this Congress, and especially the envoys from our sister peoples in Latin America, are with me

in denouncing the efforts of the warmongers to use our country as a source of material and man power in the war they are planning, their efforts to make innocent peoples pay in blood and destruction for their criminal and insensate actions.

The Puerto Rican peace partisans today repeat the appeal which our delegation addressed to the First Congress in Paris.

Let all men of good will join in a common front of peace!

We appeal especially to the United States delegates. Are not our oppressors the enemies of the North American people too? We peace partisans will counter the machinations of the warmongers with the invincible power of hundreds of millions of people.

Comrades, we are living at a time when the will of a Chinese peasant has proved to be stronger than a whole motorized division of the imperialists. War can be averted. We are already on the way to achieving this. Comrades, let us battle for life! Long live peace! *(Loud applause.)*

Speech by Eugénie Cotton

FRANCE

I consider it a great honour to speak at the Second World Peace Congress in the name of 91 million women who are determined to bar the path to war. I want to thank our British friends for the great effort they made to arrange for the holding of the Congress in Sheffield. Unfortunately, the British government most discourteously prevented the Congress from meeting in England. This will not be forgotten by the British people, who are so jealous of their reputation for hospitality.

In this martyr city of Warsaw the peace partisans will better be able to find concrete means of warding off the threat of a third world war.

The possibility of a new world conflict has never come so close as it has since the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, on which the American troops, commanded by MacArthur, are inflicting inhuman suffering. Stop this dreadful massacre of the Korean people!—is the demand of all decent men and women. All women shudder at the thought that their children may be killed or crippled. For the sake of the life and future of their children, women declare that they want the barbarities of war to stop.

After the First World Congress, women peace supporters set out to bring into the movement people of the most diverse convictions, to draw into it the great mass of people fired by the common determination to protect peace. British women sent Foreign Secretary Bevin a telegram urging that all measures be taken to settle the Korean conflict peacefully. The American Mothers Against War organization addressed letters to Stalin and Truman, in which women of 42 states declared that they would do everything in their power to prevent their children becoming cannon fodder in another war.

The women of Italy, who have collected seven million signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, play an immense role in the peace movement. Women of Algeria sent a message through American seamen to the women of the United States, stressing their common responsibility for the fate of their sons in Korea and Viet-Nam, and expressing their conviction that war could be stopped.

In Western Germany, in spite of every kind of persecution, women of the most varied political views are protesting against fascist methods, from which they suffered so much at the time of the Hitler regime. Spanish women are coming out against the Franco regime, and demand that the dictator Franco be treated in conformity with the Potsdam decision, and that the 20,000 imprisoned Spanish women be set free.

The inflexible determination of all the women in the world to prevent war found effective expression in the Stockholm Appeal campaign. To all women, the givers of life, the atomic bomb is the most odious form of contempt for human life.

Soviet women and the Soviet people generally are animated by a deep desire to work for peace, and by their constructive labour they are helping to strengthen it. Among the millions of Stockholm signatures, their signa-

tures are an expression of the determination of Soviet women to protect world peace. In Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, women as well as men are redoubling their labour efforts, their maxim being: "Build up your country and you strengthen peace."

I salute the women in this hall who have been delegated to the Congress for distinguishing themselves in the Stockholm Appeal campaign, and I especially salute the heroic women of Argentina, who succeeded in collecting 500,000 signatures in their country in the teeth of terrorism and persecution.

I want to cite from the platform of this high Congress the statements of women demanding the prevention of another world war. Canadian women in their mandate call on this Congress to get the war in Korea stopped and prevent new wars in any part of the world. "We want to live and work in peace," say the women of France. The women of China declare: "We cannot forget the horrors of war. We expect the World Peace Congress to find new ways of extending the struggle for peace." And Rumanian women write to the Congress, saying, "Peace must vanquish war."

These are the mandates of all mothers to our Congress. Let us, then, work to bring it about that mothers shall never again have to grieve for sons killed in war, and that our hearts shall forget hatred. Long live peace! (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Abder-Khaman Bouchama

ALGERIA

The people of Algeria, who have profoundly humane traditions, wholeheartedly support the efforts of the partisans of peace to avert the terrible cataclysm which is again menacing the world. Our people are in full agreement with the Prague proposals.

But for us this is not the whole meaning of peace. The Algerians stress the importance of the struggle to put an end to colonialism, because colonialism is not peace. Colonialism is a permanent germ of war.

Today the colonial peoples are fighting staunchly for their national liberation, and they cannot be satisfied with purely platonic declarations.

120 years ago, grasping and ferocious oppressors imposed their yoke upon our people. Algeria was attacked with the deliberate purpose of pillaging its economy and enslaving its inhabitants. Vanquished by fire and sword, our people had to submit, but they have never resigned themselves to their fate.

The colonialists are bent on destroying the national individuality of the Algerian people, and we now witness the outrageous fact of our rich and virile Arabic language being treated as a foreign language in our country.

Robbed of their land, downtrodden, undernourished, millions of Algerians are living in unspeakable misery. Every day one may meet on the roads numbers of ragged Algerians wandering in search of a lodging, of some sort of job, of a wretched morsel of food, for which they sometimes have to contend with the dogs on the garbage heaps. In the towns one may see the heart-rending spectacle of abandoned and almost naked children lying on the cold pavement by cellar gratings. A foreigner coming to our country sees a sight to which we have long become accustomed—destitute women with gaunt arms outstretched for alms, and with starving babies in their laps.

To all these physical hardships is added the sadistic contempt, born of racism, displayed by the representatives of the colonial regime for the Algerians.

Our country is regarded as an eventual theatre of hostilities, and has been converted by the colonialists into a veritable armed camp and war supply base. There are countless depots of V2 bombs, asphyxiating gases and war supplies of every description. Airfields are being got ready, strategic roads built, preparations are being made to move industrial plants to our country, and so on. Against the unanimous desire of its people, our country is being integrated into the Atlantic pact under the hypocritical and false name of "three departments of France."

The war preparations have resulted in still further accentuating the oppression and persecution in our country.

But our people do not want to be, and never will be, allies of their oppressors or of those

who refuse to recognize our right to order our own destiny.

The Stockholm Appeal met with a profound response among us, it was hailed by all sections of the Algerian people. They realized the immense significance of the hundreds of millions of signatures collected for the Appeal throughout the world. In our own country, 350,000 signatures have been obtained to date, although the peace movement has not yet received the mass and spontaneous adhesion which is characteristic of our people.

The Algerians are not downhearted, they are fighting, and are working perseveringly to bring about unity of all the popular forces. They know that this unity and this daily struggle on their national soil, will bring nearer the hour of liberation. In face of the rampant terrorism, that forerunner of war, which is already raging in some other countries, the Algerians are rising up ever more solidly to deliver their sons from prison, to impose respect for their rights, and to force the colonialist warmongers to abandon their criminal designs.

For many months our workers have been setting a valiant example of solidarity by refusing to load or unload weapons designated for the war in Viet-Nam or for the repression of the Algerian national-liberation movement.

Our peasants drive away the recruiting agents who come to buy their sons by weight for the criminal war in Indo-China.

No one in our country believes the false promises of the oppressors any longer. None of us will allow himself to be deceived again. Never again will our sons fight any people in the interests of the butchers, the French colonialists and all who support them.

The Prague Appeal evoked broad and keen discussion in our country. And the Declaration drawn up by representatives of all parties and all national democratic organizations has received the support of numberless popular assemblies and conferences of the united Algerian people.

The Algerians know that they have faithful allies all over the world, and above all in the people of the Soviet Union.

The Algerians want to be certain of receiving effective assistance in their struggle against the colonial regime. We submit to the Second World Congress a resolution by which the partisans of peace pledge themselves:

To aid by every means at their disposal the struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence, against persecution, and against the utilization of their children, their resources and their countries in wars waged against their wishes.

To appeal to the United Nations: effectively to observe the principles of the Atlantic Charter; to assure the granting of national liberty and independence to the colonial and dependent countries, of which Algeria is one; to ensure free elections, under international control, to a National Assembly which shall draw up a constitution and appoint a democratic government.

To institute a world signature campaign in support of these demands and in behalf of peace.

To set up a permanent anti-colonialism commission under the World Peace Council.

Together with all peoples of the world, the Algerians proclaim: Liberty for the peoples to decide their own destinies! Down with racism! Down with colonialism! Ban weapons of intimidation and mass extermination! Reduce the crushing burden of war expenditure!

Our people wholly and unreservedly associate themselves with these noble aims and wish solemnly to affirm this at the present Congress. (*Loud applause.*)

Speech by Petros Kokkalis

GREECE

Mr. Chairman and dear friends, permit me to convey to this historic Congress the ardent greetings and best wishes of Greece, the Greece which has for ten years been waging an arduous struggle against foreign invaders. We greet you in the name of her people, whose participation in the peace movement is imbued with firm faith in victory and in their own inexhaustible strength.

In Greece, the American imperialists are committing crimes which are a disgrace to our civilization. They have brought grief and un-

speakable misery to our country. Under our glorious blue sky stretches a vast concentration camp, and this in a country for which Byron laid down his life and whose fight for liberty was sung by Victor Hugo and by Pushkin.

But nothing—not the countless miseries and calamities, nor the ruins, nor the eviction of 200,000 families from their homes, nor the execution of thousands, nor the jails and deportee camps—nothing has been able to break the fighting spirit of our people.

The American warmongers want to make Greece a base of the war they are plotting against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. What matters it to the American occupiers that Greek blood flows in torrents! Recent events have made very clear indeed what were the real plans of the American imperialists when they came to our land in December 1944 to crush the democratic movement and enslave our country. Truman's underlings have brought Greece only destruction and misfortune. Two billion dollars have been spent to turn our country into a bridgehead. Today the American warmongers are openly preparing to start war in the Balkans, using as their advance guard the Greek royalist-fascists and the Tito clique. They are hard at work to weld their Athens, Belgrade, Rome and Ankara vassals into an aggressive alliance to serve as an adjunct of the Atlantic pact. They are building radar stations, airfields, ports and new strategic roads leading to the frontiers of Albania and Bulgaria. British and American warships are almost always to be found in our ports.

That Greece is under direct menace, and that, after Korea, the American warmongers have picked the Balkans as the next object of their criminal activities, is confirmed by the ever-increasing acts of provocation against Bulgaria and Albania, and by the frontier incidents engineered daily on the borders of these countries. The royalist-fascists' decision to send a Greek brigade to the support of MacArthur's bloodthirsty rabble is the crowning manifestation of their adventurist policy and the militarist frenzy they are whipping themselves into. This shameful act was an insult to our people, who have borne such great sacrifice in defence of liberty. It could only be greeted by all our people with abhorrence. Throughout the land of Greece rang the cry: "Korea for the Koreans! Not a single Greek soldier shall go to Korea!"

The tide of popular indignation compelled the royalist-fascists to postpone the dispatch of the expeditionary force several times. In the end they were obliged to reduce the brigade to a battalion, which was secretly embarked in Piraeus. The transports were escorted by American destroyers, because the Greek soldiers were firmly determined to steer them into a free and democratic port. (*Applause.*)

These feverish preparations were accompanied by a reign of terror unwitnessed in history. The royalist-fascists are resorting to the most savage methods to suppress the resistance of the masses. They think they can crush the resistance of the people by killings and shootings and sadistic tortures. Between the summer of 1946 and August of this year they put to death about ten thousand heroes of our national resistance. According to their own official figures, namely, a statement issued by the Ministry of Justice last June, 25,194 political prisoners are being held in the jails, 2,867 are under sentence of death, 37,000 have been deported to bare and rocky islands, such as Makronesos, Hagiostrati, and Yura—those new Majdaneks and Oswiecims of the Americanocracy. Their fiendish fertility in devising tortures passes all belief.

It is the children that suffer most from the brutality of the American regime. Thousands of young boys and girls are held prisoner on the islands of Leros, Vidos and Makronesos, where they are made to undergo the most savage torture. The royalist-fascist courts are constantly trying children of 8 to 10 and committing them to solitary confinement. Children of the age of 15, and even 14, are shot. Can there be any more damning indictment of the royalist-fascist regime than the letter from 25 children published on August 20 in the Athens newspaper *Demokratikos Typos*? These children, aged 14 and 15, were held in "corrective" confinement in the jail in Kiphisia, Athens. They tell in their letter of the unspeakable tortures, outrages and foul intimidation to which they were subjected, and which in the end forced them to sign a recantation.

But neither tortures nor massacres nor the constant terrible threat of deportation or the death penalty have been able to shake the spirit of our indomitable people. They are continuing their struggle, and are determined to frus-

trate the plans of the warmongers. They demand that the foreign interventionists get out of our country, they demand a general amnesty and an agreement for the establishment of peace. But this runs counter to the plans of the American and British imperialists, and they are not only preventing the establishment of peace, but are infamously working to widen the gulf still further. And when confronted with the repeated protests of the Soviet Union against the executions and tortures, these men, who are directly responsible for all these crimes, reply with their customary cynicism that they have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece, which, don't you see, is a sovereign country.

Last year and this year too, representatives of the great Soviet Union denounced the criminals. The people of Greece are deeply grateful for these actions of the Soviet Union, and they are also grateful to the representatives of Poland and Czechoslovakia, who have constantly raised their voice in defence of the Greek people. (*Applause.*)

The mothers of Greek patriots condemned to death appeal to Stalin, in whom they see their great champion. We believe that we are deserving of such friendship and such warm support, because our people have shown that they long for peace and are firmly determined to defend it.

In the midst of the terror reigning in their country, the Greek people are today regrouping and reorganizing their forces into a great national front of peace. Our people hate war, and even more intensely they hate those who are plotting war, because they know what war means—not in the way the Wall Street bankers know it, but in the way the bereaved mothers know it, and the 340,000 orphans, and the peasants who were driven from their villages and had to look on as their possessions were turned into smoke and ashes.

That is why the peace movement in Greece is growing from day to day. Our people are resolutely opposing the preparations for another war. In spite of the threat of brutal reprisals and the death penalty, Peace Committees are being formed everywhere—in mills and factories, on ships, in towns and villages, in army units, in schools and universities. They find all sorts of ways of enabling the people to sign the Stockholm Appeal and to vow their allegiance to the great forces of peace.

The Stockholm Appeal signatures were at first few—only 15,000 in Athens and Piraeus, for instance. But now the peace movement is assuming a mass character. Since August 5 of this year it has entered a new phase, and in addition to the underground activities of the Peace Committees, it is coming out more and more into the open. The warmongers and their royalist-fascist underlings are powerless to stop it. Whole villages are joining the struggle; in fifteen villages in Thrace, for instance, some 3,000 signatures were collected in a few days. Women loaded carts with the weapons which the royalist-fascists had forced their husbands to bear, and dumped them down on the pavement in front of police stations. On September 14 and 15, more than five thousand peace leaflets were scattered in the very centre of Athens, where the American occupiers have their headquarters and where the main government buildings are located. In Athens, Piraeus, Salonika and in big provincial towns, the inhabitants of whole districts are signing the Stockholm Appeal.

A few weeks ago the Appeal was signed by many of our distinguished writers and intellectuals, including Apostolos Melachrinos, general secretary of the Union of Greek Writers, the poet Costas Varnalis, the critic Marcos Avgeris, and the novelist Cosmas Politis. Numerous ministers of religion are taking part in the movement. Besides the Metropolitan of Cozani, who sent a message to Joliot-Curie requesting permission to attend the Congress, I would mention the Metropolitan of Mytilini, who said: "Hunger and poverty are rife in our country. Our salvation lies in peace."

The collection of tens of thousands of signatures for the Stockholm Appeal, the rallying of the masses for the struggle, the strikes demanding bread and peace, the distribution of leaflets and of the underground newspapers *Rizospastis*, *Aduloti Athina*, *Levendia* and *Agonistis*, the general indignation caused by the government's infamous decision to send an expeditionary force to Korea—all these facts, when we bear in mind the situation in the country, show that the conditions are becoming more and more favourable for the development of the struggle, and that our people have overcome their fear of the terror; they show that if

the criminals attempt to use our country as a base of aggression, the entire Greek people will rise as one man against them and crush them. Let these men not forget our glorious mountains, which are the symbol of the spirit of our people. These men rely on the army, but it is the army of a people which has borne terrible sacrifices, a martyr people, a people that has lived through war. If they dare to start war again, to plunge Greece again into this appalling calamity, this army will turn its guns against those who armed it and annihilate the warmongers. (*Applause.*)

Unhappily, the struggle against the warmongers in our country, as in other countries, takes an inevitable toll of tears and blood. But faith in victory has never deserted our militant people. We are firmly convinced that the sacrifices borne in the battle for peace engender an invincible force. That force is unity, the united front of peoples and individuals who but yesterday had little in common with one another. Today they are united in the serried ranks of the peace movement. (*Applause.*)

"I can feel my hand acquiring immense strength," declared a girl student in Athens as she signed the Stockholm Appeal. In the same way, the small nations and oppressed nationalities, the vast millions of the colonial countries, feel their strength grow immeasurable when they join the ranks of the peace partisans, when they march side by side with the people of the great Soviet Union, led by that supreme champion of peace, Generalissimo Stalin. (*Applause.*) And so, in spite of the war that has gone on for ten years in our country, in spite of the ruin and destruction, our people are taking part in this sacred struggle resolved to dedicate all their strength to the achievement of final victory, the victory of peace in Greece and throughout the world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Account of the Meeting of the Bureau of the

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Geneva, January 10 - 11, 1951

The agenda comprised the application of the decisions of the Second World Congress, with special reference to the questions of German rearmament and the convocation of the next World Peace Council.

The following is a brief account of the two important reports presented by Professor Bernal and M. Yves Farge.

PROFESSOR BERNAL :

" Since the Second Congress at Warsaw, the conditions of the struggle for peace have changed in such a way as to permit great developments. The two first points of our Address to the United Nations have become vested with special importance.

The American reverses in Korea have caused trouble among the advocates of war. Experience has shown them that modern war cannot be carried on without large numbers of soldiers.... Their preparations for war find expression in the remilitarisation of Germany and Japan, the formation of an Army of the " Atlantic Nations ", and the development of war industries....

But those measures are fraught with difficulties, in particular with economic difficulties, for if the increase in war industries brings about a certain temporary reduction of unemployment, at the same time it increases inflation and brings about a rise in the cost of essential materials....

These difficulties have given birth to divisions among the aggressors. By reason of the very methods of warfare used by the United States in Korea, there has developed a feeling of disapproval which often takes the form of anti-Americanism but which, in reality, is the expression of a change of attitude among the people themselves. A more defined sentiment in favour of peace is clearly developing....

In the House of Commons in Britain, a parliamentary group has been formed, which corresponds to the movement developing throughout the country, against a war with China and against German rearmament. This movement is finding its expression

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in the former servicemen's organisations, in various religious groups, and even in the Labour Party itself....

In many cases, movements are being created along lines parallel with our own..... It is a matter of the greatest importance that all these movements should co-operate in an effective struggle for the defence of peace ...."

BERNAL

Professor then elaborated upon the need for co-operation upon an international basis between the different peace movements and different personalities, through visits and personal contacts.. He expressed the view that movements and individuals working for peace in different countries should strengthen their contacts and come out with joint declarations.

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M. YVES FARGE :

" The Brussels decisions constitute an immense danger. The conditions of recruiting and the military formations planned for the remilitarisation of western Germany will bring about the re-establishment of the Wehrmacht. From the moment that we undertake the rearmament of German divisions, we are on the road to war....

To ensure peace, it is essential to see a unified and disarmed Germany. A peace treaty which draws the lessons of the Second World War and which avoids the return of the horrors which accompanied it can be signed only with a unified and disarmed Germany.... The tragedy of Germany cannot be disguised by the lies in which it is described by the American military staff. The framers of the Atlantic policy are rearming the Germany of Bonn, which has never been denazified, at the very moment when the denazified eastern Germany is giving an historical example of the desire for peace by passing a law against war propaganda...

This desire to rearm the Nazis has, as its logical corollary, the rearmament of Franco Spain. If the first of these actions is designed to rouse all our patriots, the second can only astound our republicans....

A strong opposition to German rearmament is developing throughout the public opinion of many nations on the basis of Point II of our Address to the O.N.U. In France, this is taking a very active form.... "

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Finally, M. Farge, in the name of the French National Council of the Fighters for Peace, put forward a proposal for the organisation of international meetings to demonstrate against German rearmament and to call upon the Big Four to hold a meeting.

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THE DISCUSSION :

Following these two reports, there was a wide discussion in which the analysis made by the two previous speakers was confirmed and the following points, in particular, were brought out.

- The currents of opinion which are developing in favour of peace are a testimony to the success of the general struggle for the defence of peace. This general struggle must therefore be developed even further.

- The contradictions and divisions which are appearing among the enemies of peace are the product, not only of military reverses and economic difficulties, but also of the general activity of the people in the direction of peace.

- The successes so far achieved in the struggle for peace in no way indicate a lessening of the dangers of aggression, for the checks suffered by the enemies of peace are causing them to broaden the basis for future aggressive acts.

- In the struggle against remilitarisation of Germany, it is necessary to link the campaign with the question of a peaceful solution of the German problem in general, for the German people must not be given the false impression that the struggle against German rearmament is an action directed against them.

- The activities carried on in different countries against German rearmament and for a demilitarised and unified Germany should, following the decisions of the Second Congress, be complementary to the campaign developing in Germany herself against rearmament.

- Parallel activity should be carried on against both German and Japanese rearmament as expressed by the Second Point of the Address to the U.N.O.

THE PROPOSALS :

During the discussion, numerous proposals were made by the speakers and these were well received by the members of the Bureau. Some of these proposals follow :

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- To give more support to the activities of the peace movement on the resolutions of the Second Congress, particularly on the fundamental document, the Address to the U.N.O.

- To follow up the distribution of the Second Congress decisions to elected representatives, eminent individuals, organisations etc...

- To make further explanations of the contents of the Address to the U.N.O. by the development and discussion of each of its points; for instance, to take every opportunity to show the advantages that would accrue to the people if a policy of disarmament were put into effect.

- In each country, to concentrate upon those points of the Address which respond to the greatest needs of the population in order to obtain the widest possible support.

- To provide for the organisation of international conferences on economic and cultural questions.

- To seek contact with peaceful currents of opinion developing alongside our own peace movement and to contemplate joint activities with them to strengthen the defence of peace.

- To give a greater part in the direction of our movement to peasant and working classes who are struggling for peace.

- To demonstrate the possibility of peaceful co-existence of different systems in the world, and to explain the advantages which the population will obtain from such peaceful co-existence.

DECISIONS :

After the discussion, the Bureau of the World Council reached a large number of decisions, of which the most important were :

1. - To advance the date of the next World Peace Council meeting, which will now take place from the 21st to the 24th February, 1951, and to invite a number of eminent figures who are interested in the defence of peace. (The agenda for this Council-meeting appears in the statement which follows.)

2. - Rapidly to prepare an international economic conference which could include industrialists, trade-unionists, technicians, business-men and economists.

3. - To prepare at the same time an international conference of medicine and hygiene.

4. - To keep in view also the other proposals made for international conferences, that is to say, conferences for writers

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and artists, scientists, teachers and instructors, and film producers.

5. - To prepare an international conference of the countries of the Atlantic Pact and Germany. Such a conference would have the object of examining questions concerning the peaceful settlement of the German problem and would be held after the session of the World Peace Council.

6. - To send a delegation from the World Peace Council to the National Day against German rearmament which is due to take place in the Ruhr. This delegation will comprise a Frenchman, an Englishman and a Belgian under the leadership of M. Farge.

7. - To organise, within the framework of the international campaign for the World Peace Fund, a subscription drive to raise finance for the construction of a " House of Peace " in Paris, to be the seat of the World Council.

8. - To improve the nature of the Review, which should reflect more of the broadening which has taken place in the movement. To create for this purpose an international editorial committee comprising personalities from different countries.

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COMMUNIQUE OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The Bureau of the World Peace Council met in Geneva on January 10th and 11th, 1951 under the presidency of Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE.

The Bureau heard reports by Professor BERNAL and Mr Yves FARGE on the worsening of the international situation and on the development of important currents of public opinion in support of the peace proposals drawn up by the Second World Peace Congress.

It took note of the wide discussion and the large number of activities in support of peace undertaken along the lines of the decisions contained in the Appeal from the Second World Peace Congress to the United Nations.

The Bureau noted the deep uneasiness which both German rearmament and the rearmament of Japan has awakened throughout the world, and particularly amongst the population of these countries.

In these circumstances the Bureau decided to bring forward the date of the meeting of the World Peace Council which will now take place from February 21st - 24th, 1951.

The Agenda for the session will be :

1°) Application of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress

2°) Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problems.

GENEVA, 11 th January 1951

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 1952-55 12/6

Appeal

FOR THE CONVOCATION OF A

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

THE war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realized the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favor of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is possible. This is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952 the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering.

Your will for Peace must be expressed.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organizations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

Adopted at Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace
Berlin, July 1st - 6th, 1952

CALL FOR U.S. REPRESENTATION AT THE

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

Vienna, December 12, 1952

On Decemeber 12th, 1952, the Congress of The Peoples for Peace will open in Vienna. This world gathering has been inspired by the deep concern of all men and women of good will in all lands that a peaceful settlement of international tensions be found and the horrors of war be averted.

The Congress in Vienna will represent a vast world quest for peace. The American people are increasingly participating in this quest.

We are aware that the specter of World War III hangs over all countries, including our own, and that we must assume much of the burden in the common struggle to avoid disaster.

This Congress offers us a precious opportunity to speak with people from all nations, who desire to live in peace and friendship. It challenges us to accept our full share of responsibility for removing the danger of war.

It is necessary that representatives of our people, without regard to faith, race or political opinion join, in friendly fellowship, with the peoples of other countries on an unofficial level at Vienna to save the peace, just as their representatives in government must confer on the level of technical diplomacy.

The people of the world must make their will to peace effective. They must transcend their differences in an emphatic effort to bring the war in Korea to an immediate end. They must help solve the conflicts between nations through negotiation, trade and intercultural activities. Together we shall lay the foundations for a world-wide fraternity of peoples in which all may enjoy their way of life in peace and in mutual self-respect.

Let us bring this World Appeal for The congress of The Peoples For Peace to all of our people on the farms, in the villages and cities of our country. Let us, in churches, synagogues, trade unions, Negro and youth organizations women's and civic groups discuss the issues the American people would like to have considered at Vienna. Let us be sure that the varying viewpoints of all sincere seekers for peace in our land be fully represented by a strong delegation at Vienna.

We who want to save all nations, including our own, from a new and more terrible war must make our voices heard at Vienna.

LET US JOIN WITH THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO SAVE THE PEACE

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE AND OF PERSONALITIES OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

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We have been shocked to learn of the action taken against the National Council of the French Peace Movement and other repressive measures against the Peace Movement in France.

This attempt to silence the peaceful and legitimate aspirations of the French people is the concern of all peoples because it is a sign of the intensification of the danger of war. The struggle of the French people constitutes a major obstacle to those forces which oppose all measures to relieve international tensions and a peaceful solution of the differences between nations. This is the fundamental reason why all those in France who are acting openly and in common for the safeguarding of Peace, whatever their different social origins or whatever may be their different political affiliations, are being threatened today by these forces. No matter what may be the pretext put forward for the repression against the French Peace Movement, the consequences can be grave for all peoples.

We solemnly declare that all the peoples of the world are united with the French people in their struggle for Peace. No force can break the will of a great nation which is defending its independence and struggling for world peace.

Signatories of the Declaration:

JOLIOT-CURIE, Frederic, President of the World Council of Peace.

NENNI, Pietro, Deputy, Vice President of the World Council of Peace.

d'ARBOUSSIER, Gabriel,(Afrique Noire), Member of the Assembly of the French Union.

BERLINGUER, Enrico,(Italy), President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

BERNAL, John D.,(Great Britain), Physicist

BLUME, Isabelle (Belgium), Deputy.

BORSARI, Palamede,(Brazil), Engineer.

BRANTING, Georg,(Sweden), Senator.

BRECHT, Bertold,(Germany),Writer.

BURNS, John,(Great Britain), President of the Fire Brigades Union.

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CASANOVA, Laurent (France), Deputy, Former Minister.

de CHAMBRUN, Gilbert (France), Deputy.

COT, Pierre (France), Deputy, Former Minister.

COTTON, Eugénie (France), President of the International Federation of Democratic Women.

DARR, John W.(United States), Minister of Religion.

DAVIES,S.(Mrs) (Great Britain), School Mistress, Justice of the Peace.

DAVIES, S.O. (Great Britain), Member of Parliament.

Van EERDE, G.R. (Australia), Minister of Religion.

EHRENBOURG, Ilya (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

SIAO, Emi (China), Writer.

FADEYEV, Alexander (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

FENOALTEA, Giorgio (Italy), Jurist.

FIALHO, Branca (Mrs) (Brazil), Biologist.

FRIEDRICH, Walter (Germany), Rector of Berlin University.

GIRAL, Jose (Spain), Former President of the Council of the Spanish Republic.

GORE,W.R.T. (Great Britain), Schoolmaster.

GULAYEV, Pantaleimon (U.S.S.R.), Journalist.

SARDAR GURBAKHSH,Singh (India), Writer.

HIKMET, Nazim (Turkey), Writer.

HROMADKA, Josef (Czechoslovakia), Professor of Theology, Member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches.

INFELD, Leopold (Poland), Physicist.

KINGSBURY, John Adams (United States), Doctor.

KORA, Tomi (Japan), Member of the Upper House.

KORNEICHUK, Alexander (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

KOSAMBI,D.D. (India), Member of the National Institute of India.

KUO-MO-JO (China), President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences

LAFFITTE, Jean (France), General Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

LE CHANG, Phuong (Viet Nam), Council Member of the Viet Nam Women's Union.

LOMBARDI, Riccardo (Italy), Deputy, Former Minister.

LUNDKVIST, Arthur Nils (Sweden), Writer.

MAO DUN (China), Writer.

MONTAGU, Ivor (Great Britain), Journalist.

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MUKAROWSKY, Jan (Czechoslovakia), Rector of Charles University Prague.

NERUDA, Pablo (Chile), Writer.

SAILLANT, Louis (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

SEGHERS, Anna (Mrs) (Germany),Writer.

SERENI, Emilio (Italy), Senator, Former Minister.

STREET, Jessie (Mrs) (Australia), Australian delegate to the United Nations Conference on International Organisation, San Francisco 1945.

SUN YAT SEN (Mrs) (China),President of the Association of Aid to the Chinese People.

SUWARTI (Mrs) (Indonesia), Member of Parliament.

TABET, Antoine (Lebanon), Architect.

TIKHONOV Nikolaj (U.S.S.R.), Writer.

SHRI YAGNIK, Indudal (India), President of the Peasants'Association.

ZWEIG, Arnold (Germany), Writer.

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APPEAL FOR THE CALLING OF A CONGRESS OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On the 5th of December, 1952 the Congress of Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over solutions of force.

Peace can be saved !

Peace must be saved !

Unanimously adopted at the
Extraordinary Session of the World
Council of Peace
Berlin, July 6th, 1952.

RESOLUTION ON THE CESSATION OF THE KOREAN WAR

For more than two years there has been conducted an atrocious war in Korea, characterised by massacres of the population, bad treatment and killing of prisoners-of-war, mass bombing of open towns, the use of napalm and poison gases.

The World Council, after having examined all the documents that have been submitted to it, is also convinced that bacteriological arms have been employed.

The American armed forces have repeatedly committed acts of aggression against China entailing the risk of a generalisation of the conflict : after the bombing of several Chinese towns, after the use of biological weapons on Chinese territory, after repeated threats of recourse to the atomic weapon, the recent aerial attacks on the electrical installations of the Yalu which supply industry of north-east China, constitutes a deliberate provocation designed to render more difficult the conclusion of an armistice.

The methods of war used by the American military command in Korea and the obstacles constantly put in the way of the successful concluding of the armistice negotiations, involves not only the responsibility of the United States, but that of all the governments who approved the illegal intervention of the United Nations into the internal conflict in Korea, and which have placed their armed forces under the authority of the American High Command, whose action, conducted in the name of the United Nations Organisation, is incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed by its Charter.

In order to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and to safeguard Peace, the World Council of Peace calls on all peoples to demand :

1. The immediate cessation of hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice respecting international laws and customs, the signing of which will no longer rest, as it does today, waiting for the American delegation to abandon its unjust demands concerning the repatriation of prisoners-of-war.

2. The ratification and the respecting by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 17th June, 1925, which prohibits the use of bacteriological warfare.

The realisation of these immediate objectives will permit the re-establishment of a lasting peace in Korea, by a peaceful and fair solution respecting the freely expressed desires of the Korean people and by the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory.

The war in Korea, with the atrocities which are accompanying it, and the use of weapons of mass destruction, constitutes a grave warning to all the peoples of the world.

Unanimously adopted at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace
B e r l i n - July 6th, 1952.

APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO ALL PEOPLES ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Seven years after the crushing of the Hitlerite regime the Peace Treaty with Germany has still not been concluded.

The World Council of Peace interpreting the aspirations of millions of men and women throughout the world, addresses itself to the Governments of the Four Great Powers, the U.S.A., France, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., which, by the Postdam agreement , assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It says to them that the time has come to assume their responsibility fully and collectively.

In fundamental contradiction to such a duty the separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris on the 26th and 27th May aim at a one-sided settlement. The agreements carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and of fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It considers as the best solution, that the German people themselves, through free elections, achieve their unity and give themselves the Government which will conclude a Peace Treaty with all the states against which Hitlerite Germany made war.

This Treaty will have to recognise the right to sovereignty of a unified, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany.

This Treaty, in which Germany will agree not to enter into any military coalition, will fix the methods and times of evacuation of the foreign armies of occupation. It will thus help restore to the Nations of Europe the choice of their destiny in security, co-operation and respect for their independence.

The World Council of Peace, at the same time as it calls upon the Governments of the Four Great Powers, also calls on the peoples of all countries.

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It salutes the great movement of public opinion and the different actions which are developing, unhindered by frontiers and beyond divergencies of ideas or beliefs, against the danger which the ratification and carrying out of the Bonn and Paris agreements will involve.

It assures of its support those vigilant and courageous men and women who in all countries, and especially in Germany, are demonstrating their determination to join forces against this peril and who demand an explanation of the members of their governments, leaders or members of Parliament who bear the responsibility of supporting the realisation of these agreements.

The World Council of Peace solemnly declares that the co-operation of all men of good will is indispensible to the development of effective action without delay.

It calls upon the trade unions, political parties, organisations, and churches, particularly upon those of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all the nations neighbouring on Germany. It appeals to the rising generation whose future would be ruined for ever by war. It appeals to all those who are conscious of the threat which is hanging over the homes of the world, to all those who believe that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest confidence in the capacity of the peoples to listen to one another and to find a common path of action.

With all their assembled strength the peoples can, in the months facing us prevent the ratification of the separate agreements, impose the holding of a meeting of the Four Powers and make it reach a peaceful solution that corresponds to their own security as well as to the national interests of the German people.

Unanimously adopted at the Extraordinary
Session of the World Council of Peace.
BERLIN, July 6th, 1952.

RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE REMILITARIZATION AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN

§

The San Francisco Treaty which was signed under pressure of the United States, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty have provoked, only two months after their being declared effective (April 28th, 1952), the strong opposition of the Japanese people who consider that these acts have been forced on them in violation of their vital interests and their desire for peaceful development.

Millions of people throughout the world support the Japanese people in their opposition to these Treaties and the Administrative Agreement following them, because they constitute a danger to the peace, not only of the Japanese people and the people of Asia and of the Pacific, but also those in the rest of the world.

Events have confirmed the view expressed in the resolution of the World Council of Peace passed at its Vienna meeting, November 1st-6th, 1951. The rapid expansion of Japanese rearmament, the maintenance of U.S. occupation troops and of numerous war bases on Japanese territory, the signing of a so-called Peace treaty with the puppet regime of Chiang Kai Chek accompanied by the American support of aggressive groups in other parts of Asia, can only point to Japan as a base of aggression.

Faced with this threat of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Council of Peace is of the opinion that :

- the San Francisco Treaty and the dependent agreements are not valid because of their disregard of international agreements;and must be replaced by a genuine treaty, signed by all interested States.

That treaty should provide:

a) for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases in Japan ;

b) for the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the necessity for their democratic and peaceful development.

The World Council of Peace salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for Peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war, and appeals to all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give them the maximum support in this struggle thereby helping to ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. It further

appeals to peaceloving peoples in all countries whose Governments signed the San Francisco Treaty to struggle for its replacement by a genuine Peace Treaty.

Towards this end, the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to make the greatest effort to mobilise the forces of Peace and democracy for the Asia and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in the Autumn 1952, which will help to find a satisfactory solution to the Japanese problem and other problems concerning Peace in the regions of Asia and the Pacific.

Unanimously adopted
at the Extraordinary Session
of the World Council of Peace

Berlin, July 6th 1952

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FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE — ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ — WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH — FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

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ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST

AGAINST THE USE OF THE BACTERIOLOGICAL WEAPON AND FOR PEACE IN KOREA

Students, Intellectuals of Lebanon Protest Against Germ Warfare. Signed by more than 100 students and intellectual workers from Hermel, a petition has been presented to the American Legation, demanding the end of the use of bacteriological warfare in Korea. This is only one of a growing number of protests voiced by the youth of the Middle East, whose sympathy with the struggle of the Korean people for their homeland is widespread and strong.

For an End to the War in Korea.

Young New Yorkers Demonstrate for Peace in Korea. Thousands of New York citizens watched a demonstration of youth organised by the New York Young Peoples Conference for Peace, through Times Square, demanding an end to the Korea War, the exchange of all prisoners and the return home of American soldiers. Thousands of leaflets were handed out and balloons with peace slogans filled the air. Facing boldly the police, who rushed the demonstrators, tearing up their banners and placards, the youth marched on in good order. Later that evening, at street corners in different parts of the city, the young people proclaimed their opposition to the war in many open air meetings.

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF YOUTH

Young British Miners and Christian Youth Prepare for the Conference. There is news of growing interest and support for the idea of the International Rights of Youth Conference among the youth of Great Britain. The miners continue to give a lead to the rest of Britain's working youth, as in Mansfield they are taking action to ensure that a delegate from that area represents the young colliers at the conference. In the Lothians area, young miners in supporting the conference gave their agreement to a programme initiated by the Scottish Area of the National Union of Mineworkers of a new wage agreement, no underground work before the age of 17, more recreational facilities in the villages, reduction of conscription to 12 months and a reduction of world armaments. The Iona Community, an association of Young Christians, has agreed to convene a conference of Scottish religious, trade union and political youth to discuss the Conference and the fight for peace...

Support from the Viet Namese General Confederation of Labour. Mr. Hoang Quoc Viet, president of the Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour, in a letter to the Intiative Committee for the Rights of Youth Committee says, "In the name of 300,000 trade unionists and all young workers of Viet Nam, our organisation greets with enthusiasm the convening of the International Conference. We clearly realise the important significance of the coming conference. It will broaden the area of struggle of the youth of the world and will build a unity among great numbers of young people in the fight against the war-makers who bring to the youth of capitialist, colonial and dependent countries unemployment, militarisation, misery and hunder.

Japanese Youth List their Demands. In working day by day to protect their rights and impove their standards of living, the young workers students and peasants are busily preparing for the International Conference. They have brought out a list of their immediate and long term demands from which we give some important extracts.
For All the Youth: Sppedy withdrawal of all occupation forces. Firm refusal to fight against the people and youth of Asia. Freedom of thought, speech, assembly, freedom to strike. The right to employment. For the Young Workers: 8 hour day and minimum wage. An end to sppeding up and dismissals. Proper rest periods. Guaranteed time for sports and study facilities. Against the

manufacture and production of armaments. For trade between China, the Soviet Union and Japan. For the Young Peasants: Against the seizure of land for military purposes. For an increase in reclamation of land, irrigation, grants of land and work for the unemployed sons of peasants. Stable price for rice, no compulsory purchase. Low priced fertilisers and machinery. Against the slave trade in young girls from the villages. For the Students: No war propaganda in the schools. Against the reemployment of war criminals in schools. Against colonial type of education and forcible appointment of foreign professors. Against the occupation of school buildings by the police reserve and occupation forces.

YOUTH PROTESTS AGAINST MILITARISATION AND INTENSIFIES ITS STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Norwegian Youth Sign Appeal Against Rearmament & 18 Months Service. Throughout Norway opposition to rearmament and the 18 months military service term is expressed by all sections of the young generation, and especially strong is the protest of the organised youn factory workers. The Apprentices Group at Trondheim Med Verksted (Steel works) set out an appeal which won the support of many of the leading trade unionists not only in their own factory but in all the important factories round the town... Voicing the feeling of young people all over the world they say... We cannot remain quiet while the standard of living goes down unceasingly while arms exprenditure rises. Neither can we remain quiet while the future of the youth is destroyed by long terms of overseas service from which they may never return.

Militarists have "Difficulty" with New Zealand Youth. There is great difficulty in inducing young New Zealanders to go to Korea as replacement troops, according to Brigadier Pike, Commander of the New Zealand Artillery in Korea. He complains that there is "too much apathy about the force in New Zealand."

AGAINST REPRESSIVE MEASURES

Appeal from the Greek Death Camps. From the prison isle of Youra, known to the people as "Prison of the Grave", comes a renewed appeal from the many political prisoners held there under unbelievably hard conditions. "We, political prisoners of Greece are in grave danger. The Government is seeking to hold thousands of the peoples fighters here until they perish, far from their people, far from life itself. We send our warm greetings to all men, be they, white, black or yellow. Stop this new crime which the Greek Government is preparing against us. We are convinced that you can force the Government to do away with these death camps..."

Growing Movement in South Africa Against Malan Repression. In all the great cities of South Africa, people are taking part in the movement against the repressive measures of the Malan Government. In Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, thousands have volunteered for the campaign of passive resistance "In Defiance of Unjust Laws". Already hundreds have been arrested. And everywhere the youth are playing their part as is evidenced by the mass meeting of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress where the young members declared their "enthusiastic support for the Campaign."

FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

Young Belgian Peace Lovers "Occupy" Liege. On foot, on bicycle, in cars and trains, singing laughing and waving their many coloured flags, the youth from all parts of Belgium advanced on Liege and for two days were in complete occupation of the city. The time was the 5th and 6th July and the Youth had come for their Great Peace Festival, a notable event in the history of Liege, in the lives of the young people, and in the struggle of the youth for Peace and a better life. The City was decorated with posters and banners and the people of Liege welcomed the youth. On the first day they came in hundreds to the meetings, film shows, concerts which were held in every part of the city and joined in the excitement. On Sunday, the 6th July the Palace of Corounneuse was the centre of a days festivities, with cultural and sports events on a grand scale. And through all the laughter there was the determination to defend peace and life as the young people warmly applauded the speakers at the great rally who demanded an end to the plans to rearm Germany, demanded the reducing of militry service to 12 months.

AROUND THE WORLD

Israeli Youth Salute the WFDY. The 5th Conference of Hashomer Hatzair, the Jewish Youth organisation, held recently in Israel has sent to the WFDY the following message... "In the name of thousands of members we send faithful brotherly greetings to the WFDY. In our part of the world we shall continue to struggle with you for peace and progress and shall propagate the ideas of the World Federation of Democratic Youth among the Youth of Israel. We shall not rest until peace be victorious in the world.

Dear Korean Pioneers....A Letter from the German Pioneers. A letter was recently passed through the agency of the WFDY from the Ernst Thalmann Pioneer Group at the Rosa Luxemburgh school in Halbstadt (GDR) to a group of young Korean peioneers. They write "..Your fight is our fight. In our homeland, too, the American imperialists prepare for war...but the German people, in time of danger will know how to act for freedom. We know that the Korean People's Army will achieve victory and that by your victory will the camp of peace be stronger.

Late News:
New Victory for the Forces of Peace in France. We learn that the fight of the people and youth of France has achieved a new victory in the release of André Stil, Chief Editor of "Humanité," arbitrarily imprisoned for having given expression to the protest of the people and youth of France at the coming of Pest General Ridgway to Paris. The peace forces in France are continuing the struggle for the liberation of other imprisoned democrats, among them an 18 year old girl student, held in Roquette prison.

RADIO PROGRAMS

Peking:	Indonesian	Sunday	18.30	(Peking	428.57 m, 25.66 m, 19.92 m.
	Japanese	"	19.00	time	25.66 m, 19.92 m.
	Viet-Namese	"	21.00	"	428.57 m, 25.66 m, 19.92 m.
	English	"	21.30	"	428.57 m, 25.66 m, 19.92 m.
	Siamese	"	22.00	"	428.57 m, 25.66 m, 19.92 m.
	Burmese	"	23.00	"	428.57 m, 25.66 m, 19.92 m.
Budapest:	English	Thursday	23.00	(GMT)	25 m. 31.5 m.
	French	Friday	23.00	"	25 m. 31.5 m.

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SPECIAL BULLETIN

RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

BERLIN, JULY 1 - 6 1952

ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST

RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE REMILITARISATION, FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN

The San Francisco treaty, signed under pressure from the United States, and the Japanese-American security pact have already, only two months after their entry into force (April 28, 1952), aroused definite opposition from the Japanese people, who consider that these instruments have been imposed upon them in violation of their vital interests and of their desire to develop in peace.

Millions of men and women throughout the world support the Japanese people in their resistance to these treaties and to the administrative agreement which followed them, for they represent a threat to the peaceful development not only of the Japanese and the nations of Asia and the Pacific, but also of the rest of the world.

Events have borne out the view expressed by the World Peace Council in the resolution adopted at its session in Vienna (November 1-6, 1951). The rapid rearming of Japan, the maintenance of United States occupation forces and of numerous military bases on Japanese territory, the conclusion of the so-called peace treaty with the puppet government of Chiang Kai-shek, coupled with American support for aggressive groupsings in other parts of Asia, serve to stress that Japan is being made a base for aggression.

In face of this danger of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Peace Council declares that the San Francisco treaty and the agreements based on it have no validity because they disregard existing international agreements and that they must be replaced by a genuine treaty signed by all the states concerned.

This treaty must stipulate:

a) That all occupation forces shall be withdrawn and no foreign military bases shall be allowed in Japan;

b) That the Japanese people shall enjoy full sovereignty and develop in democracy and peace.

The World Peace Council salutes the heroic struggle which the Japanese people are waging for peace, independence and democracy, against the forces of militarism and war, and calls upon all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give that struggle their maximum support, for they will thereby ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. The Council calls upon the peace-loving peoples and on all nations whose governments have signed the San Francisco treaty to work for its replacement by a genuine peace treaty.

To this end, the World Peace Council urges the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to do their utmost to mobilize the forces of peace and democracy for the Asian and Pacific Peace Congress to be held in Peking in the autumn of 1952. The Congress will help to find satisfactory solutions for the problems of Japan and of the other Asian and Pacific countries.

RESOLUTION ON CESSATION OF THE WAR IN KOREA

For over two years Korea has been the scene of a cruel war, marked by massacres of civilians, ill-treatment and murder of war prisoners, mass bombing of undefended towns and the employment of napalm and poison gas.

Following a study of the documentary evidence laid before it, the World Peace Council is convinced that biological weapons have likewise been used in Korea. Increased aggressive actions against China by the American forces threaten to extend the conflict: following on the bombing of many Chinese towns, germ warfare against Chinese territory, and repeated threats of employment of atomic weapons, the recent air attacks on the Yalu power plants, which feed the industries of Northeast China, are a deliberate act of provocation calculated to impede conclusion of an armistice.

Responsibility for the methods of war employed by the American army command in Korea and for the perpetual obstruction of the armistice negotiations rests not only with the United States, but with all governments that support the unlawful interference of the United Nations in the internal conflict in Korea and have placed their armed forces under the American high command, whose actions in the name of the United Nations are incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed in the Charter of that organisation.

To end the torment of the Korean people and safeguard the peace, the World Peace Council urges all peoples to demand:

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities through an armistice based on respect for international law and customs; the conclusion of this armistice now depends only on abandonment of the unjustified American demands in the matter of war prisoner repatriation.

2. Ratification and observance by all countries of the Geneva Convention of June 17, 1925, prohibiting bacteriological warfare.

The achievement of these immediate objects will permit of the establishment of lasting peace in Korea through a peaceful and equitable settlement, respect for the freely expressed will of the Korean people and withdrawal of foreign troops from their territory. The war in Korea, with its attendant atrocities and employment of weapons of mass destruction, is a grave warning to all the nations of the world.

APPEAL AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

We have examined with the utmost care the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea.

This study has profoundly shocked us and filled us with horror. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be put down; it is a menace to the whole of humanity.

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women everywhere to call for a halt to bacteriological warfare and to demand the outlawing of bacteriological weapons. Particularly do we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, for before each one of them there rises a question of honour and of human dignity.

The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance. We place squarely face to face with their responsibilities the governments that have approved the intervention of the United Nations and which consequently bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

For our part, we have a double duty. Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone. In order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us. The utmost possible light must be cast upon these criminal deeds.

With this in view, the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this Commission must be beyond dispute. To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the labours of this Commission.

Our second duty is to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

We note that the United States of America is the only one among the Great Powers to have failed to ratify the International Convention of June 17, 1925, forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons.

We call on all peoples of the world to press their governments, with the aim of securing that this Convention be signed, ratified and observed by every state without exception.

We call upon them likewise to act decisively to secure that those guilty of employing this most cowardly and monstrous of all weapons be brought as war criminals before a competent tribunal.

In demanding the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, we are certain that we interpret the feeling of the immense majority of men and women. In their name, we proclaim the most noble of all causes: that of the right of every child to life, and respect for every human being.

If the peoples fail to act now unhesitatingly to stop bacteriological warfare, there will be no bounds to cruelty, nor to the unleashing of the forces of destruction of life.

We call upon humanity to defend itself.

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

Seven years after the Hitler regime was crushed, Germany still has no peace treaty.

Expressing the aspirations of millions throughout the world, the World Peace Council addresses itself to the governments of the four Great Powers--the U.S.A., France, Great Britain and the USSR--which under the Potsdam agreements assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful settlement of the German problem.

The World Peace Council tells them that the time has come fully and collectively to discharge this responsibility.

In total contravention of this duty, the conclusion, on May 26 and 27, of the separate agreements of Bonn and Paris has produced a unilateral settlement. These agreements spell the resurgence of militarism and fascism, aggravate the division of Germany and Europe and erect obstacles to all effective efforts towards general disarmament.

The peoples are well aware that when a firm resolve to reach agreement through negotiation is lacking, the danger of war arises.

The World Peace Council considers the best solution to be an immediate conference of the four Powers which would adopt all necessary decisions for the peaceful settlement of the German question.

It considers that the best solution will be for the German people themselves, through free elections, to effect their unity and form a government which would conclude a peace treaty with all states with which Hitler Germany was at war.

This treaty must recognize the right of a united, democratic, independent and peace-loving Germany to sovereignty.

This treaty, under which Germany will undertake not to enter into any military coalitions, will fix the procedure and dates for the withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces. It will also help the nations of Europe to work out their destiny in an atmosphere of security, cooperation and respect for their independence.

In appealing to the governments of the four Great Powers, the World Peace Council appeals at the same time to the peoples of all lands. It salutes the great movement of public opinion and the various actions that are developing, regardless of frontiers and differences of ideas or creeds, against the danger that ratification and implementation of the Bonn and Paris treaties would entail.

It assures its support to the courageous and vigilant men and women who in all countries, and notably in Germany, are displaying the will to unite their efforts against this danger and are demanding an account from their rulers, leaders or members of parliament who have assumed responsibility for the ratification of these treaties.

The cooperation of all is essential in order that effective action may develop without delay. The World Peace Council therefore appeals to trade unions, parties, organisations and churches, particularly in Germany, Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all countries bordering on Germany; it appeals to the rising generation, whose future war would ruin for all time. It appeals to all who are alive to the menace that threatens all the homes in the world, to all who feel that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest faith in the ability of the peoples to reach understanding and find forms of common action.

With all their forces united, the peoples will be able in these coming months to prevent ratification of the seperate treaties, compel a four-Power conference and secure as its outcome a peaceful solution that will accord both with their own security and with the national interest of the German people.

CALL FOR A PEACE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

The continuing war in Korea, the employment of weapons of mass destruction, the resurgence of German and Japanese militarism, and the methods of violence against the independence of nations are arousing the anxiety of all, even of those who hitherto have not been alive to the menace of war.

The peoples of many countries are awakening to the danger that, independent of their will, they may be drawn, by successive stages, into a general war.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have demanded the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, strictly controlled reduction of arms, and a Pact of Peace.

In the parliaments, the trade unions, in political, social and relegious organisations, new currents of opinion are developing favourable to the preservation of peace. The cooperation of all these forces is possible, and it is necessary in order to alter the trend of events and ensure peace.

On December 5, 1952, a Peace Congress of the Peoples will open in Vienna. A canvass of popular opinion, carried out on the widest scale, will assure preparations for it in all countries.

Men and women of all opinions and creeds! Come together, discuss, seek solutions, elect your representatives to this grand assembly.

Your will for peace must find expression.

The Peace Congress of the Peoples will unite, for aims determined in common, people of all trends, and groups and associations of every kind, desiring disarmament, security, national independence, a free choice of their way of life and relaxation of international tension.

The Peace Congress of the Peoples will unite all who wish the spirit of negotiation to prevail over decisions imposed by force.

The peace can be saved.

The peace must be saved!

RESOLUTION OF THE WFDY COUNCIL ON THE THIRD POINT OF THE AGENDA OF THE CONVENING OF THE FIFTH WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The WFDY Council taking into consideration the desires coming from organisations in many different countries, has decided to convene the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students in July and August 1955.

The WFDY Council welcomes with gratitude the invitation of the Union of Polish Youth to hold the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students in Warsaw.

The Fifth World Festival should become a new and greater manifestation of the unity of the young generation in defence of peace, and for the strengthening of unity between the peoples.

The Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students should be the greatest international cultural and sporting review of the forces and creative capacities of youth.

The WFDY Council calls on all young people without distinction of political and religious convictions, or social position and regardless of the nation or race to which they may belong, to take a most active part in the preparations for this great traditional Festival and to send their delegates to it.

For a successful preparation of the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students, the Council is in favour of the setting up of a most representative International Preparatory Committee for the Festival comprising the most different types of organisations and well-known people from all walks of life. It is also necessary to set up local, regional and national committees.

The WFDY Council expresses its satisfaction at the desires of the I.U.S. to jointly convene the 5th Festival and calls on all international, national and local youth and student organisations, and on political, trade union, religious, cultural, sport and other groups as well as outstanding personalities in these fields to support the holding of the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship and to take an active part in its preparation and in the Festival itself.

The Council working on the basis of the many suggestions presented in the Council session and taking into account the real experience of previous Festivals as well as regional and national events held by young people charges the WFDY Secretariat to draw up a concrete plan of preparations for the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students.

In the preparatory work for the 5th Festival the activities of the member organisations of the WFDY should increase, and their influence among young people should spread strengthening the young generation in its struggles for the defence of its rights, for national independence and peace.

The programme of the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students should be varied and rich in content and finer than ever before and should reflect the interests of the various sections and groups of young people.

The Council recommends to the member organisations of the Federation to organise on every scale festivals, meetings, rallies and culture-land sports competitions among youth and students, and to give widespread publicity to the aims and character of the Fifth Festival by all possible means and especially by press and radio.

The Council expresses the certainty that the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students will be a powerful and unforgetable mobilisation for peace and friendship.

Forward to the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship!

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

We hope that you will examine this question carefully and send us your answer as quickly as possible.

You will be kept informed of all matters concerning the Preparatory Committee and the Festival. Enclosed you will find a copy of the resolution from our Council Meeting in Peking this past August and our pocket calendar for 1955.

The WFDY thanks you for your kind attention.

Yours sincerely,

For the Secretariat

M. Nixon

Malcolm Nixon,
Secretary.

Encl.

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES DESIRING A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. But the negotiations have come up against fresh obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions of vital importance to the Peace of the world.

Yet the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent men of science, religion and politics are raised in condemnation of the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most of the countries of Western Europe have made a public stand against the revival of German militarism in any form.

In these circumstances, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. Our own viewpoint on the problem is set out in the resolution passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953.

Joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the study of possible solutions is now needed.

An international meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

In Korea, the ending of hostilities was a victory for the cause of Peace.

On Germany, the latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding of a Four Power Conference in the near future is possible.

On Indochina, the idea of a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement is making progress both in France and Viet-Nam.

But the forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. It is not employing negotiation, for one side to confront the other with accomplished facts; it is not desiring negotiation, to seek to create conditions which must make it fail.

In both Asia and Europe there are situations and conflicts which represent a special danger to World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The attempt to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests, can wreck the negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the earliest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers - the United States, the USSR, Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into a war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the "European Army" treaties and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to a Four Power agreement on the German problem - an agreement that would offer the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and give all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

The war between France and Viet-Nam, which has been raging for seven years, can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation and supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegation made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for a settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always maintained that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitute a threat both to the peoples' independence and to Peace.

Such a policy is being extended in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. In Europe it is exemplified particularly in the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain; in Asia, in the shape of foreign occupation, in the intensified re-armament of Japan and in the attempts of the United States to set up military bases in Pakistan. This latest effort threatens to create a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments drive and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction impose an intolerable burden on the world and constitute a terrible menace.

The World Council of Peace has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters and hopes that efforts to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control will continue.

Finally, the World Council of Peace emphasises that, whilst negotiation must be applied to each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

The Conference would be able, on the initiative of any of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension and to seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interests of all States and is judged more and more severely by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about a lasting Peace and it is for the peoples to see that it is respected. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations in developing their economic resources, their wellbeing and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the poverty and the difficulties of everyday life inflicted upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments drive, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.
Berlin, 23-28 May, 1954.

RESOLUTION ON ATOMIC WEAPONS.

Weapons of indiscriminate slaughter now threaten all mankind. The conscience of the world is awakening. Parliaments and statesmen, the most eminent leaders of thought and religion, speak out in protest.

In the name of mankind, we call for agreement, at once, to stop all experiments with H-bombs and atom bombs and forbid their use.

Agreement of this kind will ease the task of securing their effective total abolition.

Agreement of this kind will help quickly to relieve international tension; it will help forward the general reduction of armaments; it will open the way to collaboration in the peaceful development of atomic energy.

We call upon all bodies and individuals concerned with peace, upon political, social, trade union, religious and cultural organisations, upon men and women in every country, to consult together, nationally and internationally, on how best to obtain agreement by the governments to prohibit, under strict international control, which is wholly practicable, the manufacture, use or storage of all weapons of mass destruction.

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Berlin 23-28 May, 1954

RESOLUTION ON SECURITY

The threats of U.S.A. military intervention in the conflict in Indo-China, which would be liable to lead to a new world war; the pressure brought to bear to set up the European Defence Community, which would sanction the re-armament of Germany; the division of Europe and Asia by the policy of military pacts; the repeated H-bomb experiments, one aim of which is intimidation and blackmail - all these have given the peoples, in whom hopes had been roused by negotiations, fresh reasons for anxiety.

The pressure of world public opinion which secured the armistice in Korea and the opening of negotiations on European and Asian problems, can to-day secure:

- a successful outcome to the Geneva Conference, that is to say, a cease-fire in Indo-China, and a peaceful settlement of the Korean and Indo-Chinese conflicts;
- rejection of the agreements on the European Defence Community and a resumption of negotiations for the peaceful solution of the German question;
- agreement by the Governments to stop all experiments with H-bombs and atom bombs and forbid their use.

Despite differences of political or social system, all peoples have common interests. These common interests cannot be protected, and the security of each and the independence of the peoples cannot be guaranteed by atomic blackmail and the division of the world into military blocs.

Likewise, these common interests are harmed by repression of national liberation movements or by the intervention of any state in the internal affairs of any other.

A nation can only guarantee its own security by ensuring that of every other nation. Security for all must be organised, most urgently in Asia and Europe, with participation of all the States concerned, whatever their differences of political or social system.

Berlin, 28th May, 1954.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

(Vienna Session, 23rd-28th November 1953)

STATEMENT BY THE SCIENTISTS AT THE MEETING OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.

The scientists present at this session of the World Council of Peace, knowing the terrible power of destruction of weapons of mass extermination, call upon their colleagues throughout the world to take energetic action for the prohibition of these weapons.

They call upon them to support the efforts of all those who want science no longer to be used for destructive ends but put at the service of mankind.

Vienna, 28 November, 1953

WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
VIENNA SESSION, 23rd - 28th November, 1953.

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHO DESIRE A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. Economic barriers and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent scientific, religious and political authorities are condemning the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All people of good sense realise that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee fulfilment of any agreement made without the participation of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most West European countries have made a public stand against the rebirth of German militarism in any form.

In these conditions, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities, who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. The resolution, passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on 28th November, 1953, is an expression of our point of view on this matter.

The joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the examination of possible solutions is now necessary.

An International Meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953

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WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
VIENNA SESSION, 23rd - 28th November, 1953

RESOLUTION OF THE CULTURAL COMMISSION

The last session of the World Council of Peace correctly demonstrated the need and the possibility of widely developing cultural exchanges, a valuable factor in achieving and consolidating a relaxation of international tension.

We are happy to see that in spite of the still too numerous obstacles, appreciable results have been obtained since then.

At the same time, we repeat that many greater successes could be achieved at present. Vast prospects will open up if every organisation and every human being interested in the culture of their own country, as well as world culture, decide to enter into contact and work for fruitful international relations on the basis of reciprocity.

The full support of the Peace Movement is assured for the various activities already achieved or planned, such as: visits; exchanges of delegations, works of art, literary and scientific publications; international exhibitions, congresses and the meetings and interchange of scientists, intellectuals, artists and sportsmen.

We call on every organisation and person interested in the development of cultural relations between the peoples. We appeal to them to increase such activities and to secure co-operation on a still wider basis so that this work will be even more effective.

Vienna, 28th November, 1953

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PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

Special Issue

COMMUNIQUE

Certain important organisations in a number of countries have asked the World Council of Peace to postpone the World Assembly which was to be held in Helsinki in May.

The same request has also been made by well-known public figures who wish to take part.

It has therefore been decided that the World Assembly for Peace shall take place from June 22-29 in Helsinki.

Frederic Joliot-Curie
President of the World Council
of Peace

Paris, April 27, 1955

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Mollwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No 71 April 19, 1955

EMINENT FIGURES EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE TO BE HELD IN HELSINKI, MAY 22 - 29

Doctor Nobuo Kusano, Member of the Japanese Institute for the Study of Infectious Diseases

'As a Japanese scientist and particularly as a member of the medical research team which conducted an inquiry into the damage wreaked by atomic weapons, I know the destructive power of these weapons; nor do I forget the soundless call of the victims of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

'I therefore expect much from the World Assembly in Helsinki which I support with all my strength, for it is the embodiment of the will of the peoples of the whole world to oppose atomic war and work for peace.

'When each individual's will for peace spreads throughout the world like a chain reaction, atomic weapons will be abolished and atomic energy and the will of the scientists concerned will for the first time become the real and faithful servants of mankind.'

The Reverend Armas Tolsa, Director of the Settlement Institute of Kalliola, Helsinki

'To avert the danger of atomic war, we must call on all men of good sense irrespective of race, nationality, social position and creed, for we are all threatened. The statesmen who decide war and peace have an enormous responsibility and we have to make them understand that they have no right to use their power for the destruction of life.

'Thus the World Assembly for Peace to be held in Helsinki in May has two important tasks. It must call upon and rally the peoples to the cause of peace, regardless of frontiers. There are still far too many sceptical and prejudiced people. We have to make people understand that work for peace is not party politics and that the demand for the banning of atomic weapons is not turned only in one direction: it concerns all peoples alike. The other task is to make the voice of millions of peace-loving people heard by the leading statesmen in such a way that they cannot neglect it.'

Professor Leon Wagner of the Sorbonne in Paris

'There is matter for rejoicing in the promise held out by the National Assembly for Peace (an initiative of the French Peace Movement Ed.) and the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki. What is the significance of this gathering at such a time?

'To understand it, we must remember that the forces for peace which exist in every country were neither represented nor defended. I say "were" because one of the major factor of our time is precisely that all these people willing the same end are today finding an opportunity to come together and make their demand prevail: a stable peace based on negotiation and confidence.

'This understanding of the situation would not have been as clear if our Movement had not stimulated it in the way that we know. Of course, the Peace Movement has not ceased its action for this reason but we must hope that the Assembly will be attended by all those who are honestly and unanimously seeking ways of uniting the peoples of the world in peace.'

Lieutenant-Colonel Lorenzo Arrua (Paraguay)

'No human being can remain neutral between life and death, between war and peace. Peace is inseparable from any kind of human activity as well as from political,philosophical or religious ideas.

'Peace will be victorious in this struggle and once again its enemies will be defeated. The World Assembly for Peace to be held in Helsinki will make its decisions prevail and put an end to the manoeuvres of the aggressors.'

Round The World

SWEDEN

Half of Sweden's delegation of 100 will be members of a wide range of trade unions representing Swedish industry as a whole. A number of these trade union representatives are members of the Swedish Social Democratic Party. The delegation will include members of pacifist organisations in an individual capacity.

A leaflet on the preparations for the Assembly will be put out on May 1st and 500,000 copies of it will be distributed. Nearly 50 meetings have been held or are in preparation throughout the country.

JAPAN

The miners' union (membership 280,000) is at present conducting a campaign of support for the World Assembly to which it has decided to send representatives.

GERMANY

The German Congress for Security and Peace will be held in Dresden on April 24 in preparation for the World Assembly in Helsinki. A number of public figures have announced their participation, including the following: Mr. Otto Nuschke, Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. Johannes Becher, Minister of Culture; the writers Anna Seghers and Arnold Zweig; Professor Hans Schwarz, doctor and President of the Association for the Protection of Children, from Greifswald; Professor Steiniger, President of the German United Nations Association.

In all, there will be 1,300 delegates from the German Democratic Republic taking part in the Congress for Security and Peace, together with a strong delegation from the Federal Republic and foreign visitors. The Congress will elect the delegation to the World Assembly in Helsinki.

SAAR

The Saar delegation to the World Assembly for Peace will be elected at the Saar Peace Conference. Ten thousand postcards are at present on sale to help cover the expenses of the Saar delegation.

BRAZIL

The Brazilian National Assembly for Peace will be held in May and will prepare Brazil's contribution to the World Assembly. It is being preceded by local and regional conferences like that held in Sao Paulo which was attended by representatives from the towns and villages, the trade unions and women's and youth organisations, and by intellectuals and political figures.

TUNISIA

The Tunisian Assembly for Peace will be held on April 28. It agenda includes the launching of the signature campaign and participation in the World Assembly.

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Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Vergleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6-Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ongar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus Möllwald-Platz 5 WIEN IV

42. August 18th, 1954.

SUMMARY -

- ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL SESSION
- REPLY OF THE VIET-NAM COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.
- LEBANON : THREE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF NEGOTIATION AND THE BANNING OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

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ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL SESSION

An important meeting of the All India Peace Council was held in Calcutta on July 30th, 31st and August 1st. More than 1,500 delegates, observers and guests were present at all the main sessions and over 50,000 people took part in the concluding public rally.

The Council opened its session by sending a message of greetings to Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou En-Lai supporting the five principles of their agreement.

The main issues under discussion were : the security of nations with special reference to Asian security ; weapons of mass destruction; economic and cultural exchanges.

The main resolution adopted by the Council called for Asian security, solidarity and co-operation and for a campaign in support of the five principles embodied in the Nehru - Chou En-Lai declaration. The resolution raises the key questions which face Asia today; first and foremost, the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and then the questions of Korea, Indo-China and Malaya.

It was decided that the month of September should be observed as an Asian Security Month when signatures will be collected and meetings and demonstrations held.

Lastly, the Council decided to call a great National Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity on December 30th, 31st and January 1st and 2nd, 1955 in Madras.

The following are excerpts from the resolutions adopted at this session of the All India Peace Council :

ON ASIAN SOLIDARITY

... The peoples of Asia will not, under any pretext, tolerate the existence of foreign military bases on their soil, continued foreign domination and occupation in parts of Asia and attempts to divide and suppress them by the enforcement of military pacts. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the countries of Asia ...

The refusal to seat the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is one of the main reasons for the present tensions in Asia and the world. To ensure peace, the People's Republic of China must be given its rightful place in the United Nations without delay ...

We appeal to all sections of the Indian people to join in a united campaign for Asian solidarity and security, based on acceptance of the five principles enunciated in the above declaration : mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

ON THE HYDROGEN BOMB

The Bikini H-bomb tests have brought home to the peoples of the world a new lesson - either collective security or collective death ...

An agreement between the powers for the banning and international control of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons is the only way to remove this menace from the face of the earth ...

We call upon all people, all organisations, elected bodies and religious people to come out openly in protest against the use of the H-bomb. We call upon scientists in particular to resist stubbornly all attempts to use this precious discovery of the human mind for the destruction of man...

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REPLY OF THE VIET-NAM COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

On the territory of Indo-China, which has for many years been devastated by the war of aggression, peace is being restored to the peoples of Indo-China who have eagerly yearned for it.

This is a great victory for the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos who, united, have fought heroically and in the most difficult conditions in the struggle for peace, unification, independence and democracy during these last eight or nine years. It is also a great success for the peoples of France and Asia and for the Peace Movement the world over who struggled resolutely for the restoration of peace in Indo-China ...

We received the message of greetings from the World Council of Peace on the signature of the armistice in Indo-China at the very time when our people were joyfully celebrating this victory.

We are aware that this victory is not only the victory of the peoples of Indo-China but of peace-loving people the world over. It is the victory of the Peace Movement, that of the stand for negotiation adopted long ago by the World Council of Peace. It has contributed to the lessening of international tension. It eloquently proves, once again, that all international disputes, including the most serious ones, can be settled through peaceful negotiation.

Now, our people are enthusiastically beginning the work of healing their war wounds by gradually restoring their peaceful life and making preparations for national reconstruction ...

We express our heartfelt thanks to the World Council and ask it to convey to all peace fighters our fraternal greetings and our pledge to fight resolutely for lasting peace and for friendship among the peoples.

ON BEHALF OF THE VIET-NAM COMMITTEE
FOR THE DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE
LE DINH THAM
Chairman

LEBANON -

THREE GOVERNMENT MINISTERS COME OUT IN FAVOUR OF NEGOTIATION AND THE BANNING OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Mr. RASHID KARAME, Minister of the National Economy

ON THE ARMISTICE IN INDO-CHINA AND THE LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

" I believe that no one with any human feeling can be other than grieved when men kill each other ... I therefore think that the armistice in Indo-China brings joy to all free men who desire the happiness of their fellow men, apart from any other considerations.

Nor is there any doubt that the settlement of such questions - the object of a dispute which has led to war - by an armistice is a proof that the parties concerned have begun to think of peaceful means as a way of settling conflicts. It is an ideal method which must be supported and to which we must resort above all others..."

ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

" I certainly hope that we will succeed in abolishing weapons of all types because, in so doing, we should ensure our recovery to the level of the strong powers..."

Mr. KAZEM EL KHALIL, Minister of Agriculture

ON THE ARMISTICE IN INDO-CHINA AND THE LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

" In my opinion, everything that prevents the spilling of innocent blood is an act of humanity that deserves our support; and it is possible to attain the settlement of conflicts by means of peaceful negotiation..."

ON THE ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMBS

" After the First World War the States agreed to prohibit the use of poison gas, and as a result of this agreement gas was not used during the Second World War. It is therefore possible to reach agreement on the banning of atom and hydrogen bombs which are much more destructive and horrible, and to respect such an agreement..."

Mr. GEORGES HRAWI, Minister for Home Affairs

ON THE ARMISTICE IN INDO-CHINA

"I was one of those who followed with interest the progress of the negotiations on the question of Indo-China. I therefore welcomed the announcement that the armistice had been signed with great satisfaction, for the slaughter which had made thousands of victims had been brought to an end. I feel that it is necessary to seek a peaceful settlement of all current disputes before conflicts break out and blood flows..."

ON THE ATOM AND HYDROGEN BOMBS

" I am in full agreement with those who urge the need to ban the atomic and hydrogen bombs, especially since the hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific have clearly shown the extent of the damage caused by this destructive weapon ..."

(These statements by Government Ministers
are taken from interviews given to the Lebanese Peace Committee)

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Re: Passport campaign

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwald Platz 5 - Wien IV (Austria)

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE
Berlin, 24 - 28 may, 1954

RECOMMENDATION OF THE CULTURAL COMMISSION

1.- The last few months have been notable for the encouraging progress made in the field of cultural exchange. Many artistic events, film performances, visits and delegations, commemorations of the anniversaries of famous men and works, congresses of intellectuals, teachers, scientists, students, sporting events and so on, have demonstrated the peoples' desire to exchange the fruits of their work, the advances they have made in technique and their achievements in science and the arts.

2.- At the same time we have seen the birth and growth of broad national movements the aims of which are the development of each national culture and the diffusion of knowledge among the people. These movements oppose any attempts at the stifling of national culture - any such attempt is a blow to national sovereignty - and strive to encourage the creation of works which augment the cultural heritage of the people concerned, thereby enriching international cultural exchange.

3.- However, although the results obtained in the field of cultural exchange and in the development of national cultures are encouraging, they do not correspond to the present possibilities. There remain too many obstacles preventing the peoples from enjoying to the full the conquests of the human mind. It is inconceivable that there should still be administrative and political obstacles to the expression of ideas and the circulation of works and people. These barriers must be removed. They will be eliminated if every friend of culture is aware of his responsibility and firmly supports any move, whatever may be its origin, that is directed toward elimination of these barriers and the encouragement of more national cultural activities and exchanges on the basis of reciprocity.

The desire of the peoples is that culture should be put at the service of friendship and peace among men.

Berlin, 28th May, 1954

/ Bulletin N° 27 /

PARIS, le 22-12-1950

COMMUNIQUE DU SECRETARIAT DU CONSEIL MONDIAL

Le Secrétariat du Conseil Mondial de la Paix s'est réuni le 21 Décembre et a examiné les premiers résultats de la campagne menée dans tous les pays pour l'application des résolutions du IIème Congrès Mondial.

Il a pris les décisions nécessaires pour que la diffusion de ces résolutions soit encore intensifiée et que tous les hommes et toutes les femmes de bonne volonté soient en mesure de les appuyer.

Le Secrétariat a étudié les rapports parvenus des Comités Nationaux. Il s'est associé à l'indignation qui se manifeste partout à la suite des récentes déclarations du Président TRUMAN sur la bombe atomique et de la décision prise par les Ministres du Pacte Atlantique de consacrer et de poursuivre le réarmement massif de l'Allemagne occidentale.

Approuvant les initiatives déjà prises, le Secrétariat invite les mouvements de la Paix des différents pays à redoubler d'efforts dans leur action contre la guerre, contre la propagande de guerre, par l'application du Statut de la Paix élaboré par le Congrès Mondial.

La réunion plénière du Bureau du Conseil Mondial de la Paix est fixée au 10 Janvier.

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PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No.75 April 27, 1955

Edouard Herriot
Honorary President of the French National Assembly
Agrees to Preside Sponsoring Committee

On April 26, the National Council of the French Peace Movement issued the following statement:

'In the Department of the Rhone, a sponsoring committee has been set up to call on the people to prepare for the World Assembly in Helsinki and to sign the Vienna Appeal against atomic war.

'Asked by the Departmental Peace Council to preside this committee, Mr.Herriot sent the following reply:

'"I hasten to inform you that I willingly agree to preside this committee, as you desire."

'Among the first to give their agreement to sit on this sponsoring committee are: Mr.Bourricand, former mayor of Villefranche; Mr.Broues, Socialist deputy mayor of Givors; Mr.Jean Cagne, Communist M.P.; Mr. Pierre Cot, progressive M.P. and former Government minister; Mr.Georges Faillet, Christian trade unionist; Mr.Jean Gay, vice-president of the Union of Ex-Servicemen's Associations; Mr.Justin Godart, former Government minister; Mr.Lacroix, member of the "New Left"; Mr.Leong, engineer, member of the Force-Ouvriere trade unions; Mr.Camille Vallin, mayor of Givors and county councillor; Mr.Simon Sylvestre, Socialist town councillor of Venissieux; Mr.Louis Vienney, radical deputy mayor of Lyons; and Professor Wertheimer.'

Writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Vercors
among first French Delegates to Helsinki

In France, the preparations for the World Assembly are being linked with the campaign against the preparations for atomic war which has developed on a great scale during these last weeks. There have been many rallies, meetings and signature-collecting days, which have all helped to make the Helsinki Assembly known to the people.

Hundreds of thousands of cards reproducing Hans Erni's admirable poster are being issued to cover the travelling expenses of the French delegates. Through the mass distribution of this card the people of every locality and village are being informed of the holding of the Assembly and its aims. The price is very low - it takes more than 7,000 cards to pay the fare of one delegate - and so each delegate will be the authentic representative of thousands of his fellow citizens.

Individuals who have already let it be known that they will be at the Assembly include the writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Vercors; Professor Gurvitch of the Sorbonne; Professor Bernard Lavergne of the Paris Law Faculty; Pastor Botinelli; Mr.Gilbert de Chambrun M.P.; Mr.Emmanuel d'Astier M.P., Mr.Laurent Casanova M.P. and Mrs.YvesFarge. Many organisations, too, have announced that they will be taking part, including the Republican Ex-Servicemen's Association, the Workers' Sports and Gymnastics Federation, the Union of French Women, the National Committee of Writers, the National Peasant Committee for the Preservation of Peace and Agriculture and the Engineers' and Technical Staffs' Liaison Centre.

Well Known Finns Greet the World Assembly

The following statement, signed by 18 well-known Finns, has just been published:

'In Finland we are trying to develop friendly relations with all countries. That is why we hope that representatives of different political, social and religious views in all parts of the world will take part in the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki. We believe that by exchanging views freely and getting to know each other people can come to an understanding and get rid of the prejudices which create a war psychology. We are happy that in a world divided by conflicts our country can be the place for such a peaceful gathering. We wish the World Assembly every success in its work for mankind, for culture and for peace.'

The statement is signed by: Mr.Wälnö Aaltonen, sculptor, member of the Academy; Professor Göran von Bonsdorff, Professor of Political Science at Helsinki University; Mr.Karl Bruhn, Professor of Pedagogy at Helsinki University; Mrs.Eva Cederström, painter; Mr.Einar Englund, composer; Professor Felix Iversen, Professor of Mathematics, vice-president of the World Federation of United Nations Associations; Mr.Väino Kaukonen D.Litt.; Mrs.Sylvi Kyllikki Kilpi M.P.; Laura Latvala, poet; Mr.Tarmo Manni, actor at the Finnish National Theatre; Mr.Väino Meltti, governor of the province of Uusimaa; Mrs.Hagar Olsson, writer; Mr.Olavi Paavolainen, writer, director of drama for the Finnish Broadcasting Company; Professor J.E.Salomaa, Professor of Philosophy at Turku University; Sirkkz Selja, poet; Mr.Olavi Siippainen, writer; Elvi Sinervo, writer; and Elsa Sylverstersson, ballerina.

ROUND THE WORLD

Eminent Figures Support the World Assembly

Professor C.H.Lassen (Denmark)
President of the Doctors against War organisation

'In the present world situation there is an urgent need for moves that lead to East-West understanding. I therefore approve of the Helsinki meeting in May and the efforts made by the World Council of Peace to ensure the peaceful co-existence of all peoples.'

Mr.George Branting (Sweden)
Social Democratic M.P.

'It is undoubtedly vitally important and urgent that all peoples should put up a vigorous resistance to the preparations for atomic war. It should be stated now that those responsible for such a war would be war criminals and guilty of a crime against humanity.

'Let all sincere friends of peace unite so as to meet this extraordinary situation and avert the danger.'

Mr.Ilya Ehrenburg (Soviet Union) (1)
Writer

'The World Assembly for Peace will meet in Helsinki and the success of this great and important undertaking is ensured if we are to judge from the results of the Conference of Asian Countries. In order that the governments may be prevailed upon to take the road of negotiations, representatives of public opinion throughout the world must meet, examine the disputed issues in all freedom, and find the road to agreement. At the World Assembly there must be representatives from all the countries and tendencies who see a way out not through mutual destruction but through co-operation between countries with different systems.

'A little neutral country, in the far north of Europe, is getting ready to give a warm welcome to the representatives of all the peoples who, alarmed by the events of recent months, will do their utmost to make the will of peace-loving people prevail over that of the businessmen of the United Aircraft Corporation. This will be no ordinary congress, no mere series of eloquent speeches, it is not just another of the many demonstrations that have taken place - it is a serious attempt to change the atmosphere in the world, to restore to all, and in the first place to the mothers, that calm without which life has no value for anyone.

'Spring comes late in the north, but on the other hand nothing is more gay than the northern spring. The World Assembly for Peace must be the harbinger of just such a spring for mankind, which has lived through the painful years of the cold war.'

(1) Extracts from an article in Pravda

Professor Luis Vidales (Colombia)
Writer

'I am fully convinced that the Helsinki Assembly will be a decisive step which will set in motion the incomparably powerful force for peace which throbs in the heart of mankind, thus foiling the most dastardly plans that history has ever known.'

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Mollwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

Special Issue

STATEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The expected conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria is one more justification of the principle of negotiation.

The World Council of Peace has always defended this principle as being the most effective method for the peaceful settlement of major international issues. As early as 1952 the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, convened in the city of Vienna at the call of the World Council, demanded the resumption of four power negotiations on the State Treaty with Austria. The Congress gave its support to 'all efforts, of whatever nature, which aim at the speedy success of these negotiations and at ensuring for the Austrian people, with the ending of the occupation, the democratic rights and independence of their country.'.

Today we welcome the Austrian Republic's decision not to associate itself with any military alliance and not to allow any military bases on its territory. This decision is a great contribution to the cause of peace in Europe.

The conclusion of the State Treaty with Austria will be a new victory for the peoples in their struggle for peace. Public opinion in general, and the Austrian people themselves, consider that the talks which representatives of the Four Powers are now about to resume following on the negotiations in Moscow must be crowned with success as soon as possible.

The Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace

Vienna, April 28, 1955

Eigentumer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6
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PRESS BULLETIN

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OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

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No 73 April 22, 1955

The Paris newspaper Combat published in its 'Open Forum' on April 22 an article by Professor Joliot-Curie President of the World Council of Peace

Here is the text:

An important World Assembly for Peace will be held in Helsinki from May 22-29. It was in Stockholm last November that the World Council of Peace took the initiative of inviting representatives of all organisations and tendencies for peace throughout the world to meet in such an Assembly.

In the course of 1954 encouraging signs of a relaxation of tension appeared in international affairs. After the ending of hostilities in Korea, the Geneva negotiations put an end to the war in Indo-China and the rejection of E.D.C. left the way open for a negotiated solution of the German problem. World public opinion noted the promising results of the work being done in the United Nations Disarmament Commission.

But new dangers appeared on the horizon at the end of the year and these were soon confirmed by the adoption of the agreements on German rearmament and the N.A.T.O. Council decisions to base its strategy and tatics on the use of nuclear weapons.

So the threat of a war of extermination has become sharper today and dangerous war centres are being maintained in different parts of the world.

However, a new and very important factor has appeared in international relations. Until these last years, public opinion was most often considered as a factor which, while, of course, not without its importance in this field, was nevertheless, a passive factor; public opinion was not consulted when great international decisions were taken but was 'softened up' to accept them.

But that fact that hundreds of millions of men and women have personally suffered from war, the knowledge of the new dangers brought home by the 200,000 victims of Hiroshima, the results of the latest hydrogen bomb tests and finally the development of organised action for peace on a world scale have already changed this situation.

World public opinion has now become an active force which makes itself felt even while these international decisions are being arrived at.

So the peoples,with the experience of several years of struggle for peace behind them, feel clearly that they can change the situation and prevent the outbreak of a new and terrible conflict. They consider very positive the possibilities of negotiation that are appearing for the final settlement of the Austrian question and the Asian problems.

Peace can be saved if all work together. That is why it is necessary that all those who are working for peace, in whatever field, should, while preserving their own character, strive to attain common objectives which can more effectively contribute to the lessening of international tension. The World Assembly for Peace fulfils this need which the gravity of the situation makes more urgent than ever.

It is open to all movements, all organisations and all individuals who wish to avert the horrors of an atomic war from mankind and are sincerely seeking the way to disarmament and peace. In many countries, representatives of organisations and individuals who do not take part in the Peace Movement or do not wish to do so as yet, are co-operating with it in preparing for the World Assembly. Great national assemblies of organisations and tendencies for peace will send delegates to Helsinki.

At the Assembly there will be full freedom of expression for all those who, while they differ in their views and ideas, think that it is possible to have a frank discussion and to reach agreement on common objectives.

There is no question of discussing the merits of any particular regime or of condemning any particular government. Nor is there any question of imposing the position of any particular organisation. We must, honestly and in an atmosphere of mutual respect, consult each other's point of view and seek agreement on certain vital questions on which world peace depends.

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What are these vital questions? The Assembly will itself settle the agenda for its work, decide which questions should be put forward for the discussions and how the latter will proceed.

On March 13, 1955, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace detailed, in the text it adopted relative to the Assembly, the dangers to peace and the objective to be attained: 'The abolition of nuclear weapons, general disarmament, the security of all, respect for the sovereignty and rights of every nation, these must be pursued by the peoples with the energy needed where life itself is at stake'.

On the basis of the views and proposals expressed up till now in various exchanges of views, the Bureau of the World Council has made provisional suggestions for the agenda of the Assembly. The following questions could, in our opinion, be the basis for an extensive and fruitful discussion:

1) Atomic weapons and disarmament.
2) Military blocs. General security. Co-operation between the nations.
3) The independence of nations and the maintenance of peace.

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We appeal to all organisations and individuals who devote part of their efforts to the easing of international tension and the defence of peace to take part in the World Assembly and in the preparations for it.

More than 60 countries have already announced that they are sending delegations, which, together with the representatives of organisations and the individuals who will take part or attend as observers, means that we can expect a total of more than 2,000 participants.

The World Assembly for Peace will be a striking demonstration of the peoples' will to peace. Its results can and must mark an important stage along the road to agreement among all those who want to ensure for mankind a future without fear, mistrust or hatred.

Frederic Joliot-Curie,

Member of the Academy of Sciences
Professor at the College de France

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Eigentumer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaums, Redakteur des Informationsdientes des Sekretariat des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

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Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No 67 March 10, 1955

In this bulletin we present the text of a declaration on the signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war made to the Information Service of the World Council of Peace by the great Soviet composer Dimitri Shostakovich.

The bulletin also contains some news on the latest public figures to signify their agreement with the aims of the campaign by signing the Vienna Appeal.

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STATEMENT BY THE SOVIET COMPOSER DIMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH

THE PEOPLES' WILL IS AN IMMENSE FORCE

The burning problem for all the peoples of our planet is the problem of peace.

Mankind does not want war, because it knows that war makes countless victims and causes terrible suffering and famine. It knows that war destroys the cultural values created by human genius.

In the course of its long history mankind has realised that peaceful co-existence between the peoples and a good understanding between them are the best way of settling all disputes, the only way of making justice provail.

That is why no people has ever wanted war and why war has always evoked a feeling of protest from the peoples, though sometimes this feeling was not suffi ciently active. Human creative genius is eloquent evidence of this opposition to war and of the joy of peaceful work.

Listen carefully to the songs that are composed and sung by the peoples of India and France, Italy and China, Egypt and Poland, and all other countries. They are a magnificant reflection of the ardent desire for peace and creative work.

The peoples are profoundly concerned at the war danger hanging over the world. They want peace and they should rest assured that the march towards an absurd and cruel war can be stopped. As always, the peoples of the world look to scientists, men of culture and art who enjoy their fullest confidence and have the power to unite their thoughts and desires.

We all have the sacred duty to obtain the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. All day and every day, with the determination and the warm support of the people behind us, we must actively oppose any attempts to unleash a fraticidal war.

The decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on the banning of atomic, thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction must be put into application, for they are dictated by the reason of all proggressive mankind, they represent the categorical demand of all the peoples of the world.

Millions of people are now signing the Appeal of the World Council of Peace, which is an historic document. And the peoples' will is an immense force. We remember that the millions of signatures collected for the Stockholm Appeal halted those who want war, that they had to retreat before the determination of the peoples. Thus will it be today. Atomic and thermonuclear weapons must be banned.

The forthcoming World Assembly in Helsinki will have something to say to which the supporters of the policy of strength will have to pay heed.

Men of culture must be in the van of the struggle for the banning of weapons of mass destruction. . Writers, painters and composers must untiringly propagate the ideas of peace and friendship between the peoples and they must condemn those enemies of mankind who are preparing to unleash a world war. The voice of art workers will be heard loud and clear.

Scientists must devote their talent to the people, they must support their struggle for the peaceful use of atomic energy. Soviet scientists have the great merit of being the first to create an atomic power station. Let their foreign colleagues do the same! Let scientists of all countries be proud of atomic power stations, atomic locomotives, atomic ships!

Let the peoples of the world live in friendship and peace and play their part in the great struggle for peace, happiness, prosperity and progress!

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INDIA

In a statement to the press, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S.,M.P. for West Bengal, Director of the Nuclear Physics Institute of Calcutta University, has said:

'At its last session in Vienna, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace demanded the destruction of all stocks of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the immediate stopping of their manufacture...

'The N.A.T.O. Council at its recent session decided to regularise atomic war. This decision obviously undermines world peace and all peoples of the world should protest against it...

'It is the duty of every individual to protest unequivocally against the use of atomic weapons.'

ARGENTINE

Mr. Allende M.P., chairman of the Radical Bloc, and Mr. Ferrer Zanchi have signed the Vienna Appeal and announced their intention of tabling in the Lower House a motion for the banning of atomic weapons. It may be recalled that the Peronista M.P., Mr. Bustos Fierro, tabled a similar motion in the Argentine Parliament.

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THE FIRST SIGNATORIES TO THE APPEAL INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING PUBLIC FIGURES:

BELGIUM

Mr. Emile Cavenaille, industrialist, administrator of the Walloon Economic Council.

HOLLAND

The Reverend Hugo Van Dalen.

DENMARK

The Reverend Aage Damtoft, member of the Bureau of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters.

RUMANIA

Mr. Mihail Sadoveanu, writer, winner of the International Peace Prize for 1950; Mr. Constantinescu Iasi, member of the Academy; Professor Rielaca Ripan, Rector of Cluj University.

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Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6. - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

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March 3, 1955

No 65

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the discovery of artificial radio-activity, Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, gave an interview to Mr. Manuel Alpedrinha of the Portuguese newspaper Republica which is published in Lisbon. In this communique we give extensive extracts from this interview as it appeared in the January 10 number of Republica.

It was with these memories, happy ones for the French scientific world and highly flattering for France - alarmed by the threat of atomic destruction but full of hope in the possibilities offered by atomic energy - that we proposed to visit the man who discovered artificial radioactivity and ask him to give an interview for the readers of Republica. We were accompanied by another scientist of great worth, our fellow countryman Dr. Manuel Valdares, friend and collaborator of the Joliot-Curies and one of Portugal's most brilliant men.

With a smile of profound human sympathy on his expressive face, Professor Joliot-Curie received us in his study at the Collège de France. It was in this room, where perhaps some of the finest dreams of atomic science were discussed, that we told the great French scientist of our desire to hear what he had to say on the greatest problems of our time - the discovery and use of atomic energy - beginning with what he and his wife felt at the particularly exciting time of the first discoveries. Above all, what were their first impressions as scientists and human beings on that famous day in 1934, now so distant?

The reply came quickly:

.— 'The discovery of artificial radioactivity was the result of research by Mrs. Joliot-Curie and myself on the production of neutrons and the emission of positively charged electrons during certain nuclear reactions. Most specialists did not accept the first explanation of this latter phenomenon, the emission of positively charged electrons, which we gave a few months before the discovery itself.

'Confronted with this scepticism, we calmly went on with our work at the Radium Institute. A simple experiment, carried through in less than 20 minutes - I remember it was about eight in the evening in the basement of the Institute - was to convince us that we had "created" a new radioactive element which does not exist in nature.

'I was as happy as a child: I began to run and skip in the vast basement, deserted at that time of day. I was thinking of the consequences that the discovery could have. At the same time we were happy to have rounded off in this way Pierre and Marie Curie's discovery of naturally radioactive elements, made 40 years previously.

'The following morning Marie Curie, director of the Institute, was the first person to see a repetition of the experiment that had given us so much joy.

'We had to continue the work for a few weeks more to verify the chemical identity of the radioactive elements which had been created: radioactive nitrogen from borium and radioactive phosphorus from aluminium. Thus we established for the first time - and this brought added joy - the chemical proof of the transmutation of elements.

'We immediately realised that our discovery could be used for humanitarian purposes and this further increased our happiness.'

.— The world, however, we pointed out, has a less optimistic, has indeed a grievous impression of its first experiences of the power of the atom. The destruction and carnage of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still present in everyone's memory; and then there was the case of the Japanese fishermen who were showered with radioactive ash produced by the explosions in the Pacific. These were consequences of the first discoveries in the field of radioactivity, perhaps their first application on a grand scale!

.— 'Yes, that is true! We ourselves had grave fears after reaching a certain point in our researches, long before the great explosions you have mentioned and other even greater dangers hanging over our heads today.

'When, in 1937, I was nominated professor at the Collège de France, I set up the Laboratory of Nuclear Physics and Chemistry. Immediately after Hahn and Strasmann succeeded in splitting the uranium atom as the result of our discovery of artificial radioactivity three years previously, I gave a physical proof of this fission: I showed the enormous quantity of energy liberated and I predicted that this phenomenon would be accompanied by the emission of neutrons. Indeed, I proved that this happened together with my two former pupils, Halban and Kowarski, and we immediately had the idea that it would be possible to set off diverging chain reactions in a mass of uranium, thus generating energy. This idea of chain reaction had preoccupied me for years and I had even given an account of it at the end of my Nobel lecture in 1935. But this time, in 1939, after the experiment which opened the way for attempting chain reaction with a great probability of success, Halban, Kowarski and myself had long discussions in my study at the Collège de France and we were profoundly disturbed at the possible consequences of such a discovery.

'We clearly saw the two aspects of the problem: the good and the bad, the beneficent and the destructive. Unfortunately, six years later, the world was to learn that nuclear chain reactions had been produced through the horrible news that atom bombs had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki - the most terrible aspect of the discovery.'

.— There is talk of other devices, even more terrible, capable of bringing about important chemical changes on the earth, together with dangerous meteorological changes and transformations in animal and vegetable life .... A horror!

.— 'Indeed it is a horror. Public opinion has already learned many terrible things about the destructive power of the new devices for use in war. We know today that the super hydrogen bomb is prodigiously more destructive than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs.'

.— Do you think that, confronted with such imminent dangers, it is possible to make reason prevail and to avoid catastrophe?

.— 'Certainly. We must explain that the H bomb makes no distinctions, that it would wipe out rich and poor, friends and enemies, liberals and conservatives, capitalists and proletarians, believers and atheists.

'Thus agreement is necessary among all men, but it will only be possible to achieve it when the peoples, justifiably alarmed, impose it.'

.— Yet, if we wanted to go over to the peaceful use of atomic energy, could this be done immediately?

.— 'Undoubtedly. On this matter, there are a lot of people who divert themselves with speculations about the extraordinary things that the peaceful use of atomic energy will achieve in 50 or 100 years' time. But the people are not interested in this type of science fiction. What they want to know is how atomic energy can ameliorate their lives immediately.

'A practical example will show that the peaceful use of atomic energy is already possible. The construction of 30 atomic power stations, each with a capacity of 200,000 kw, would double France's power supply. And one wagon load of uranium would be sufficient to keep these 30 power stations going for a year! One kilogram of uranium is the equivalent of 3,000 tons of coal.'

We did not wish to end our interview with the eminent French scientist without making some reference to our country, so we put one more question to him:

.— Do you think that a little country like Portugal could also benefit from the peaceful applications of atomic energy?

.— 'Portugal, like other countries which have played a leading role at one time or another in world history, fell back before the more rapid industrial development of other regions.

'Now for countries which today are temporarily backward in the industrial sphere the use of atomic energy will have great historical importance, especially if they posses uranium resources as does Portugal.

'However, in my opinion, these countries must do two things. On the one hand, they should carefully preserve their mineral wealth, they should not mortgage for the future resources, the full value of which has not yet been ascertained. On the other hand, they should establish the best possible scientific relations with all countries. The financing of scientists to carry through the peaceful use of atomic energy will be an excellent capital investment. And here it is obvious that the profit will be all the greater if these countries choose the men who are to use this money on the basis of their scientific competence rather than on their powers of adaption and conformism.'

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PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Mollwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No 72 April 21, 1955

J A P A N

M.P.s of various parties prepare Japan's participation in the World Assembly for Peace

A National Preparatory Committee of 120 personalities, on which 40 organisations are represented, has been set up in Japan. Its members include M.P.s of various political parties, such as Mr. Shichiro Matsumoto and Mrs. Natsu Kawasaki, members of the Right Wing Socialist Party; Mr. Gengo Kinoshita, Mr. Orinoshin Tanaka, Mr. Kanemitsu Hososako and Mr. Kozo Inomata, members of the Left Wing Socialist Party; Mr. Makoto Hori, of the Worker-Farmer Party; and Mr. Goro Hani, independent.

The Committee also includes scientists and university teachers such as Professor Hyoe Ouchi, member of the Academy of Sciences and President of the Hosei University; Professor Hiroshi Suekawa, member of the Academy of Sciences and President of Ritsumeikan University; and Professor Shigeto Tsuru of Hitotsubashi University.

The following organisations are represented on the Committee:

The National Union of Railwaymen (membership 400,000)
The Japanese Miners' Union (" 270,000)
The Japanese Peasants' Association
The National Council of Bank Employees" 157,000)
The National Council of Youth Associations
The All Japan Students' Union
The Japanese Congress of Intellectuals.

Mr. Atuyasu Fukuda M.P., deputy general secretary of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Yoshio Namiki M.P., of the Democratic Party, also support the movement to send a big Japanese delegation to the World Assembly.

The Committee has published posters, leaflets and information bulletins on the World Assembly and is organising meetings in every town and even in the villages.

Regional peace congresses are at present being held throughout Japan in preparation for the Japanese Assembly for

Peace which will be held from May 7-9. In these Congresses delegates to the World Assembly and to the National Assembly are elected.

Big national organisations will also be represented at the World Assembly: on March 29, the Congress of the Japanese Peasants' Association decided to send a delegate. Various youth organisations have also elected their representatives.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

'Peace Week' organised for the World Assembly for Peace

While delegates from all over the world are travelling to the Finnish capital, many people will be discussion the World Assembly on the other side of the world, in far-off South Africa. For the South African Peace Council has asked that the week May 16-22 be observed as 'Peace Week'. During this week the Peace Movement will do intensive work for the World Assembly and for the signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war.

Targets will be set in the collection of signatures and stalls will be put up in the streets. Ministers of religion have been asked to devote their sermons to peace that week and many meetings on the Assembly and the campaign will be held. For example, there will be a big meeting in the Transvaal with Professor Bleksley, Professor of Applied Mathematics at Witwatersrand University, as the main speaker.

The results obtained during the week will be cabled to the World Assembly.

MIDDLE CONGO

It is announced that there will be an important delegation from the Middle Congo at the Assembly.

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland will send a ten-man delegation to the World Assembly. The Geneva sections of the Union of Post Office Workers, the Union of

Watchmakers and the Metalworkers' Federation will send one delegate each.

N O R W A Y

The Norwegion section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation will send its President, the Rev. Ragnar Forbeck, First Chaplain of Oslo Cathedral, to Helsinki as an observer.

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Eigentumer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

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OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No 70 April 15, 1955

F I N L A N D - The United Organisation of Work for Peace elects Secretary of National Centre of the Social Democratic Youth as delegate to World Assembly.

The United Organisation of Work for Peace has decided to take part in the World Assembly in Helsinki. It will be represented by its Secretary, Mr. Pentti Sulonen, who is also Secretary of the National Centre of the Social Democratic Youth.

Furthermore, the United Organisation of Work for Peace has recommended its member organisations to send delegates to the Assembly as well. Among these organisations are: the Social Democratic Party, the Finnish T.U.C., the National Centre of the Co-operative Movement and the Social-Democratic Women's Organisation.

J A P A N - One card equals 140 yards of the 6,000 mile journey from Tokyo to Helsinki.

It is 6,000 miles from Tokyo to Helsinki... and the travelling expenses of the Japanese delegation will be heavy.

To raise the necessary money, two cards have been published and put on sale.

One of them bears a picture of a dove and the other a reproduction of the 'Fujiyama', a painting by the famous Japanese artist Hokusai (1760-1849).

They are sold under the slogan 'one card to every 140 yards', since the price of each card represents the fare for 140 yards of the 6,000 mile journey. Thus the sale of 30,000 cards will cover the fare for one delegate.

F R A N C E - National Assembly for Peace issues Appeal for World Assembly to the People of France.

The French National Assembly for Peace was held at Drancy on April 2 and 3, and was attended by many public figures of different religious and political opinions. The Assembly made an appeal to public opinion concerning the World Assembly, calling for a French delegation which would be 'fully representative of all political circles and all social circles.'

The following are some important extracts from the Appeal:

'The revival of German militarism means that France is in danger of losing her security and her position as a great power.

'France is also in danger of becoming a target for atomic weapons.

'Men and women of France, you must unite and demand now that the French Government keeps its promise to negotiate.

'Negotiate for the peaceful solution of the German problem before the Wehrmacht is revived. Negotiate in Asia so that the peace in Indo-China shall not be a mere truce and so that France can establish bonds of friendship and co-operation with the people of Viet-Nam. Negotiate for a close and fraternal association with the peoples of the French overseas possessions before new war centres spring up.

'Negotiate for the destruction of all atomic bombs and for disarmament, before the armaments race results in the catastrophe of a third world war...

'The National Assembly for Peace, meeting at Drancy on April 2-3, makes a solemn appeal to French public opinion to take part in the World Assembly for Peace which will open in Helsinki on May 22, by sending a delegation fully representative of all political and social circles.

'Men and women of France, you are united in your solidarity. Only your united action can r gain the independence of France.

'Men and women of France, you are united in your solidarity with all the peoples of the world: with them, since you are faced with a common danger, you will seek the salvation of all in peace and negotiation.'

The Appeal was adopted unanimously by the 2,214 participants who included representatives of diverse opinions and beliefs: Gaullists, Communists, Radicals, Socialists, Catholics and Protestants.

M E X I C O - Mexican National Assembly for Peace and Security called by 121 individuals and 31 Organisations.

The Mexican National Assembly for Peace and Security, which was held following on an appeal of 121 individuals and 31 organisations, expressed the Mexican people's determination to contribute to the success of the World Assembly for Peace.

It is already decided that Mexico will be represented at Helsinki by 20 delegates.

Among those who took part in the Mexican Assembly were:
General Heriberto Jara Corona, former government minister; Mr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American workers; the famous film star Rosaura Revueltas; Mr. Manuel Ruiz, representing the congregation of the Jesuit church at Oaxaca; Mr. Enrique Cabrera, Mr. Mario Salazar Mallen and Mr. Guillermo Montano, all three representing scientific circles; and the painter Miguel Covarrubias.

The World Council of Peace was represented by Mrs. Isabelle Blume, Secretary of the Council. Mr. Jose Giral, former Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic also took part in the Assembly, and a message of support was received from General Lazaro Cardena former President of the Mexican Republic.

Round the World

GREAT BRITAIN - Two special planes have been chartered to take Britain's delegates to Helsinki. The industrial area of West Yorkshire has elected four delegates including a Labour Party County Councillor and an Anglican vicar. Many ministers of religion have shown a keen interest in the World Assembly and several have said that they would like to take part.

JAPAN - In the important Japanese town of Musashino-Shi (pop.80,000) a mass rally was organised by the Council for the collection of signatures against the A and H bombs. The townsfolk chose the mayor to represent them at the World Assembly.

CHILE - The latest news from Chile indicates that the Chilean delegation will be composed of at least 25 persons, most of them elected at assemblies. Among them is Professor Leonardo Guzman, director of the Radium Institute.

AUSTRALIA - Two eminent figures in public life will represent the State of Victoria: the Reverend Neil Glover, Vicar of St. Mathias Church, Richmond and Mr. Sam Goldbloom, a businessman prominent in the Jewish community.

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Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6, - Verantwortlicher Redakteur Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

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Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No.68 March 16, 1955

In this communique we give extracts from a statement made by the Swedish writer Artur Lundkvist at a press conference held in Vienna on March 14 after the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (March 11-13).

'As a Swede, I come from a neutral country which is not involved in any pact whatsoever and which has tried, not unsuccessfully, to achieve a reasonable balance between socialism and capitalism.

'As a writer, I have made long journeys on every continent except Australia, and I have been able to see capitalism, colonialism and communism in different places and in their various forms.

'None of these systems appears to me beyond criticism...

'It is an undeniable fact that almost half of mankind already lives under communist regimes. We in the West who are not Communists - I myself work for the leading newspaper of the Swedish Social Democratic Party - but who are looking for a just and reasonable solution to world problems, must demand that ways be found to make possible peaceful co-existence with the communist part of the world. To divide the world into two halves, and then to do everything possible to wipe out whichever half one does not live in oneself, can only lead to the suicide of mankind.

'In the West, they readily describe the World Council of Peace as a communist movement, and draw the conclusion that they must have nothing to do with it. The World Council is obviously partly communist, since otherwise it would not deserve its name of World Peace Movement. And if it were not a worldwide movement for peace, it could not fundamentally be a peace movement. No activity for peace, if it is to have any importance, can any longer be carried on solely in one half of the world...

'In the present situation, I consider that the World Council of Peace offers the only possibility of really working for peace, which is the most urgent of all tasks...

'Evil decisions were recently taken in London and Paris - the decision to equip the Atlantic Pact forces with atomic weapons and, on this basis, to rearm Germany, which means giving it atomic weapons. Moreover, Great Britain has suddenly taken the decision to join in the frantic atomic arms race by making hydrogen bombs...

'They talk about conventional atomic weapons which would be used for defence or in tactical operations...

'The idea of using atomic weapons as defensive weapons is unreasonable in itself. These are weapons of mass destruction and they can only be used as such. It will be a case of being the first to strike and destroying the enemy if possible with one blow. They will not content themselves with a restricted

attack with conventional atomic weapons and then sit down afterwards to wait for the enemy's counter-attack, since this might probably be an attack with hydrogen bombs, in other words, total destruction. The meaning of these statements about the atomic weapon being a defensive weapon can only be the intention of being the first to strike and that in the most destructive possible way.

'And again, why would they make hydrogen bombs so feverishly if they do not intend to use them?

'There is another sort of argument which is used to mislead public opinion.

'It is said that peace can be preserved by arming oneself with hydrogen bombs. The possibilities of destruction would be so terrible that no one would dare to start a war. Thus the countries would ruin themselves merely in order to create an atmosphere of mutual and paralysing terror, and this without any guarantee that war would not be unleashed after all. Is it really impossible for us to think of a better solution?...

'Probably all of us have the disagreeable feeling that this drive to atomic war is going on behind our backs without our opinion being asked for and without our having the chance to exert any influence on this drive...

'For us Swedes it is incomprehensible that our nearest neighbours, Norway and Denmark, should take part in the re-establishment of a German army equipped with atomic weapons. This means that the murderers who were overthrown yesterday are today being put back into positions which are even more dangerous than those which they occupied previously. It can justly be considered as being Hitler's final victory...

'It often seems that this fascination for disaster that was Hitler's is widespread in the West. Only it seems that they want to make this disaster as widespread and as complete as possible. We can understand how these hallucinations of catastrophe and the disappearance of mankind, or at least the annihilation of civilisation, arise. Theoretically this is possible, but in reality we must clearly count on mankind's will to live, a will which must be strong enough to avert the threat in time...

'The whole world is threatened, and so the whole world must face up to the threat. The war danger in any part of the world is a threat to all, wherever they may be. We must expect that henceforth every war will be an atomic war. That is why the tension arising from the Formosa situation is so dangerous. The atomic weapons possessed by the American forces stationed on this island imply a frightful danger, at the same time as they obviously constitute a challenge and incredible blackmail towards China.

'What is needed today is the irresistible anger of the peoples against governments who are preparing for atomic war and refusing to negotiate and reduce their armaments. We must first of all demand that atomic weapons must be banned and destroyed and that this imminent danger of a world catastrophe be averted. Next, we demand that disarmament continue, so that agreements may be concluded which will put an end to war as a form of international relations. Peaceful co-existence is possible and absolutely necessary. The different social systems can and must exist side by side. But, at the same time, it must

be made possible for every people to be independent and to have the right to self-determination. That is the primary condition for co-existence and peace.

'It is in this light that I, for my part, see the task confronting the World Council of Peace: to awaken the conscience of everyone to the danger of mass extermination and to indicate the possibilities that exist for each one of us to work for disarmament, the relaxation of tension and peaceful negotiation. I call on everyone to play their part in this work.'

---ooOoo---

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXll, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

Special Issue March 14, 1955

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace met in Vienna from March 11-14. The subjects discussed were the development of the world campaign against the preparations for atomic war and the World Assembly for Peace which will be held in Helsinki from May 22 to 29, 1955.

This press bulletin contains the texts adopted by the Bureau.

FOR A WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

The open threat of an atomic war is from now on suspended over every country, every home, every man, woman and child.

Instead of atomic energy being made to serve mankind, ghastly weapons are being piled up. Instead of disarmament, fresh military blocs are being put together. Instead of negotiation and agreement, there are threats and hate-propaganda.

But threats and force are the road to war, not to peace.

The rearmament of Germany, the Taiwan (Formosa) situation, interference with the independence of peoples, are multiplying discord and anxiety. If mankind should go further along this path, there will be no safety anywhere.

Mankind will not allow this to go on. Its conscience is revolted by the idea of atomic slaughter.

The abolition of nuclear weapons, general disarmament, the security of all, respect for the sovereignty and rights of every nation, these must be pursued by the peoples with the energy needed where life itself is at stake.

It is in this spirit and with these aims that the World Council of Peace has invited supporters of peace from every country to come together in Helsinki on May 22, 1955 in a World Assembly, there to discuss freely questions of the action urgent to preserve peace.

Vienna, March 13, 1955

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

In every country in the world, the Appeal of the World Council of Peace in favour of the destruction of atomic weapons and the stopping of their manufacture is rousing the conscience of all who are horrified at the prospect of a war of extermination. It meets the hopes of those who confidently believe that the peoples can prevent atomic slaughter.

We greet the many organisations and prominent personalities, indeed all, who, in various ways, are protesting against the preparation of atomic war.

The danger of atomic war has become more concrete. Statesmen are freely threatening to use thermonuclear weapons. Governments which as yet do not possess them have decided to make them or are considering their manufacture. Attempts are being made to justify employment of these frightful weapons or to present their existence as a guarantee of peace, whereas in fact they increase the danger of aggression and can bring mankind only death and destruction.

The signature campaign is the means whereby the universal detestation of atomic weapons can so express itself as to induce all governments possessing them to agree to their abolition under strict control, an agreement which would constitute an important step toward general disarmament.

The peoples can make their voices heard so loud that no government will dare to face their disapproval.

Vienna, March 13,1955

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger:Roland Vuillaume,Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates,Wien IV,Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

PRESS BULLETIN

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OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Estate-Haus, Möllwaldplatz 5, Wien IV

No. 84 May 28, 1955

In this issue:

- Indian M.P.s for World Assembly
- Representative Australian Delegation
- Polish Foreign Affairs Expert's Reply to Mr. Capitant

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INDIAN M.P.s TO TAKE PART IN WORLD ASSEMBLY

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru's Support

High Priest of Rameshwaram Temple will Attend

In India the preparations for the World Assembly for Peace are being supported by all parties in parliament. Among those who are taking part in the preparations is Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru. First names to be announced as taking part include a Socialist M.P., Hindu religious leaders, scientists, writers and business men.

The Indian delegation to the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki, June 22-29, will include a representative group of political and parliamentary figures. Among Congress people great interest in the preparation of the Indian representation is being shown by Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru and Shri Sailo Mukerjee, Speaker of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The first delegates to be announced as taking part include Dr. Choitrain Gidwani, M.P., Praja Socialist Party, Professor Meghnad Saha, M.P., founder-director of the Nuclear Physics Institute at Calcutta University, Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, M.P., formerly Assistant Director of the World Health Organisation, and Shri Ganadharan, M.P., Speaker of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly.

The High Priest of the Temple of Rameshwaram, Rajagopal Sastrigal, and Yogi Suddhananda Bharati have accepted invitations to take part. They are two of the best-known leaders of the Hindu religion.

Other delegates include: Shri Jainendra Kumar Jain and Shri Upendraneth Ask, two well-known Hindu authors; film stars Raj Kapoor, Nargis and Balraj Sahni, hero of the film 'Two Acres of Land'; Shri P.M. Chauhan, industrialist, council member of the All India Chamber of Commerce; and Shri Vijayakar, president of the Mahrata Chamber of Commerce, Bombay.

REPRESENTATIVE AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION

Well-known Trade Union Leader

Among the leading members of the Australian delegation to the World Assembly will be:

Mr. F. Nieass, General Secretary,
South Australian Government Workers' Union

Mr. Vance Palmer, writer

The Rev. Rees Thomas, President of Queensland State
Council of Churches

Mr. Nieass was for nine years a member of the state parliament and has been active in the Labour Party for over 40 years. He is taking part in the Assembly with the agreement of his party.

Mr. Vance Palmer is a radio commentator and writer known throughout Australia; he was formerly Chairman of the Commonwealth Literary Fund.

The Rev. Rees Thomas is minister of the principal Congregational Church in Brisbane and will be taking part as an observer on behalf of the Queensland Council of Churches.

Over 30 Australians will be travelling to Europe for the Assembly; they include trade unionists, business men, educationists, doctors and clergymen.

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VICE-PRESIDENT POLISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION REPLIES TO MR. RENE CAPITANT

Will Attend Helsinki Assembly

Among the delegates to the World Assembly from Poland will be Mr. Ostap Dluski, Vice-President of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Polish Diet (Parliament). Answering a recent broadcast interview given by Mr. René Capitant, Minister of Education in General de Gaulle's Government, Mr. Dluski says in a statement given to the review 'Horizons' and published in Paris today:

'I don't think it needs much explanation to make Frenchmen understand why the remilitarisation of Germany and its incorporation in a military bloc has roused the Polish nation to very vigorous protest and strengthened its resolution to do everything necessary to ensure our country's security and independence...

'It is this desire to defend national independence and security

which is at the basis of the agreement on friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, which was concluded by eight European States in Warsaw on May 14. The Warsaw Treaty is a defensive treaty par excellence, its conclusion is the natural response of these eight peoples who see themselves threatened by the determination to make German militarism serve as an instrument of oppression against their countries. "Salus rei publicae suprema lex."

'The great significance of Helsinki is that we shall not go there with identical and untouchable conceptions. We do not all formulate things in the same way in every case. But the give and take of arguments, the sincere discussion and the mutual understanding which Helsinki should make possible will lead the participants to agree on certain points in the interest of peace.'

----oOo----

Eigentumer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 - Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48.

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Special Issue June 14, 1955

A Message from Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth of Belgium in Support of the World Assembly in Helsinki

Her Majesty Queen Elisabeth of Belgium has sent the following message to Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace:

'Today it is not enough to express one's devotion to peace in words: one must defend it actively by increasing the number of such actions as yours.

'It is for this reason that I wish that the World Assembly for Peace to be held in Helsinki may achieve its aims and so make its contribution to the cause of understanding between the peoples and of peace - essential conditions for culture and progress.

Elisabeth

June 1955.'

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume Verantwortlicher - Redakteur: Gertrude Kaufmann, beide Wien IV, Möllwaldplatz 5.

SERVICE D'INFORMATION
DU CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
PALAIS SIA JÁNSKÁ 100 PRAGUE TCH.

THE GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE.

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The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

The end of hostilities in Korea was a victory for the cause of peace.

The latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding in the near future of a Four Power Conference on the German question is possible.

The idea of ending hostilities and reaching a peaceful solution in Indochina is making progress both in France and in Vietnam.

But forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. Negotiations cannot be realised if one party is confronted by the other with accomplished facts: the desire for negotiation cannot be present if conditions are created to make it fail.

In Asia and in Europe, there are situations and conflicts which are especially endangering World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The intention to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests could cause the failure of negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the quickest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers - the United States, the U. S. S. R., Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into the war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the Treaties concerning the European Army and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to agreement on the German problem between the Four Powers, thereby offering the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and giving to all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

For the last seven years there has been war between France and Viet Nam which can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegation made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always affirmed that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitutes a threat both to the peoples' independence and to peace.

Such a policy is also being developed in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. It shows itself in Europe, particularly by the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain, in Asia by the foreign occupation and the intensification of the rearmament of Japan, and in Pakistan where the United States is trying to set up military bases. This latest effort threatens to bring about a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments race and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction, impose an intolerable burden on the world, and constitute a frightful menace.

The World Council of Peace, has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its Stockholm Appeal campaign and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters, and hopes that steps will be taken to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control.

The World Council of Peace finally emphasises that, whilst negotiation is necessary on each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

This Conference would be able, on the initiative of each of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension, and could seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the Chinese Peoples' Republic her rightful place in the Councils of the World is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interests of all states and is judged more and more severely by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about lasting peace. The peoples should strive to ensure respect for the Charter. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations to develop their economic resources, their well-being and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the misery and the difficulties of everyday life imposed upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments race, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

Vienna, 28th November, 1953.

PRESS BULLETIN

PUBLISHED BY THE INFORMATION SERVICE
OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Palais S.I.A.

No 34 25th February, 1954.

SUMMARY

- Prominent Frenchmen propose meeting of members of Parliament and public figures from the six countries affected by the EDC.
- Six hundred German businessmen and industrialists demand expansion of trade between the two parts of Germany.
- France - a million signatures against the EDC collected in the Seine Department.
- Opposition to the EDC in Italy.
- 2,000 Japanese attend "National Congress for Protection of the 'Peace Constitution'"
- Mass rally at Tel-Aviv for a just peace between Israel and the Arab States.
- The Finnish National Peace Congress.
- Senor Pablo Casals condemns the Washington-Madrid Bilateral Pact.

PROMINENT FRENCHMEN PROPOSE MEETING OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND PUBLIC FIGURES FROM THE SIX COUNTRIES AFFECTED BY THE EDC

Prominent Frenchmen have sent an invitation to Members of Parliament and representatives of big organisations in the six countries affected by the EDC to attend a Meeting in Paris on March 20th and 21st. It will be the occasion for an exchange of views and for laying the foundation for joint action against EDC by the six countries.

Here is the text of the invitation as given in the Press of Paris, and the list of signatories:

"The present plans for a European Army are creating grave apprehension in all the countries affected.

"The injury done to the principles of national sovereignty by this Treaty endangers not only the independence of the nations; even more, it endangers the political foundation of liberty.

"Further, however much hope we may place in the peaceful, democratic development of Germany in a Europe at peace, we can only express our thoroughly justifiable anxiety at a Treaty which will put the European forces at the disposal of German militarism - as disastrous for Germany as for her neighbours.

"We declare that other roads are opening before our peoples, which will enable them to reach understanding for the preservation of Peace, the guaranteeing of their security and the improvement of their standard of living.

"Therefore, irrespective of our differences and as men who see the extent of our responsibility to our country and to the people of all the other countries of Europe, we call for a Meeting of Members of Parliament, representatives of big organisations and public figures in the six countries who share our fears.

"We invite them to meet in Paris on March 20th and 21st for an exchange of views and to decide on common action."

Philippe D'Argenlieu, Senator; Vincent Badie, Deputy; Philippe Barrès, Deputy; Maurice Béné, Deputy; Claude Bourdet, director of the newspaper "L'Observateur d'Aujourd'hui"; Henri Bouret, Deputy; Michel Bruguier, barrister in the Court of Appeal in Paris; René Capitant, Professor of Law in the University of Paris and former Minister; Laurent Casanova, Deputy; and former Minister; Gilbert de Chambrun, Deputy; Albert Chatelet, Honorary Dean

of the Faculty of Science in the University of Paris; Edouard Daladier, Deputy and former President of the Council of Ministers; Michel Debré, Senator, delegate to the Council of Europe; Jacques Debu-Bridel, Senator; André Denis, Deputy; Jean-Marie Domenach, Editor of the review "Esprit"; Albert Forcinal, Deputy and former Minister; Léo Hamon, Senator; Emile Kahn, President of the League of Human Rights; Jacques Kayser, publicist; Dr. Antoine Lacassagne, Professor at the College de France; Professor Bernard Lavergne, Professor of Law at the University of Paris; Dr. Francis Le Basser, Senator, President of the General Council of the Department of Mayenne; Louis Marin, former Minister; Robert Merle, Prix Goncourt; Edmond Michelet, Senator and former Minister; Etienne Nouveau, barrister at the Court of Appeal in Paris; Michel de Pontbriand, Senator; Paul Rivet, Director of the "Musée de l'Homme" and former Deputy; Jacques Soustelle, Deputy and former Minister; Henri Torrès, Senator and barrister at the Court of Appeal in Paris; Professor Edmond Vermeil, Professor Emeritus at the Sorbonne.

#

SIX HUNDRED GERMAN BUSINESSMEN AND INDUSTRIALISTS DEMAND AN EXPANSION OF TRADE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTS OF GERMANY

Six hundred businessmen and industrialists from the Federal Republic and West Berlin took part in "The National German Assembly on Economic Questions" held in Berlin on February 10th.

As a result of its work the Assembly demanded the raising of all obstacles to economic relations between the two parts of Germany and the opening of trade talks with the Soviet Union and China. A provisional committee was set up to intensify the action for an expansion of interzonal trade. It is composed of 15 representatives from the Federal Republic, two from West Berlin and ten from the German Democratic Republic.

#

APPEAL TO YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC FOR ACTION TO BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL UNIFICATION

A Declaration signed by 34 public figures calls on the youth of the Federal German Republic to gather together in Heidelberg on March 28th for a "Youth Day".

The Declaration states:

"Continued division, or 'military' liberation' (of the Eastern Zone) would mean civil war, that is, another catastrophe for the people and the country. Soldiers and weapons are not the way to create understanding among Germans.

"The draft decree on volunteers which is soon to be followed by that on compulsory military service would deepen the division of Germany and increase world tension.

"Young people in Germany must put an end to these dangerous developments. We shall only succeed by uniting and taking action for the peaceful unification of our country."

The signatories to the declaration included:

Frau Christa Thomas, writer; Pastor Kurt Essen; Herr Friedel Bähr, Chairman of a Works Committee; Herr Friedrich Ferbert, a militant Catholic from the Reconciliation Movement; Herr Friedrich Bälz, a war casualty and member of the War Resisters' International; Dr. Hermann and Pastor Eberhard Lempp, etc.

#

FRANCE -

A MILLION SIGNATURES AGAINST THE EDC COLLECTED IN THE SEINE DEPARTMENT

There is no let up in the French people's action to force the rejection of the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

The Peace Council of the Seine Department, on February 17th, issued a balance sheet summarising six weeks activity. It showed that a million signatures had been collected in the Department. A Departmental Peace Congress has been called for March 21st and the Seine Peace Council asks all friends of Peace to collect another million signatures by this date.

#

THE CAMPAIGN OF OPPOSITION TO THE EDC IS REACHING NEW SECTIONS OF THE ITALIAN PUBLIC

The campaign of opposition to the EDC and German rearmament is reaching new and broader sections of the public in Italy.

In Naples, Senator Arturo Labriola gave a lecture on the EDC and the serious consequences it would have, at a meeting of lawyers held in the offices of the Bar Association. Some of the most prominent people at the Naples Bar were present.

A debate on the theme "For or against the EDC" was held in the hall of the Azumi Grammar School at Sassari in Sardinia. Similar debates with the European Federalists have been held in Milan, Turin, Genoa and other towns. They have helped to strengthen the opposition to the EDC.

All the municipal councillors of the commune of Campegine, Reggio d'Emilia, including the Christian Democrats, passed a motion condemning the EDC.

Lastly, protest demonstrations took place in the factories and localities of Taranto on the occasion of a visit by the US Seventh Fleet.

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JAPAN -

2000 JAPANESE ATTEND "NATIONAL CONGRESS

FOR

PROTECTION OF THE 'PEACE CONSTITUTION'"

Almost 2,000 representatives of trade unions, political parties and cultural organisations attended the National Congress for the Protection of the 'Peace Constitution', in Tokyo on February 15th.

The purpose of the Congress is explained by the following passage from the resolution which was adopted and sent to Premier Yoshida, the Diet and party leaders:

"There is a world trend towards the settlement of international issues through negotiations. Yet reactionary elements in Japan are trying to reverse her peaceful Constitution at the instigation of a foreign country in order to facilitate the rearmament of Japan."

The Japanese people will not permit this revision of the Constitution to take place, the resolution adds: To protect Japan from a new war and public life from further ruination, the Japanese people, by uniting their efforts throughout the country, will crush any such attempt.

The Congress was sponsored by the "National Federation for the Protection of the Constitution" which is composed of 150 men and women representatives of the trade unions, professional unions in the medium and small enterprises, of various political parties, youth, students', women's and peasants' organisations, religious bodies and of the "Japanese Council of Science."

Among those who founded this Federation were:

Mr. Tetsu Katayama, a former Prime Minister (subsequently elected Chairman of the Federation); Mr. Jotaru Kawami, President of the Executive Committee of the Right-wing Socialist Party; Mr. Mosaburo Suzuki, President of the Left-wing Socialist Party; Mr. Hisso Kuropa, President of the Peasants' and Workers' Party; Mr. Hatsiro Arita, former Foreign Minister (subsequently elected one of the Vice-Presidents of the Federation); Mr. Akira Kazami, former General Secretary of the Cabinet and formerly Minister of Justice (also elected a Vice-President); Rivi Nayakama, a Buddhist Dignitary and Mr. Minoru Takano, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour.

Against the Rearmament Budget

Meanwhile there is extensive activity against Premier Yoshida's rearmament budget for this fiscal year.

In January, some 1,500 delegates of the 3,000,000-strong General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and Associations of Doctors and Nurses rallied in protest against the budget cut in social insurance funds. At the same time an "In Defence of Living Standards Committee" was set up in Tokyo by the National Relief Association of Japan to oppose the cuts.

On January 29th and 30th, a public discussion was held in Tokyo sponsored by the General Council at which Kihachiro Kimura, Upper House Member of the Labour-Farmer Party of Japan and Setsuo Yokomichi, Lower House Member of the Left-wing Socialist Party, attacked the budget.

The rearmament budget will ruin agriculture and endanger Japan's Peace and independence, declared a conference of 2,000 delegates representing peasants' and 23 fishermens' organisations, in Tokyo on February 1st.

On February 20th, 28,000 members of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan at 40 public meetings in Tokyo passed resolutions calling upon all trade unions to prevent the adoption of the rearmament budget, to oppose the US Mutual Security Administration "aid" and to protect the Constitution.

#

MASS RALLY AT TEL-AVIV FOR A JUST PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES AND AGAINST THE REMILITARISATION OF WESTERN GERMANY

A mass rally against the remilitarisation of Western Germany and for Peace between Israel and the Arab States was held at the beginning of the year in one of the largest public halls in Tel-Aviv.

It was held on the initiative of the National Peace Committee and aroused wide interest, as was made evident by the attitude of the Israeli Press which pointed out how successful it had been. The Liberal paper "Naaretz" gave a long report on it and articles and analyses appeared in the "Jerusalem Post" (English language), "Znamin" (progressive Zionist) and "Eatzofeh" (paper of religious circles). "Davar", which is usually unsympathetic to the Israeli Peace Movement, also printed information on the demonstration.

The audience was large and enthusiastic. In his opening speech, Mr. Meir Yaari, President of the Israeli Peace Committee, called on his fellow citizens to fight for a just peace between Israel and the Arab States.

An appeal was adopted calling on the people of Israel "to join the national campaign for peace between Israel and the Arab States and against the remilitarisation of Western Germany."

#

1,700 DELEGATES ATTEND THE FINNISH NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

Nearly 1,700 delegates took part in the Finnish National Peace Congress held in Helsinki on February 22nd.

After the opening speech by Governor Vainö Meltti, President of the Finnish Peace Movement, Professor Felix Iversen, Professor Göran von Bonsdorff and Pastor Armas Tolsa presented reports which formed the basis of the discussion that followed.

The speakers noted the many meetings taking place throughout the country which express the Finnish people's demand that international issues be solved through negotiation. The discussion also showed that the people of Finland want the unification of Germany on a democratic and peaceful basis and demand the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and a reduction of armaments.

Representatives of the Peace Movement of the Soviet Union, Sweden and Hungary brought greetings to the Congress.

According to statistics drawn up at the end of 1953, the Finnish Peace Movement has 700 local committees throughout the country.

#

SENOR PABLO CASALS CONDEMNS THE WASHINGTON-MADRID BILATERAL PACT

On the request of the Spanish Peace Movement, Senor Pablo Casals made a statement which was printed in the Movement's paper , "Espana y la Paz."

The famour virtuoso expressed himself in these terms:

"I refrain from any expression of political opinion since I belong to no party or group, though some people wish upon me labels which I disclaim. My life is devoted to the defence of human liberties and the right to a peaceful life, which would permit the spread of culture and well-being. I declare that the present situation can only be solved if the USA and Russia agree to settle their differences by a compromise.

"As to the bilateral pact between Franco and the USA, it is a disgrace for which both Franco and the Government of the USA are to blame."

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+ +

Many other prominent Spanish people have issued an address to all Spaniards strongly condemning the bilateral military pact between Washington and Madrid.

The signatories include:

Sra. Isabel O. De Palencia, diplomat; Thomas Bilbao, architect and former Minister; Honorato de Castro, university professor; E. Halffter, composer; General J. Hernandez Sarabia; Manuel Marquez, University Professor and former Dean of the University of Madrid, Member of the World Council of Peace; J. Moreno Villa, writer; L. Nicolau D'Olwer, university professor; Dr. Rivas Sherif; Marti Rouret, teacher; Thomas Expressato, and so on.

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Documentation on Bacteriological Warfare

BULLETIN No. 18
14th June 1952

published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
Palais SIA - Prague

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three of us here and Wilfred Burchett who will translate my questions and operate the magnetophone which will record this conversation.
" Here is our first question : What prompted you to decide to give your testimony? "

Quinn:

" Mainly my own conscience. I believed such warfare wrong. Then there was the sincerity of the Chinese volunteers and their decent treatment of prisoners."

M. Farge:

" According to what you just told us, then, you have not been submitted to any torture, nor to any moral or physical force?"

Quinn:

" No. Before I was shot down I was told that from what could be learned, prisoners were not being shot or tortured. But the truth is that the possibility of such things happening was in my mind. I definitely believed that the Chinese - that is Orientals in general - had little regard for human life, that torturing other people was something they enjoyed. Their minds were complex, a mystery that could not be understood by Westerners. Steel and wooden splinters under the finger-nails, starvation, mental and other physical tortures which I had read about, were in my mind. Even when I was treated kindly and noticed that none of the prisoners had anything but kind words for their treatment by the Chinese, it was a long time before things looked brighter. Being questioned about bacteriological warfare, brought back these doubts. Later, after my conscience demanded that I admit my part in bacteriological warfare, I found that those doubts were certainly unwarranted. At no time have I been treated in any way but kindly. My testimony was not in the least affected by this kind treatment."

M. Farge:

" You believe that, under these conditions, if a man wishes to be worthy of the name, his duty is to denounce war-crimes - and germ warfare, the most frightful of such crimes - even if he is a soldier?"

Quinn:

" Yes. My duty in this case is to the people, not only of the United States, but of the world. This comes before military duty".

M. Farge:

" Thus it was in discussing with officers of the Chinese People's Volunteers that you were lead to realise your responsibilities?"

./.

Quinn:

" Yes. At all times the Chinese Volunteers who questioned me were understanding. Many Chinese talked to me. They were all kind. All their questions impinged upon my conscience. I already understood the disaster that this type of warfare posed for humanity. I easily understand the need to halt it now. Later, thourgh discussions, I came to realise that I could play a part in helping to outlaw germ warfare. Then, when I finally became convinced that the Chinese Volunteers wanted my testimony for this purpose - to be used for the people of the world and not against the United States - that my testimony would benefit the people of the United States as well as the rest of the world - that I would not be testifying against the people of the United States but only against a handful of in sane people who call themselves Americans, I voluntarily admitted my part in germ warfare and what I know about it."

M. Farge:

" You were led to believe that the Yellow races were inferior people, that Communists are contemptible being. You have confirmed here the immensity of this lie by stating that your comrades who are prisoners were well-treated, while it states that they are tortured. The main thing now is for us all to fight against war propaganda in such a way that all people are determined to see this through in the same way as you are doing. "

Quinn:

" I quite agree. It is necessary to fight against racialism and against hatred."

M. Farge:

" In your deposition, you name 21 other officers, soldiers and civilians who, like yourself, knew of preparations for germ warfare. Some actually took part in it. Do you state on your honour that the names you mentioned are exact, that these people do exist, that they were your colleagues and comrades, or that they briefed you ?"

Quinn:

" These people do exist and were my colleagues. The names I have cited are exact to the best of my knowledge."

M. Farge:

" It goes without saying that those whom you cited are not free to disclose the truth. Terrible pressure weighs on them as it did on you. All the same we have confirmed that bacterial warfare is being carried on and on a large scale. It has been prepared for a long time and in the minutest detail, involving large resources, which presupposes that

./.

a large number of Americans know what you know. Would you appeal to their consciences to play their part in exposing this menace to humanity?"

Quinn:

" I appeal not only to them but to anyone who is capable of helping in the complete outlawing of germ warfare so that it will never be used again. I never heard of any religion which advocated the use of a weapon the very form of which makes it most effective against civilians - women and children."

M. Farge:

" Are you a religious man?"

Quinn:

" Yes. I am a Catholic".

M. Farge:

" You know that there are many Catholics - priests and monks who are members of the Peace Movement?"

Quinn:

" Yes I learnt that only after I was shot down."

M. Farge:

" Would you like me to take a letter back with me send to your wife in Europe; to write her saying that I talked with you and that you are in good health and spirits?"

Quinn:

" I certainly would."

M. Farge:

" Quinn, the fight for Peace demands plenty of courage. You have got plenty. Your gesture will be honoured by the American people when, alltogether, we have done everything it is necessary to do to expose the crimes of germ warfare and the lies behind which they are committed. We are well on the way to doing this. You have rendered an immense service to the people of the world and above all to the people of the United States."

-:-

(The interview was recorded on a magnetophone).

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE CORRESPONDENCE 1951-54 12/8

Robeson

District 11 Council ✦ UE

UNITED ELECTRICAL, RADIO & MACHINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

37 South Ashland Blvd. ✦ Chicago 7, Illinois ✦ Telephone TAylor 9-8300

JUN 11 1951

June 7, 1951

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
American Peace Crusade,
1186 Broadway
New York, New York

Re: World Peace Fellowship

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

This morning Reverend Paul W. Caton of the Methodist Church here in Chicago, Mrs. Yolanda Hall and I, acting as a subcommittee of the Illinois Assembly of the American Peace Crusade, set forth some tentative plans for the establishment of a Chicago Chapter of the World Peace Fellowship, which it is our understanding will be a subordinate body of the American Peace Crusade.

A number of individuals were suggested for both the Chicago and National Fellowship. These we shall contact prior to the Crusade in Chicago.

It is our present thinking that the Fellowship will initiate and foster corresponding committees amongst the various nations and peoples of the world to exchange information with the hope of promoting better understanding as a basis for peace amongst the peoples of the world.

As the work of this committee develops, we shall keep you informed.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST DE MAIO
District President

EDeM/m
CC: Philip Morrison
Paul Robeson
Tom Richardson
Yolanda Hall

dpowa:39

DISTRICT OFFICERS | ERNEST DE MAIO President | WILLIAM D. SMITH Vice President | GRANT W. OAKES Sec'y - Treasurer | ALICE SMITH Recording Sec'y

June 12 - 1951.

Mr Paul Robeson Singer.
232 W 26th Street.
New York 10. N.Y.

Dear Mr Robeson:

A few days ago I sent my Song, "Future Hope", to you at they above address.

Will you kindly upon receiving my letter send me a few lines and let me know if you received it.

I wish you could sing my Song on our big peace meeting in Coliseum June 29 - 51, a meeting I am working for right now taking up votes and help as much I get time to.

Will you kindly give your view if you think "Future Hope" is worth printing, a ("Hope") I had in my heart many years special since I came from Sweden 1907, and saw here all the discrimination against people with a different ("Color")

which we Swedes never saw or heard about in our little country of Sweden, therefore the more I see of it here, make me to hate the white Supremacy Ideas of bigshots walking around and make it miserable for people.

May I hear from you soon.

Very truly Yours

David Ellison

3744 Janssen Ave. Chic. Ill.

P.S.

If I could make something out of this song, we could both have a little for our trouble.

PIANO TUNING & REPAIRING
BY FACTORY TRAINED EXPERTS
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D. ELLISON & SON

357 St. Louis Ave.
Youngstown, Ohio
June 12, 1951

Dear Mr. Robeson

On Sunday June 24, 1951 there is being held a testimonial banquet to honor Mrs. PAULINE TAYLOR of Youngstown on the occasion of her birthday.

Since her return from the Second World Peace Congress Mrs. Taylor has untiringly carried to scores of meetings of trade unionists, churches and clubs in Ohio and other states the message of unity in the struggle for peace.

Her neighbors, friends and associates in Youngstown also cherish her many years of devotion to community welfare, the cause of labor, the fight for the rights of the Negro people.

Though distance and the press of work may make it impossible for you to attend, the Testimonial Committee feels sure you would wish to send greetings to Mrs. Taylor on this occasion. We would be happy to receive and read such a greeting from you. Kindly send it to the undersigned at the address given above.

Fraternally yours,

Mrs. Dorothy Boswell

Mrs. Dorothy Boswell
for the Committee

C
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C
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P
Y

Mexico City, June 28, 1951

Rev. Paul Caton
Rm. 316
166 W. Washington St.
Chicago 22, Ill.

Dear Rev. Caton:

I was so glad to be able to contact you through Mrs. Yolanda Hall, in order to give you a detailed account of the American Peace Conference which will take place in Mexico City.

At its meeting in Berlin the World Peace Conference proposed a series of regional meetings with an American Conference among them. This last April some representatives from the United States, Mexico, Chile, Cuba, Guatemala and members of the Secretariat of the World Peace Committee met in Mexico in order to discuss the various considerations which such a step might involve. We were all agreed that an American Conference would further the peace effort, and gave the proposal our wholehearted support. At the same time we have accepted the suggestion of the Secretariat of the World Committee to set up a Provisional Organizing Committee of which the undersigned has been elected as secretary for the time being.

The Primary object of this conference will be to make a thorough study of the effects of the present international tension on the economic, social and political life of our people, and to discuss methods and means which might contribute to diminish this tension, and ultimately bring about a permanent peace among the nations.

There will be emminent men from Europe, Asia as well as from the World Council at this Conference. Mr. Pietro Nenni will be the chairman.

After considering various requests and suggestions from participants and after taking into account our past experiences, we have fixed the date of the conference from September 3 to 8 in Mexico City.

Keeping close to the resolutions taken at the World Peace Council, this Conference should be made up of from 250 to 300 prominent men in different walks of life. It is absolutely necessary to do your utmost to make this Conference a success since there will not only be present members who have worked with the peace movements for a long time, but also people who want peace with all their heart and have up till now never been able to discuss their view points with us. Concerning the latter I think it advisable that when the time comes, to make them understand that participation in this Conference does not in any way oblige them to become permanent members of our organization.

In order to have a basis of discussion we have compiled a list of items which we are enclosing herewith. I would appreciate your suggestions and proposed changes at your earliest convenience. After all amplifications and corrections have been made we will be able to compile the general agenda.

The Conference will do its chief work on a basis of small working groups which will be organized in accordance with the items of the Agenda. Every delegate will be supplied with the necessary documentation on these questions in advance.

The conference should be set up about the middle of July by a group of from 40 to 50 members chosen from this continent. It should include members from the World Peace Council and persons who preferably do not participate in the work of the National Committees. From this group then the permanent organization will be chosen which ought to include at least the following countries: Mexico, United States, Brazil, Argintina, Chile, Cuba and Guatemala.

We are enclosing also a Call for the Conference which will be signed by the aforementioned 40 to 50 persons. The U.S. will be entitled to 10 signatures on this call.

Of course it is understood that the preparation of the Conference must in no way interfere with the primary work of the collection of signatures because we feel that these signatures after all are the backbone, and main support this Conference must have.

At the same time I would like to ask you for reasons which you will understand to keep the Call confidential and not to give it any publicity whatsoever right now. Once the Conference has been set up and agreed on all points they will give the call the necessary publicity in Mexico.

Finally I would like to summarize the most important factors.

1. To get the signatures of the ten Americans as soon as possible, and with it a short biographical sketch of each one of them.

2. To give me your opinion as well as the opinion and suggestions of your peace organization as soon as possible.

3. To contact the United States members of the World Peace Council and to see to it that they send either directly or through your office the signed call. (Each one of these members will in due time receive all the necessary material). At the same time we would appreciate a short biography of these men.

Awaiting your prompt answer, I remain,

Cordially yours,

/s/ Luis Enrique Delano
Apartado 20375
Mexico 5, D.F.

WE CANNOT WAIT FOR PEACE WE MUST WIN IT

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

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July 10, 1951

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
23 W. 26 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Enclosed is letter received by Reverend Paul Caton, Chairman of the World Fellowship Committee. We feel sure that it will be possible for friends and contacts of the American Peace Crusade to aid in getting sponsors for this Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Yolanda Hall
ylc

Yolanda Hall

NEW YORK LABOR
CONFERENCE
FOR PEACE

Room 537 • 80 East 11th St., New York 3 • ORegon 4-0079

July 16, 1951

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125 Street
New York City 27

Dear Paul:

This is the first opportunity I have had since returning from Chicago to write to tell you of the splendid part you played in the recent peace Congress.

It occurred to me that you would be interested in the material we have issued to labor delegates throughout the country in connection with the Congress in follow up of the decisions.

Sincerely yours,

Marcel

Marcel Scherer

MS:etr
65dpo

UNION BELGE POUR LA DÉFENSE DE LA PAIX

SECRÉTARIAT : 17, RUE WATTEEU, BRUXELLES

TÉLÉPHONE : 12.52.82 C. CHÈQ. POST. : 8175.68

BRUXELLES, le 7 septembre 1951

Chers amis,

L'Union Belge pour la Défense de la Paix a l'honneur d'inviter votre organisation nationale à se faire représenter aux Grandes Assises Nationales de la Paix organisées en Belgique les 22 et 23 septembre 1951.

Ces Assises se tiendront à Bruxelles où elles débuteront le samedi 22 à 14,30 h au Palais Baudouin, 11, Chaussée d'Anvers par un large débat national sur les problèmes de la Paix et de sa défense.

Le dimanche 23 se déroulera une grande manifestation populaire pour la Paix réunissant dans les rues de Bruxelles les représentants des comités de Paix des quartiers et des usines. Cette manifestation se clôturera par un grand meeting.

Nous serions heureux et fiers de recevoir à cette occasion les représentants de votre mouvement où en cas d'empêchement, un message de votre part.

Veuillez être assurés, Chers Amis, de nos meilleurs sentiments.

Pour l'Union Belge pour la
Défense de la Paix

M. Cosyns

Max COSYNS
Président

a Monsieur Paul Robeson

53 W.125 th Street

New-York

AMERICAN WOMEN FOR PEACE

257 Seventh Avenue · New York 1, N. Y.

Telephone: ORegon 5-8450

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Take up with Committee

August 4th, 1952

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 W. 125 St.
New York,NY.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We would be pleased and honored if you could be present and speak at a reception to be given on Saturday, the 4th of October, at the Hotel Ansonia, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, in order to honor two outstanding leaders in the women's fight for peace in this country, Dr. Clementina Paolone and Mrs Halois Moorhead Robinson.

As you know, Dr.Paolone is National Chairman and Mrs.Moorhead Robinson the National Executive Secretary of the American Women for Peace, an organization which, since its inception, shortly after the beginning of the Korean War,has been untiring in its efforts to bring about a negotiated peace in that tragic [redacted] country,as well as to bring about discussions among all major powers, in order to guarantee lasting peace in the world. The contribution of these two heroic women to the work of our organization is such that the tribute planned at that reception is only a small measure of the gratitude that is due them.

We are anticipating an attendance of about five hundred people at this reception.

Would you be good enough to let us know, at your earliest convenience, whether it will be possible for you to be with us and speak at that time.

Sincerely yours,
Agnes Vukcevich
Agnes Vukcevich,
New York Coordinator
American Women for Peace

COLOR AND DEMOCRACY
COLONIES AND PEACE

W. E. B. DU BOIS
23 WEST 26TH STREET
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

VICE-CHAIRMAN
COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

September 22, 1952

COPY

Dr. John A. Kingsbury
American Soviet Friendship Council
114 East 32 Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Kingsbury:

I have received the following cablegram from the Committee on the Chinese Peace Congress:

TALITHA GERLACH ACCEPTS DESIGNATION DELEGATE TO PEACE CONFERENCE. SHE ALSO SUGGESTS AMERICAN DELEGATION INCLUDE BILL POWELL, SYLVIA POWELL, JOSEPH STAROBIN AND GERALD TANNEBAUM. CABLE REPLY IF AGREE.

LIUNINGI (Sept. 20)

I agree to Miss Gerlach's suggestion. Will ~~one of~~ you see that this cablegram is answered?

Very sincerely yours,

W.E.B. Du Bois

W.E.B. Du Bois

DB:lh cc/
Robeson, Fast

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THE U.S. SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR REPRESENTATION
AT THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE
66 EDGEWOOD AVENUE, NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

October 22, 1952

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The World Congress of The Peoples For Peace will convene in Vienna, December 12th. This world peace gathering has been inspired by all men and women of good will in all lands that have a deep concern that a peaceful settlement of international tensions be found and that the horrors of war be averted.

The Congress will offer a precious chance, on the basis of aims arrived at in common, for persons of every opinion from all quarters of the globe to work together for the relaxation of international tensions and a peaceful existence. It will be a gathering of those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

It is necessary that representatives of our people, without regard to faith, race and political opinion join, in friendly fellowship, with the peoples of other countries on an unofficial level at Vienna to save the peace, just as their representatives in government must confer on the level of technical diplomacy. The counsel and participation of American peace-seekers are earnestly sought in determining the issues to be discussed and the goals to be reached.

We who are initiators in forming a U.S. Sponsoring Committee For Representation at the Vienna gathering earnestly invite you to join the Committee. As a member of the Committee, you would not be committed to any particular programs for peace, nor will you be held to the decisions and findings of the Congress. You will be joining with us in encouraging discussions in church, labor, Negro, women's and youth groups across the land to determine the issues that should be brought up at Vienna and in finding representatives of varying viewpoints who will attend.

Won't you aid us by accepting a place on the U.S. Sponsoring Committee so that the American People and their various points of view are represented at Vienna? We are enclosing a return-addressed envelope for a speedy reply. We would prefer that you call Willard Uphaus collect at New Haven, Conn. (MAin 4-1327) the National Headquarters of the Committee or at the Press Bureau in New York (COlumbus 5-6614). Time is precious.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Dorothy Brewster
Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Prof. Joseph F. Fletcher
Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes
Dr. John A. Kingsbury
Rev. William Howard Melish
Prof. Philip Morrison
Rev. Edwin McNeill Poteat
Rev. Frederick K. Stamm
Mr. Fred Stover
Dean John B. Thompson

Dr. Willard Uphaus

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

December 21, 1952

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JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM
53 W. 125th Street
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I am enclosing for your information, a copy of the letter to Dr. DuBois in reply to his memorandum of 10 days ago.

Sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

COPY COPY

December 19, 1952

Doctor W.E.B. DuBois
23 W. 26th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Dr. DuBois:

Thank you for your memorandum. I am sorry that serious illness in my family has prevented me from replying earlier.

I welcome your suggestion for a meeting of all interested persons and officials of the Crusade.

I agree unreservedly with your view that the work of the Crusade is not commensurate with the tremendous gravity of the situation today, To make it so is a responsibility I feel profoundly, and a task to which I am fully dedicated.

I would like to say, however, that your information concerning the house in which I live is not accurate. No single penny of APC money was used to purchase it, or even to maintain it -- except as it came out of my wages, that is, those which I have received.

As for the wages of your stenographer, they have fallen into arrears for the same reason that the wages of every other employee of the Crusade has not been paid regularly or in full.

Which brings me to the question of the $1225 owing to you for the republication of your work. This entire project had been handled from the beginning by Mr. Simon. When it became apparent that a delay in payment to you was unavoidable, I was informed that this had been discussed with you. I was also under the impression that you had been informed that serious efforts were being made to carry out our commitment to you with regard to your share of the dinner income. Regardless of what the specific details may have been, the fact still stands that this money is due you and we are making every possible effort to see that you receive it. Nor shall we rest until this is accomplished.

The expenses of APC have conspicuously exceeded its income. Inadequate promotion and mistakes in management certainly played a role in this; but in view of that very tremendous gravity of the situation which you yourself feel so keenly, these cannot be considered the sole causes.

Of the true situation, you and all other interested people will soon be informed through the auditors' statement of Spring, 1952, covering the first years' operation of the Crusade. A current audit is under way at the present time and both statements by certified accountants will be available for your inspection.

Be that as it may, I reiterate my full agreement with your suggestion for a more carefully organized body to have control of the income and expenses of the organization.

The one thing I think will be difficult, Doctor DuBois, is to have such a meeting in so short a time -- especially during the season you propose. However, if this can be done, I am for it.

Could we, therefore, have an informal discussion with a view of exchanging ideas in respect to the organizations' future, and to assuring a meeting such as we both desire as soon as possible?

I will telephone early next week, if I may, for an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

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Yes will serve, unable to attend Apr 17 out of town

April 9, 1953

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REV. CHARLES A. HILL
HON. CHARLES P. HOWARD
REV. KENNETH De P. HUGHES
JAMES IMBRIE
ALBERT KAHN
REV. MASSIE KENNARD
ROCKWELL KENT
DR. JOHN A. KINGSBURY
KARLY LARSEN
PROF. OLIVER S. LOUD
DR. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
DR. WILLIS MERRIAM
BISHOP WALTER A. MITCHELL
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REV. WILLIAM N. REID
ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON
PAUL ROBESON
DR. LEWIS BAYARD ROBINSON
DR. THEODOR A. ROSEBURY
MRS. ANDREW A. SIMKINS
ALEX SIROTA
PROF. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH
FRED W. STOVER
PROF. LELAND H. TAYLOR
MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dear Friend:

The National Policy Meeting of the American Peace Crusade which was held in Chicago on March 14 and 15 made a significant contribution in strengthening the working unity of the APC coalition and in defining the major areas of policy and program which will guide the APC in its activities during the coming year.

The developments both at home and abroad in the weeks since the Policy Meeting have accentuated the responsibilities and the opportunities for fruitful work for peace which face the Crusade in this period.

One of the principal steps which the National Policy Meeting adopted in order to assure that responsibilities will be met and opportunities fully realized was to call for the establishment as soon as possible of a Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade. This Board is to be made up of responsible persons who, because of their knowledge of certain fields or because of their active experience or leadership in peace work, can give effective guidance and practical assistance to the on-going work of the Crusade.

It is our hope that you will be willing to serve as a member of the Resident Board of the Crusade. The Board will meet once a month in order to review the work of the Crusade and to make decisions to guide the Staff in the carrying out of the Crusade's program. We feel that your membership in the Resident Board of the Crusade, whether through your participation in the monthly Board meetings or through your availability to the Staff for consultation and assistance, will help greatly to strengthen the Crusade's contribution to the cause of peace.

The first meeting of the Resident Board will be held in the Crusade office at 7:30 P.M. on Friday, April 17th. We need not stress the importance of this meeting. Already, the fast flow of historic events opening new perspectives in the work for peace is being echoed in the reports which we have been receiving from the field and which we shall pass on to the Board meeting. We are now facing in the Crusade the greatest challenge we have yet known to give the sort of leadership and help that can mobilize the tremendous sentiment for peace among the American people into effective channels of expression and action capable of halting the drift toward war.

We hope that you will want to share with us the facing of this challenge by accepting to be a member of the Resident Board of the Crusade, for we shall need your help. We hope too that you can be with us for the important meeting of the Board on April 17th.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

Paul

May 6, 1953

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MAURICE TRAVIS
REV. CHARLES E. TYLER
JUSTICE JAMES N. WOLFE
MICHAEL WOOD
DR. EDWARD L. YOUNG

Dear Friend:

Please find enclosed a copy of the minutes of the A.P.C. Resident Board meeting of April 17, 1953. May we also remind you that the May meeting of the Resident Board will take place on Friday, May 15th, 8 P.M. at the APC office, 3d floor, 125 W. 72nd St., NYC.

Suggestions for the agenda include a report and recommendations of our legal advisor. (This item will deal with the notification which we received on May 1st from the Attorney General's office, stating that he proposes to designate the APC on the Attorney General's list of Subversive Organizations.)

Other suggestions for the agenda of the Resident Board meeting include reports and recommendations of the Campaign, Finance and Publication Committees; report and recommendation on field work and new business.

If you have additional suggestions for the agenda of the May 15th meeting, please send them in by Wednesday, May 13th.

We can not stress too much the importance of the forthcoming meeting of the Resident Board and of the need for every member of the Board to be present and to participate in determining policy relative to the points listed above.

If you can not make the meeting, please inform us and seek to send your personal representative.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

RESIDENT BOARD MEETING OF AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE --
FRIDAY - APRIL 17, 1953

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director of APC. Professor Philip Morrison was elected chairman.

AGENDA:
1. Report of National Policy Meeting, March 15-16, 1953 by Mr. Richardson.
2. Purpose and Function of a Resident Board.
3. Standing Committees Responsible to the Resident Board.

Following Mr. Richardson's report, Prof. Morrison opened the discussion on the meaning of President Eisenhower's speech. He proposed preparation of a general statement for release to the field from which would be made an appropriate selection to be sent directly to the President and form the basis of a press release. The meeting heard a very detailed analysis on the President's speech which had first been sent to Mr. Richardson by Prof. Royal France, a Resident Board member, who was unable to be present. Portions of this letter were read to the Resident Board. Mr. Richardson's report, Prof. Morrison's proposals and Prof. France's suggestions were discussed at length and accepted.

A sub-committee was elected to make a thorough study of the speech and the diplomatic proposals therein and to present its findings at the next Resident Board meeting.

Mr. Richardson then placed before the Board the proposal of the National Policy Meeting that APC form 3 standing committees - campaign, publication and financial. This proposal was discussed and agreed to. Members for each committee were suggested and the field of work of each committee broadly outlined.

Mrs. Elsie Willcox reported on Connecticut's very successful delegation to the U. N.

Mrs. Robeson reported on her experiences as an observer at the UN and proposed a permanent APC observer. Mrs. Robeson was nominated and elected to serve as the APC observer.

Mrs. Robeson and Mrs. Elsie Willcox undertook to draw up a draft on how to organize delegations to the United Nations.

She stressed the need to work especially hard to obtain an interview with the U.S. delegation. She also made the point that several of the Asian countries will cooperate in sending speakers to any group which wishes to hear them.

A proposal was made and accepted that APC list all informational material on Africa, including films, for the benefit of its peace councils and other interested groups and individuals.

The Board discussed how the question of Colonialism and the question of jobs and peace can be most effectively raised by APC. A motion was made and passed that John Darr become a full time member of the APC staff and be Chairman of the Publications Comm.

Proposal made that the Board meet the 3d Friday of every month. The next meeting to be on May 15, 1953.

3rd Floor
125 West 72nd St.
New York 23, N. Y.
May 22, 1953

Dear friend:

You join us in welcoming, we are sure, the recent developments at home and abroad offering opportunities to achieve peace through international negotiation.

Events are moving quickly. The American people must move quickly too if our nation's leaders are to be wholly encouraged to take every possible action for halting hostilities in Korea and for securing world peace.

For this reason, we were deeply interested when the American Peace Crusade brought to our attention its desire to support any undertaking seeking to bring into the present situation the great weight of American peace opinion. The Crusade is ready to help in making possible an opportunity in Washington through which citizens feeling a responsibility to express to their congressmen their concern about issues of war and peace can meet this responsibility without in any way being involved in a commitment to the American Peace Crusade or its program.

We believe that such an opportunity for responsible citizen action for peace is very much the need of the hour. We also believe that a Lobby for Peace which is sponsored by individuals rather than by an organization will help to safeguard the integrity of participants who do not wish to associate themselves with any specific peace organization or peace program, and will thereby enable the sort of representative gathering which can be most effective in securing a positive response from leaders in Washington.

We are therefore taking the initiative in calling a Citizen Lobby for Peace in Washington at the end of June before Congress adjourns. We are asking you and a number of other persons of prominence in various fields who are concerned with the achievement of peace, to join us in sponsoring this action.

We enclose a copy of the draft Call for this Lobby. We invite your criticism of it and the plans for the Lobby, with your approval, general or conditional. We must go to the printer with the Call as soon as possible, so we shall appreciate your speedy reply.

We intend ourselves to give active leadership in this undertaking and we invite you to do the same. Certainly for those of you who are far from New York, this may be difficult, except through correspondence. We hope, however, that you will make every effort to be in Washington to take part in this important Lobby for Peace and to share with us there the responsibility of leadership to make this action as fruitful a contribution as possible to the cause of peace.

Very truly yours,

Joseph M. Evans
Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Evans

Kenneth R. Forbes
Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes

Philip Morrison
Prof. Philip Morrison

CALL TO A LOBBY FOR PEACE

No doubt of it, peace is in the air. It is not coming easily after three years of bitter war in Korea and eight years of cold war over the whole world. But it is coming.

Prime Minister Churchill notes in London the new possibilities for peaceful settlement. Premier Nehru of India welcomes the new spirit of compromise. Premier Malenkov of the Soviet Union affirms that disputes can be resolved by peaceful means. Pope Pius XII pronounces a meeting of the big powers as "the indispensable condition of peace". Can any American forget the eloquence with which our President placed before us all the terrible costs of war and the great hopes of peace, for the lives and fortunes of people everywhere? Statesmen reflect the cry for peace from the hearts of the people.

In the Congress of the United States influential voices call for compromise in negotiations looking to an equitable peace. But also in our Congress there are discordant voices at this time of the gradual maneuvers toward concession and negotiation.

These facts define our task.

Let us bring to as many congressmen as we can reach the message that their constituents want the great new hopes for peace to come to fruition. The voice from back home is the best guide for a member of Congress. The great acts of diplomacy can have meaning for him when they are given support and enccuragement by men and women from his own state and his own district, men and women who can tell how peace will mean life for their sons, how it can turn a precarious armament production into a secure and expanding economy, how it can halt the voices of bigotry and dissension.

To that end we call Americans throughout the land to a Lobby for Peace.

We urge no partisan program, we place no restriction on the participants and their views, we strive indeed for the broadest scope of beliefs among all Americans. We go to Washington on June 25 at the Third anniversary of the Korean War to urge Congress to use its influence to achieve (1) a prompt truce in Korea, (2) a face to face meeting of the leaders of the great powers to begin the wider negotiations for which the world now waits.

We want to be sure that representative groups of citizens, of the widest possible range of ideas and from all the great communities of interest in American life, visit with members of Congress.

If you believe in these aims, if you think that the attitude of Congress is the key to the issues of the day, if you share our respect for the deep tradition of the dignity of personal petition in representative government, you should come to Washington. The Lobby for Peace needs your participation.

Opportunity was never greater. History today has placed the issues of life and death into the hands of the American voter. In your voice and in your views, and those of the peoples of your state and your district, lie the resources of democracy. If used, they can bring peace. If left untapped, they give place to the futile desolation of atomic war.

We have the hope and the faith that our country will not fail.

June 3, 1953

Mr. Thomas Richardson
Nat'l Co-Director
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72 St.
New York 23, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Richardson,

Thanks for sending the minutes of the last Resident Board meeting.

As you know, Mr Robeson is presently on the first leg of his 1953 concert tour and will be out of the city until July 29. He therefor will be unable to participate in the work of the Board during this period.

Please continue to send the minutes of the Board meetings so he will have a picture of the Board's plans and activities.

Best wishes for a highly sucessful Lobby. Warm personal regards to you and to Mrs. Richardson.

Sincerely,

Bert Alves
Sec'y

Let The People Speak for Peace!

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-1660

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ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON
PAUL ROBESON

June 1, 1953

Dear Friend:

The last meeting of the Resident Board on May 15th took a number of important decisions, the most important being to encourage a peace action in Washington. The enclosed minutes gives a resume of the discussion.

We can report to you now that a group of prominent individuals have joined in sponsoring the call to a Lobby for Peace in Washington on the anniversary of the Korean War. On Friday evening, at 8 P.M., June 5th, in the National office of the American Peace Crusade, there will be a meeting of the Resident Board to examine the progress made toward the realization of this important action in Washington and to plan further steps.

Because of the importance of this meeting, we ask you to make every effort to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encls:

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MINUTES - RESIDENT BOARD MEETING OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
Friday, May 15, 1953 -- New York, N. Y.

The meeting came to order at 8:30 PM. Mr. Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director opened the meeting. Mrs. Elsie Willcox unanimously elected as Chairman of tonights meeting.

Following agenda adopted:
(1) Messages
(2) Report and recommendations from Professor Royal France on the proposal of the Attorney General to list the American Peace Crusade as subversive.
(3) Report and Recommendations on the Resident Board campaign committee.

Messages of support were heard from Resident Board members Paul Robeson and Albert Kahn who expressed regret at inability to attend meeting. Message from the Executive Board of the N.Y. Peace Council expressing support to the APC.

Mr. Richardson gave a brief background on the facts relating to the proposal of the Attorney General.

Professor Royal France, imminent civil-liberties attorney and APC sponsor then gave his analysis and recommendations. Excerpts of Prof. France's remarks follow:

"You are all familiar, I am sure, with the fact that when he was Attorney General, the present Justice of the Supreme Court Clark, he issued a list of organizations of which there are some 200, which he designated as being subversive. There was never any clear definition of what was meant by the term subversive, or what was involved in being subversive. Three of the organizations so designated brought legal action to have their names removed from the Attorney General's list. These were the International Workers Order, the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee and the American-Soviet Friendship Committee. This action went to the Supreme Court and in a decision in the case of the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee, and the other 2 against McGrath, who was then the Attorney General, the Supreme Court ordered that this list was not valid as against any organization without proof and prior hearing as to its being a subversive organization and so the case went back to the lower court for such proof and hearing with respect to these 3 organizations and that case is now pending in the courts and will be again before the Supreme Court, undoubtedly after the Attorney General decides what he considers proof to be the subversiveness of these organizations.

So that at this stage, at least, the Supreme Court has never officially approved the listing of any organization on this list and has held that such organizations are entitled to a hearing. Pursuant to this, undoubtedly the present Attorney General has taken steps to give what he calls a hearing before himself as to whether certain organizations are subversive and he has sent out similar requests to this one, which was received by the APC, to a number of organizations, the purpose being to require these organizations to answer certain questions.

I advised the APC to put in this formal notice of contest, not with the idea that we may wish to answer the Attorney General's question, but we may wish to put in another form of answer in which we wish to say the questions are improper and we refuse to answer, but this answer permits getting the questions upon which the Attorney General is going to reply.

When we get those questions we will then be given 60 days to decide whether we wish to answer the question or refuse to answer the question and state our legal reasons for refusing to answer the question...."

Question: "Then the APC is not at present on the Attorney General's Subversive list?"

Prof. France: "No, it is not. In a legal sense it is not."

Motion second and passed that the Resident Board retain Prof. France as legal advisor for this action, at the agreed upon fee. Motion amended to express appreciation to Prof. France for his services up to date.

M/S/C that the Resident Board establish a small defense sub-committee, which would devote its attention to the question of defense over and beyond the legal question. Such a sub-committee would work in close association with the officers of the Crusade and Professor France throughout the action.

Recommended that this sub-committee be open to volunteers, with the National Co-Director empowered to complete membership of the Committee by appointment.

2. Mr. Richardson opened the discussion on the present developments at home and abroad in-so-far as peace is concerned. He called particular attention to the fact that in the United States, in the past few months, trade unionists representing over 5 million workers in the U.S. have, through convention, resolution, International Executive Board resolutions, editorial policy and otherwise expressed themselves for the policy of settling differences through negotiations rather than war.

The essence of his remarks emphasis the upsurge of peace sentiment and expression here in the United States. Mr. Arthur Kahn reported for the Campaign Committee. The report revealed that several prominent individuals in the fields of religion and science have discussed with leaders of APC their desire to bring together representatives of various fields of work for the endorsement of a Citizens Lobby for Peace in Washington on or around the anniversary of the Korean War.

It was recommended that the Resident Board lend every possible encouragement to such a project.

It was suggested that in the next discussion with the individuals concerned with the Citizens Lobby for Peace, that spokesmen for APC convey to them the Resident Board's feeling that a qualitative lobby, representative of various fields of work, such as labor, farm, youth, Negro, women, nationality and religion, totaling some 500 delegates, would be more realistic than a lobby of 1500 or 2,000. It was also suggested that the organizers of the Citizens Lobby seek to secure the sort of representation from various areas of American life and the various geographic areas of the nation in order that the various aspects of the desire for peace would be effectively presented to Congress and to the Executive in Washington.

The Resident Board recommends that the APC realistically approach the question of the Citizens Lobby by carefully planning and carrying out a series of field trips and the publication of necessary educational material which would make possible a greater response to the Citizens Lobby. A tentative budget of $3,000 to cover the APC supporting activity of the Citizens Lobby was agreed upon. Methods of securing this budget included a national fund letter, city wide and community rallies commemorating the 3d Anniversary of the Korean War, house meetings and sale of material.

It was recommended that the initiators of the Citizens Lobby investigate the possibility of securing from those sections of labor which have already spoken out on the question of peace through active cooperation and support.

The shortness of time was discussed and the Resident Board concluded that ordinarily it could not support such a project in the short time available for preparation but that in view of the great stakes involved it was incumbent on this section of the American movement to overcome any obstacle and to join the great peace discussion which is now taking place throughout the nation and throughout the world.

It was agreed that this project would be brought to the attention of all other peace organizations and all organizations and individuals concerned with peace, with the hope that they too would either join this action or carry on their own activities around this question.

Resolution proposed and adopted by the Resident Board authorizing the following persons to send APC checks: Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Mr. Thomas Richardson and Mrs. Betty Haufrecht.

The Board felt that it was necessary to meet again before its regularly scheduled meeting and therefore set its next meeting for June 5th.

Meeting adjourned 11:20 P.M.

A N E R I C A N P E A C E C R U S A D E
125 W. 72 Street New York 23, New York Phone: SU 7-5135

July 9, 1953

Dear friend:

Recent developments in Korea and elsewhere are bringing the world closer to peace. But many obstacles to peace remain. This is not a time for a let-down in the work for peace. It is rather a time when greater efforts than ever before are required by the American people to ensure that no one in this country will be able to block or delay the present progress toward peace.

We are calling a special and enlarged meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade. To this meeting we are inviting leadersof trade unions and other organizations concerned with peace, as well as peace leaders from this area. At this meeting, we will seek an exchange of views about the current situation and the projection of certain specific actions to meet our common responsibilities for advancing the work for world peace.

The meeting will be held in the offices of the American Peace Crusade at 8:00 P.M., Thursday, July 16th.

We are counting on you to make every effort to be present. If you find that you cannot come, please send someone to represent you at the meeting.

We are sure that you understand the importance of a meeting of this sort at this time.

Very truly yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
Co-Director

ČESKOSLOVENSKÝ ROZHLAS

CZECHOSLOVAK RADIO.

756 53

Prague, 13th of November 1953

Dear Sir,

Towards the end of this year, the Czechoslovak Radio has decided to submit to its listeners at home and abroad the opinion of prominent people on topical question of public interest.

We therefore would ask you kindly to reply to the question "In what way did the year 1953 contribute towards easing international tension and strengthening world peace".

We believe that your reply may greatly serve to strengthen friendly relations among the nations. We are sure that you will not refuse to comply with our request and that you will reply in time for us to include your answer in our Christmas programme.

We would like to emphasise that millions of our listeners will look on your reply as an expression of your friendship for the nations of Czechoslovakia.

Thanking you in anticipation

yours sincerely

CZECHOSLOVAK BROADCAST
FOREIGN RELATIONS DEPARTEMENT

Tisk. č. 32 b — Sčt 60

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
125 W. 72 STREET, NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • PHONE SU 7-5135
NEW ADDRESS: 35 W. 26th Street, New York 10, New York MU 4 - 8256

March 12, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o FREEDOM
339 W. 125th Street
New York City, NY

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing a copy of the last letter we received from Mr. Cary. I am sure that you share with us the satisfaction that arrangements for this meeting are now becoming definite.

It seems that for some of the persons who will participate in this meeting the 6th is the most convenient date of the 2 proposed by the Friends. We would, therefore, like to find out from you whether it is possible for you to make yourself available throughout the day of April 6th.

As you will recall from my earlier letter, we feel that it would be important for the Crusade participants in the meeting with the Friends to be able to have a thorough exchange of views the day before this important meeting. If this becomes the final date for the meeting, we would plan to hold a meeting of the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade on Monday night, April 5th. We would also make ourselves available throughout the day on April 5th for discussions with those taking part in the Quaker meeting.

Please let us know, as soon as you can, your views on these proposals, as we want to have time to prepare adequately for a good Resident Board meeting.

Thank you for your comments on our letter regarding proposals on the Agenda for discussion with the Quakers, and the proposed activities from them through June 30th.

Sincerely yours,

Tommy

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Encl:

COPY COPY

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

March 5, 1954

Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
35 W. 26th St.
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Richardson:

In response to your letter of February 15 in connection with a proposed informal meeting of members of our two groups, I am glad to say othat the way has now been cleared at this end to move forward with definite plans for the meeting.

I am afraid that the March dates that you mention are a little too soon from the standpoint of clearing schedules. We would, therefore, suggest the dates of either April 6 or April 8 as a more suitable time. It is also our suggestion that we hold the attendance down to about six persons from each group in order that the meeting will be small enough for a real sharing of ideas. We suggest that if convenient to you, the meeting be held at Pendle Hill, the Quaker study center in Wallingford, Pa., which is easily reached on the Media line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

It is our understanding that this meeting is to be an informal one without publicity for the purpose of sharing mutual concerns and developing our understanding of each other rather than involving any organizational commitments. We would hope to have some of our top staff and Board people present to match the high caliber of the group that you have suggested in your last letter, and will send you their names as soon as they have definitely been selected. Will you let me know whether these arrangements appear satisfactory to you and whether the dates are feasible?

Sincerely yours,

/s/
Stephen G. Cary
Secretary
American Section

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im

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th St.
4th Fl.
New York 10, N.Y.
MU 4 - 8256

March 23, 1954

Dear Friend:

The next Resident Board meeting of the American Peace Crusade will take place on Monday, April 5th at 7:30 P.M. in our new headquarters, (35 W. 26th Street - 4th floor).

Suggestions for the Agenda include:

1. The Geneva Conference and activities in support of favorable results.

2. The forthcoming international peace gathering.

3. The APC National Referendum For Peace Through Negotiations, including some consideration on the question of Congressional delegations.

If you have additional suggestions for the agenda, please send them to us.

We are extremely anxious to have all members of the Resident Board share in determining policy on the above mentioned, and other points.

Your attendance therefore is extremely important.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

- -

Mr. Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director
American Peace Crusade
35 W. 26th St.
New York 10, N.Y.

I will_____, will not_____ attend the Resident Board meeting on Monday, April 5th.

Name_____

New York Peace Council of the A.P.C.
35 West 26 Street - 4th floor
New York, N.Y.
April 8, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
% Freedom
139 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We know you will welcome the announcement that the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade is calling a Peace Rally to be held at the Ansonia, 73 Street and Broadway, on May 12.

In the light of our government's policy of "massive retaliation" and warnings to China, it is clear that the Geneva Conference will not accomplish its purpose without the greatest pressure from the people for peaceful negotiations.

Naturally we turn to you, Mr. Robeson, at this decisive moment when the world faces the alternative of peaceful negotiations or atomic warfare. Your presence at the meeting and your speech, inspiring to action, will bring hope to the people that they can win the fight for peace.

Kumar Goshal will be the Chairman of the meeting. Others who have been invited to speak are Jessie Hughan of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Al Pezzatti, and I.F.Stone.

We are looking forward with hope to your acceptance of our invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Russak

Mary Russak, Acting Sec'y.
New York Peace Council ,
American Peace Crusade.

TL/

April 15, 1954

Mrs. Eslanda Robeson
408 West 128th Street
New York, New York

Dear Essie,

I am enclosing copies of correspondence received this morning from Tommy regards April 23rd gathering, which are self-explanatory. I thought you would want this information.

Sincerely

New York Peace Council .A.P.C.
35 West 26 Street - 4"floor
New York, N.Y.
April 23, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
% Freedom
139 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We regret very much to inform you that the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade has decided to call off its May 12th Peace Rally, at which you were to have been a speaker.

The American Labor Party has recently announced a larger meeting to take place one week earlier, dealing with the issues of McCarthyism and war. We feel that two meetings on these issues within a week of each other may cause a smaller attendance at each. We have therefore decided to concentrate on unfolding the greatest amount of grass-roots non-partisan activity in connection with the Geneva Conference.

We wish to express our sincerest appreciation at your acceptance of our invitation to speak at the meeting. We hope the change in our plans has not created difficulties in your schedule.

We trust soon to be able to call a great meeting in the name of the organized peace movement and hope you will respond as generously as you have always done in the past to our appeal for your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Russak

Mary Russak, Acting Sec'y.
New York Peace Council,
American Peace Crusade

PAR AVION — AIR MAIL — LUGPOS

Mr. Paul Robeson,

57 West, 125th Street,

N. Y. CITY,

NEW YORK - UNITED STATES

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

AS ENIGIETS INGESLUIT WORD SAL HIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER

G. M. Naicker,

P. O. Box 2299,

DURBAN.

FIRST FOLD-EERSTE VOU

SECOND FOLD-TWEEDE VOU

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Jai Hind, 1954.

G. M. NAICKER
P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN.

INDIAN CONGRESS
(Congressed by Madras Congress in 1894).

Late Mahatma Gandhi in 1920, and this year we will be celebrating the 80th anniversary of the foundation of the Indian National Congress.

The Metal Image was forwarded by the Secretary, Congress Committee, Madras, for the Congress Committee, Durban, and we will be pleased if you would kindly forward it to Mr. Paul Robeson, Chairman, Peace Council, New York, U.S.A.

Yours sincerely,

(G. M. NAICKER)
PRESIDENT.

Prepaid for transmission
Air Mail
Sufficiently prepaid

NAICKER, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA
Turkish 2 pilkunt
Yours sincerely
G. M. NAICKER
P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN.

U. S. A.
New York City,
'Peace Council' 25 West
NEW YORK

PAR AVION — AIR MAIL — LUGPOS

AEROGRAMME
AIR LETTER
LUGBRIEF

SOUTH AFRICA
POSTAGE
POSSEEL
SUID-AFRIKA
6d.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
57 West, 125th Street,
N. Y. CITY,
NEW YORK - UNITED STATES.

FIRST FOLD-EERSTE VOU

SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS
NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER

G. M. Naicker,
P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN.

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

AS ENIGETS INGESLUIT WORD SALHIERDIE BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

SECOND FOLD-TWEEDE VOU

Received 6/9/54
P.g.

NATAL INDIAN CONGRES
(Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894).

P. O. Box 2299,
DURBAN.

1st May, 1954.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

The Natal Indian Congress was founded by the late Mahatma Gandhi in 1894, and this year we will be celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the foundation of Congress.

"FOUNDER'S DAY, 1954", will be appropriately celebrated* by Congress to pay tribute to the contributions made by its founder, Mahatma Gandhi, for the cause of freedom and World peace and we will be most obliged to you if you will be good enough to let us have a message of support from you on this occasion.

As time is short and should you not be able to send a message by post to reach us in time we will consider it a great favour if you will be good enough to cable your message to:

NICELY, DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

(Dr) G.M. NAICKER,
PRESIDENT.

* on 22nd May, 1954,

Mr. Paul Robeson,
53 West, 125th Street,
New York City,
NEW YORK - U. S. A.

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"HERE'S MY STORY"

by

PAUL ROBESON

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•

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a monthly paper of news and comment on the struggle for Negro rights

53 WEST 125TH ST., N. Y. 27, N. Y.

I enclose One Dollar ($1.00) for my Subscription to FREEDOM. New ☐ Renewal ☐

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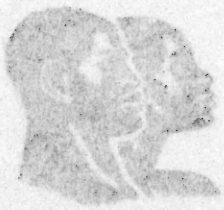
DON'T DELAY ENTER TODAY

Write to FREEDOM for further details



FREEDOM

a monthly paper of news and comment on the struggle for Negro rights

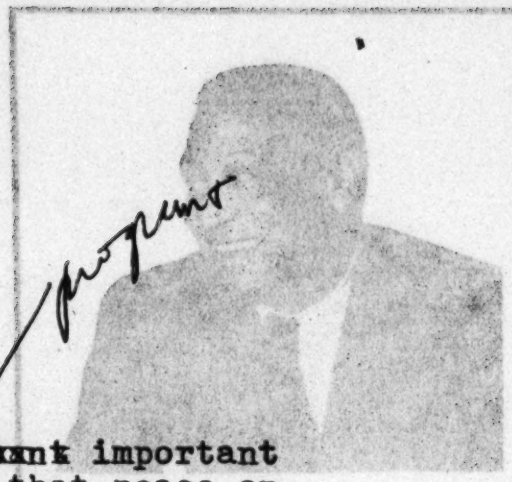
23 WEST 125TH ST., N. Y., 27, N. Y.

I enclose One Dollar ($1.00) for my Subscription to FREEDOM. New ☐ Renewal ☐

Name

Address

City Zone State



Regret inability to attend important important meeting. Signs now more than ever that peace on horizon. I stand in support of activities of Peace Crusade as achieving end of war in Korea and being in best interest of American people.

"HERE'S MY STORY"

by

PAUL ROBESON

Every Month

•

BUY "FREEDOM"

NOW!

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

•

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$1 A YEAR

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
PRINTED MATTER 1950-54

12/9

CAMPAIGN MEMO Issued by the AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

NO. II 35 WEST 26th STREET, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

BERLIN CONFERENCE

As this Memo is mailed, the important Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin has been going on for three weeks. The first essential step toward peace through face-to-face talks has been taken.

This important step forward has been brought about by tremendous popular pressure organized by peace organizations in many countries. But the course of the discussions in Berlin shows how much more still needs to be done in order to win genuine negotiations resulting from a sincere desire on all sides to reach mutually acceptable agreements for ending international tensions. There is still the threat of a rearmed, militaristic Germany. Sincere negotiations are still needed to eliminate other threats to international peace in Korea, Indo-China, Guatemala. There is still the need to end the threat of atomic or hydrogen bomb warfare and to find the ways to expand world trade.

This situation calls for a great ground-swell of peace activity to press for real peace negotiations -- in unions, in churches, in community organizations and through neighbor-to-neighbor contacts -- directed to our Congressmen, the President and the Secretary of State.

A notable example is the following message cabled to Secretary of State Dulles in Berlin by CIO Packinghouse Local 347 (Chicago):

> OVER 2300 MEMBERS OF OUR LOCAL UNION IN 36 HOURS SIGNED AND SENT THE FOLLOWING PETITION TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: "WE THE UNDERSIGNED URGENTLY REQUEST THAT YOU USE YOUR GOOD OFFICE IN THE PENDING BERLIN NEGOTIATIONS TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE COLD WAR AND THE REALIZATION OF MAXIMUM WORLDWIDE TRADE BETWEEN NATIONS SO AS TO PROVIDE MORE JOBS AND PEACEFUL PROSPERITY FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." GIVE SUBSTANCE TO OUR HOPE FOR PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

REPORT ON PROGRESS OF APC CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

Indication of the widespread response to A.P.C. peace initiative is the number of new voices among men and women of labor, science, religion and politics that have been raised in support of the Appeal, launched at our National Committee meeting Nov. 15th. The attached copy gives a partial list of endorsers: The complete list comprised 87 endorsers coming from 32 states in the Union.

Already a group of peaceworkers in a Long Island suburb of New York City have written to a group of ministers in their community, and they confidently anticipate their active cooperation in bringing the APPEAL to the attention of their parishioners -- thereby winning support for the idea that settlement of today's international situation can only be reached by means of negotiation and the conclusion of agreements acceptable to all.

We hope that others will communicate with APPEAL endorsers in their states, to exchange ideas and to work together on ways of reaching out more widely with the APPEAL and other APC publications.

DEVELOPING PEACE WORK WITH LABOR

Unions need the help of peace groups and a number have already sought that help from the National Office. One union (with members in the N.Y.-N.J. area) has sent in a bundle order for 100 Peace Reporters and has purchased in bulk the latest issue of Facts for Peace, for distribution at a regional conference. During the holiday season, out of 500 Peace Messages sent to President Eisenhower collected by a N.Y.City community group, 250 were collected in factories and signed by shop workers. This same group is now organizing a delegation to visit the local Congressman which will include some of these shop workers.

Last week, a N.Y. garment shop of 40 workers celebrated the birthday of one of the workers. Highlight was a brief talk on the APC campaign and a collection for it was taken ($10). The single APC peace worker in this shop is following this up with the National Referendum Ballot and the Peace Reporter.

In Conecticut, in Queens (NY) and other localities, leaflet distribution at shop gates is becoming a regular feature of local peace activity.

NEW YORK LAUNCHES NEGOTIATION CAMPAIGN

On February 5th the New York Peace Council of the APC launched its Negotiations Campaign at an FDR Memorial Meeting of active peace workers. Mr. Thomas Richardson, Co-Director of APC, and Dr. Royal France, APC sponsor and prominent civil liberties attorney, were guest speakers. The meeting sent a telegram to President Eisenhower urging continuation of the Berlin Conference until agreement on some issues had been reached.

The Ballot to be used in the New York campaign was presented at the meeting. A Campaign Guide was also distributed, giving the objectives of the balloting as being: "To influence our Government toward a foreign policy of give-and-take negotiations to settle international disputes; to stimulate public peace discussion and action; and to strengthen the local, boro, and citywide council associated with the APC." Floor discussion centered on use of the Appeal and Ballot to achieve these objectives.

Along with the Ballot, the N.Y.Council pledged to sell subs to the Peace Reporter and Facts for Peace; or, if a sub was not immediately feasible, to get orders for sample copies, at 10 ¢. Also, New York pledged $600 monthly to meet the National Office budget.

N.Y. ACTS ON INDO-CHINA

Within the framework of the over-all campaign for peace through negotiations and the balloting, the New York Peace Council is reacting to the danger of greater United States involvement in the war in Indo-China. Some local N.Y. peace groups have already distributed leaflets in their communities. Through local groups, the N.Y. Council is organizing the sending of telegrams and postcards to Washington, urging an end to United States involvement in Indo-China, and calling for a ceasefire there and for negotiation of the issues under dispute.

The Council is organizing an emergency evening conference of representatives from various organizations and unions ot enlist support for the following actions:

1) Distribution of an education and action leaflet on the Indo-China war.
2) Collecting signatures on postcards to President Eisenhower, while carrying on the balloting campaign.
3) Letters to other organizations and individuals urging their action.
4) Initiation of the ballot campaign, including the use of the Peace Reporter and the Facts for Peace, among the organizations present.

In laying out these plans, the N.Y. Council is making clear that this new danger of spreading war arises because public opinion has not yet been able to compel governments to negotiate on a give and take basis. Therefore the APC campaign for World Peace through negotiations is fundamental; and activity on Indo-China or any other international issue is conducted as a part of an ongoing national campaign for negotiations.

PEACE MATERIAL & PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

Printed APPEAL to the People of the United States, for use as a basis for discussions about peace with community leaders and among neighbors and shop-mates: 3¢ ea.

THE NATIONAL REFERENDUM BALLOT, with only APC imprint, is available. Cost: $2 per hundred for orders up to 500; $1.50 per hundred for orders from 500 to 1000; and $1 per hundred for orders of 1000 and up.

PEACE REPORTER and FACTS FOR PEACE:

Combination subscription:	$2.00 per year
Separate subscription:	$1.00 per year

(Special Group Rates: Local groups which send in orders for 10 or more subs and which take responsibility for servicing local subscribers, can keep 40¢ of each $1 sub or 80¢ of each $2 combination sub. This means that the National Office will not mail the Peace Reporter or Facts for Peace directly to these individual subscribers, but will mail the necessary copies in a bundle to the local group which sent in the subs at the reduced rate so that the local group will distribute the copies to these subscribers.)

Current issue of Facts for Peace -- PEACE AND JOBS, giving detailed statistics on the consequences of the war economy for employment and living standards, and spelling out the benefits of a peace economy and world trade: 10¢ each; quantity orders 6¢ ea. for 10 or more.

NEXT ISSUE of Facts for Peace will deal with Germany, and will be available March 15.

NEXT ISSUE of Peace Reporter will be out the first week of March.

CAMPAIGN MEMO

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.

June 22, 1954

I. A NEW THREAT TO PEACE: THE INVASION OF GUATAMALA

As the American Peace Crusade's drive for one million peace stickers and for one million postcards to President Eisenhower and Congressmen on Indo-China and the H-bomb moves ahead, another serious threat to peace has arisen. Guatamala has been invaded and war now rages only 1000 miles from the United States.

The United Nations Security Council has recognized this attack on a sovereign nation as a matter for its concern. At a special session on June 20th, the Security Council adopted unanimously a resolution which "calls for the immediate termination of any action likely to cause bloodshed and requests all members of the United Nations to abstain, in the spirit of the Charter, from giving assistance to any such actions."

As the only Western Hemisphere member of the Five Great Powers assigned by the UN Charter special responsibility for maintaining peace, the United States Government must take a leading role in implementing this resolution of the Security Council for a cease-fire in Guatamala and for no aid to any action causing bloodshed there. This is of key importance since the Security Council resolution as it now stands has no enfprcement provisions.

WHAT TO DO

For this reason, the American Peace Crusade is urging peace workers across the country to get as many wires and letters as possible sent immediately to Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., U.S. Embassador to the UN, and to President Eisenhower and Congressmen, urging that they act and speak now for immediate implementation of the Sedurity Council resolution.

The APC is also urging peace groups in and near New York City to send delegations to the United Nations to ask speedy implementation of the Security Council resolution.

Special efforts should be made to have delegations see Congressmen and Congressional candidates to urge that they speak out on this urgent situation.

We are enclosing an example of a leaflet which the New York Peace Council is using for its mass peace vigil before the United Nations this Thursday afternoon, June 24th.

II. THE POSTCARD AND STICKER DRIVE

The APC postcard and sticker drive remains at the center of peace activity to win those changes in U.S. foreign policy required to help achieve peaceful coexistence between nations based on respect of the right of peoples to choose their own way of life without foreign interference, and to achieve the peaceful settlement of international differences. Certainly the success of this drive will contribute to achieving peace in Guatamala.

We have already sent you examples of the postcards addressed to President Eisenhower or to Senators or to Congressmen. We still await orders for these cards from many parts of the country. We can report, however, that the postcard drive is underway in many sections of the country, including such places as Kissimee and Lady Lake, Florida; Conway and St. Louis, Missouri; Albany, Bay Port and New York City, N.Y.; Chicago; Holden and Winthrop, Mass.; Portland, Maine; Connecticut and New Jersey and Atlanta, Georgia.

We are now enclosing copies of the stickers. We can make these available to you at 5¢ a sheet for orders of over 500 sheets. Otherwise they are 10¢ a sheet. We urge you to place orders for these stickers as soon as possible. Orders must be prepaid and the money sent should include the mailing cost and a 10¢ handling charge.

We urge again, as we have in the past, that plans be made for visits to Congressmen and Congressional candidates be included in all peace work. The postcards collected now in your neighborhood addressed to your Congressman can be presented to him when he comes home for the election campaign or they can be mailed to him as soon as collected with follow-up letters requesting an appointment to see him.

Let us hear from you as to the actions in your community on Guatamala and as to the use of the postcards and stickers on Indo-China and the H-bomb.

ORDER POSTCARDS AND STICKERS NOW !

in the
National Referendum
for Peace
through Negotiation...

how do <u>you</u> vote ?

I am in favor of the Big Powers continuing negotiations until they agree on peaceful solutions of international disputes

☐ YES
☐ NO

I am in favor of a pledge by each nation binding itself not to begin 'A' and 'H' bomb warfare

☐ YES
☐ NO

I am in favor of expanding trade between all nations to create more jobs and to foster peaceful relations in the world

☐ YES
☐ NO

Issued as a public service by

American Peace Crusade

35 West 26th Street, New York 10, N.Y.

take part...

APPEAL

To the People of the United States

FOR WORLD PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

ENDORSERS
(Partial listing)

Hon. Elmer Benson, Appleton, Minn.
John T. Bernard, Chicago, Ill.
Prof. Dorothy Brewster, N. Y. C
Rev. J. R. Case, Vergennes, Vt.
Alice Childress, New York City
Ernest de Maio, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. James A. Dombrowsky, New Orleans, La.
Lillian Elder, Louisville, Ky.
Fyke Farmer Nashville, Tenn.
Howard Fast, New York City
Hon. Clemens F. France, Providence, R. I.
Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes, Philadelphia, Pa.
John Gojack, Fort Wayne, Ind.
Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, San Francisco, Calif.
Alice Hamilton, M.D., Hadlyme, Conn.
William Harrison, Boston, Mass.
Rev. Charles A. Hill, Detroit, Mich.
Rev. Philip J. Houston, Kansas City, Mo.
Alfred C. Kuchler, Ogdensburg, N.Y.
Dr. Oliver S. Loud, Yellow Springs, Ohio
Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Chicago, Ill.
Helen R. Miller, Evanston, Ill.
Prof. Philip Morrison, Ithaca, N. Y.
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Salt Lake City, Utah
Scott Nearing, Cape Rosier, Maine
Thomas F. Ogilvie, Atlantic City, N. J.
Albert Pezzati, New York City
Hon. Willard B. Ransom, Indianapolis, Indiana
Rev. J. W. Reed, Portland, Oregon
Thomas Richardson, N. Y. C.
Paul Robeson, New York City
Theodor Rosebury, St. Louis, Mo.
Sylvain Schnaittacher, Warren, Arizona
Rev. M. L. Scott, Marion, Ark.
Thomas L. Slater, Chicago, Ill.
Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Nashville, Tenn.
Willard Uphaus New Haven, Conn.
Rev. Wm. Campbell Wasser, Denver, Colo.
Dr. F. W. Weymouth, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rev. Albert J. Wilson, Walla Walla, Wash.
Rev. Roy M. Wingate, Belgrade, Nebr.

AMERICA must have peace.

Peace for jobs. Peace for security.

Peace for the happy future of our children and youth.

War will solve nothing. Atomic war would destroy everything.

The people together can stop war. The truce in Korea proves this.

More and more Americans are urging that our government take the only road to peace; the negotiation of all differences between nations—especially between the Great Powers.

The people together can secure negotiation of the major issues causing international tensions. They can overcome any effort to obstruct agreement between nations.

Negotiations in the spirit of give and take, in the spirit of live and let live, can bring about a world in which trade and friendship will replace fear and force.

The longest negotiations are better than one day of killing.

Let us all press in every way for negotiations to assure peace.

If we insist, peace will prevail.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 W. 26 Street
New York 10, N. Y.

LET'S KEEP OUT OF INDO-CHINA

Keep U.S. men and money at home to build a prosperous America

U. S. PAYS THE BILL FOR INDO-CHINA WAR

Three billion of U.S. taxpayers' money has been spent for the Indo-Chinese war (two-thirds of the total cost).

U.S. LIVES NOW IN DANGER

450 Air Force men have been sent to Indo-China in the past eight months and are already in combat areas. (*N. Y. Daily News,* 2/9/54.)

THE FRENCH AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WANT TO STOP THE FIGHTING

The French people call the Indo-China war "The dirty war." They are weary after 7 years of fighting.

George Bidault, French Foreign Minister, told Secretary Dulles at Berlin: France could not be denied the right to see whether an honorable peace could be arranged in Indo-China as the U.S. had insisted in doing in Korea. (*N. Y. Times,* 2/21/54.)

Ho Chi Minh, head of the Vietnam People's Government, has made three recent offers for cease-fire talks.

U.S. LEADERS PROTEST AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT

Senator Russell of Georgia declared (2/9): Sending of U.S. Air Force technicians to service U.S. bombers in Indo-China is a "mistake" that might lead to "piece-meal" U.S. involvement in war; he urged early withdrawal.

Senator Stennis of Mississippi warned (2/9): If U.S. troops intervene on one side it will then be a "logical move" for the Chinese to intervene on the other side.

THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WANT PEACE IN INDO-CHINA

The U.S., Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union agreed at Berlin, in response to popular demand to call a meeting of the Big Five Powers in Geneva, April 26th, to discuss peace in Korea and Indo-China.

Premier Nehru of India has appealed to all parties and powers to arrange a cease-fire in Indo-China now, before the Geneva meeting.

ACT NOW:

Write or wire President Eisenhower and your Congressman

NO MEN, NO MONEY, NO AID FOR WAR IN INDOCHINA!
FULL SUPPORT OF BIG FIVE MEETING—
FOR PEACE IN KOREA AND INDO-CHINA!
CEASE FIRE NOW!

Issued as a public service by the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade, 35 West 26th St., New York 10, N. Y. 412

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING
PEACE INFORMATION CENTER
October 12, 1950

PRESENT: Rev. John Darr Jr., Mr. Kyrle Elkin, Miss Dorothy Gottlieb, Miss Shirley Graham, Mr. Albert Kahn, Mr. Abraham Jenofsky, Mr. George Murphy, Mr. Paul Robeson, Mr. Marcel Scherer, Miss Frieda Schwenkmeyer, Mr. Abbott Simon, Mr. Leon Straus, Dr. Gene Weltfish

GENDA: Stockholm Appeal Campaign
Emergency Conference on Peace and the Far East
Report on World Congress
Finances
Future of Peace Information Center
Dept. of Justice Case

STOCKHOLM APPEAL CAMPAIGN

The campaign is drawing to a close, and the petitions are coming into the office. There was some discussion about presenting the petitions to the UN on United Nations Day, or during that week, but because most of the UN officials will be tied up during that period, and because many of the active peace workers are involved in the elections, it was felt that nothing should be done until after Election Day.

EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON PEACE AND THE FAR EAST

An emergency conference is needed to deal with the question of cease-fire in Korea and the seating of China in the UN. Such a conference might be the medium through which some type of peace action could be realized.

REPORT ON WORLD CONGRESS

At the Preparatory Committee meeting at Prague, it was felt that unless there was a good delegation from the U.S., there would be no point to holding the Peace Congress. The members of the Preparatory Committee agreed on the following principles: (1) Peace could not be imposed by force; (2) People of different backgrounds and social systems should get together to discuss the attainment of peace.

The Preparatory Committee asked for the names of educators, ministers, professionals and rank and file labor leaders so that similar people in England and France could invite them to attend the Congress. Also, it was important for rank and file people to attend the Congress, such people as star signature collectors on peace petitions. The Preparatory Committee would give financial assistance to such people.

Mr. Simon reported that Dr. Du Bois and Dr. Fletcher have sent out letters to many prominent people asking them to join an American Sponsoring Committee to see to it that Americans attend the Peace Congress. Dr. Fletcher has asked Rev. Muir to act as Secretary of this Committee and an office has been set up in the offices of The Witness.

Now the question is to get delegates to the Congress. Some preparations have been made to get certain leading people. It was emphasized that there should be a large Negro delegation. Miss Gottlieb spoke of the outstanding work of the youth and urged that special attention be given to youth delegates.

The problems ahead are the question of (1) obtaining passports, and (2) raising money to send the delegates. It was urged that many people ask for passports immediately, so that if there are refusals, some campaign can be worked around such refusals. On finances, suggestions were given on contacting groups and individuals who would be more responsive to contributing to peace than other progressive activities. A further suggestion was to ask Bishop Walls to make an appeal for funds through his church.

The organization of a representative delegation is such a difficult job for the short period ahead that it was strongly suggested, if at all possible, some person be assigned to travel around the country to facilitate such arrangements.

(more)

FINANCES

The Peace Information Center now has a debt of $5500. There is a possibility of raising some money within the next two months, but such possibilities are extremely limited in view of the elections and other demands made on many of the people who have contributed to our work.

FUTURE OF THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER

In view of the severe and pressing financial difficulties, and many allied problems, it was felt that the Peace Information Center should terminate its activities and dissolve. Authority was given to the officers to undertake the necessary steps to wind up its affairs and close the office.

REGISTRATION WITH DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Mr. Simon reported that the Justice Dept. had refused to make an appointment for Dr. Du Bois to personally discuss the case with them, and that Dr. Du Bois had written a strong letter to Attorney General McGrath protesting this denial. He was now waiting for an answer from McGrath.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Sylvia Soloff, Secretary

dpowa

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AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.
Murray Hill 4-8256

PRESS RELEASE

For immediate release
(11/8/54)

The American Peace Crusade, on the eve of the reconvening of Congress on November 8th, sent the following telegrams to Alexander Wiley (R.-Wis.), Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and to Senator George of Georgia, Democratic leader of that committee:

"Urge Senate Foreign Relations Committee hold public hearings on European Security and Asian Defense Treaties. European Defense Treaty would reconstitute German army. Only 10 years ago German army responsible for widespread death and destruction. Its existence would endanger world peace. Both treaties would sharpen divisions in Europe and Asia, heighten international tensions and negate work of U.N. Disarmament Commission."

Thomas Richardson, National Co-Director of the American Peace Crusade, stated that the vital issues posed in these treaties make necessary the most serious examination of these agreements before ratification. He called upon all organizations and individuals interested in preserving peace to wire members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Congressmen and Senators urging them to speak out for public hearings on the European Security and Asian Defense Treaties.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE Nov.4,1954
35 W. 26 St. New York,10,N.Y.

FLASH! N.Y.Times Sunday Oct.3,1954 reports, "President to rush pacts to Senate at Nov.8 session. . .Seeks ratification early in 1955 for European security and Asian defense treaties." (Series of SEATO and London Conference treaties on German rearmament.)
The vital issues posed in these pacts makes necessary the most serious examination of these agreements before ratification. Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, your own Congressman and Senator should be urged now to speak out for public hearings.

We are sure you are interested in a report on the meeting of the APC Resident Board, held in New York City on October 9. The purpose of this meeting was to review the work of the APC since the last National Committee meeting; to examine the present situation in our country and abroad; and to plan APC work for the coming month.

Dr. Royal France, our legal adviser, reported on the recently passed Humphrey-Butler Law, the Communist Control Act of 1954. He pointed out that unless the law is declared unconstitutional, many people in the U.S. would be faced with the choice of either living as hermits or being persecuted under the "guilt by association" provisions. This law was designed to curb expressions of non-conformity in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. Peace organizations would, under the provisions of the law, be subject to attack.

Dr. France stated that in this period the APC could only be effective in the defense of its organization and of its program if it were able to marshal the necessary support in carrying out this program.

Each of the speakers in the discussion that followed Dr.France's report emphasized and developed the point that the best defense of the American Peace Crusade and its program lay in the expansion and the intensification of its work. This could be accomplished only by winning new individuals and groups to work for peace. The possibility for this exists today when more and more people desire peace as the alternative to H-bomb annihilation.

To win new support for the APC peace program it was agreed that there must be heightened emphasis on education and publications that can stimulate peace action. This perspective can not be realized, however, unless peace groups and individuals support the national office in making them available.

The Resident Board therefore voted to urge Peace Councils and individuals to aid in the publication of general materials by making regular financial contributions of whatever amount possible. This would enable the APC to develop a much needed publications program on a regular basis.

Perhaps you can be one of the sponsors of this program by sending us your regular contribution, or by collecting it regularly from among your friends. This will help us continue and extend our peace program. It will also give us the confidence that we have the support of many in this difficult period of repression and attacks. The APC will carry on its work for peace, the deepest desire of our people and of people the world over.

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, N.Y.
Murray Hill 4-8256

PRESS RELEASE

For immediate release

The American Peace Crusade Resident Board, meeting in New York City last week, urged American voters to seek support on a number of peace issues from all candidates for public office. These issues include: a strengthened, all-inclusive United Nations; the opening of markets to American business and the creation of jobs for American workers by ending restrictions on East-West trade; the participation in a program of international cultural exchange to encourage good-will and better understanding among all.

Characterizing the coming elections as among the most vital in U.S. history, the American Peace Crusade Resident Board pointed to the opportunity for people to influence candidates to speak for peaceful negotiations.

Noting that the people of all nations had compelled an end to the wars in Korea and Indochina through peaceful negotiations, the A.P.C. stated that "negotiations can also settle all other disputes which carry the risk of new conflicts."

The A.P.C. warned of explosive grounds for new wars in a divided, remilitarized Germany, and a divided Asia. It noted further incitement to war in a policy of repression of colonial peoples' struggles for freedom and independence.

"The people of all nations, fearful of H-bomb destruction, demand that their governments get together and solve these problems so that all countries, regardless of political and economic systems, live together in peace," stated the Resident Board.

The A.P.C. Resident Board proposed:

1. That the A.P.C. Education-Publications program include publication of factual material relating national problems such as unemployment, juvenile delinquency, the low state of national morality in the U.S. to the existence of war tensions and hysteria. That such material show how Peaceful-Coexistence provides the answer to these national problems.
2. That local Peace Councils and other organizations hold symposiums, forums, debates and meetings to provide an opportunity for fuller discussion of these issues.
3. That there be the widest observance of the 8th Anniversary of the United Nations on October 24th.

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THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 west 26 Street
New York 10, N.Y.
Murray hill 4-8256

October 24, 1954

Dear Friend:

We were sorry that you were unable to be with us at the inspiring American Peace Crusade Resident Board meeting held on October 9th.

We know you are interested in the discussions that took place at the meeting and proposals that were made. We are therefore giving you a brief summary of the highlights of the meeting.

Dr. Royal France, our legal adviser, reported on the recently passed Humphrey-Butler Law, the Communist Control Act of 1954. He pointed out that unless the law is declared unconstitutional, many people in the U.S. would be faced with the choice of either living as hermits or being persecuted under the "guilt by association" provisions. This law was designed to curb expressions of nonconformity in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. Peace organizations would, under the provisions of the law, be subject to attack.

Dr. France stated that in this period the A.P.C. could only be effective in the defense of its organization and of its program if it were able to marshal the necessary support in carrying out this program.

Each of the speakers in the discussion that followed Dr. France's report emphasized and developed the point that the best defense of the American Peace Crusade and its program lay in the expansion and the intensification of its work. This could be accomplished only by winning new individuals and groups to the fight for peace. The possibility for this exists today when more and more people desire peace as the alternative to H-bomb annihilation.

To win new support for the A.P.C. peace program it was agreed that there must be heightened emphasis on education and publications. This perspective can not be realized, however, unless peace groups in the 23 states with which the national A.P.C. maintains contact use the educational materials effectively and support the national office in making them available.

The Resident Board therefore voted to urge each Peace Council or area to aid in the publication of general materials by making regular financial contributions. It was computed that if each state contributed $5.00 monthly, this would provide sufficient funds to develop a publications program on a regular basis. (The enclosed Press Release mentions a few specific proposals on the types of material desired.)

Another matter discussed at the Resident Board meeting waa the organization of Peace Workshops in each area for the training of peace workers. At these workshops practical suggestions could be worked out for reaching more individuals and organizations on questions of peace; more effective methods of work discussed; new experiments suggested and tested. The national office of the A.P.C. could be a center for the exchange of ideas, plans, methods of execution and evaluation of projects on the basis of results obtained.

The Resident Board voted to urge the setting up of local Peace Workshops as a source of inspiration and an aid in the developing, testing in action and exchanging ideas on most effective methods of broadening our work for peace.

You are urged to take up with your Peace Councils the proposals contained in the above and in the attached Press Release. We would like you to send us your decisions on the extent of your participation and contribution in the work of the education-publications program. If you will send us your first regular financial contribution, we can begin the publication of the much-needed material at once. Where Peace Workshops are set up, they can engage in concrete discussion of ways of using this material most effectively for contacting church, labor, parent groups and others.

As you were unable to make your contribution to the discussion at the Resident Board meeting, perhaps you would like to send us your comments and suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson
National Co-Director

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SUMMARY REPORT OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLES' CRUSADE FOR PEACE
JUNE 29-JULY 1, 1951, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

General Report

Some 4500 delegates and observers attended the Congress. They represented trade unions, farm groups, women's organizations, church bodies, community and youth organizations. This Congress was one of the largest peace assemblies ever held in the United States. More than 1500 delegates from AFL, CIO and independent unions from every section of the country participated in this Peace Congress.

Organization of the Congress

I. The Congress opened on Friday afternoon, June 29th, with panels on various subjects that affect the fight for peace. These panels were: Colonization and Peace; Standards of Living and the War Budget; The Negro Citizen and Peace; The Right to Speak for Peace; The Education of our Children--For Peace or War?; and The Battle for the Mind. In addition, there was a special panel of church delegates on The Pulpit and Peace.

II. On Friday evening there was a mass meeting in the Chicago Coliseum which was attended by over 7,000 people, including many Chicagoans who were not delegates. Speakers at the meeting included Paul Robeson, Dr. Willard Uphaus, church leader, Gale Sondergaard, actress, William Hood, Vice-President of Ford Local 600, UAW CIO, the largest union local in the world, who brought official greetings from his union, and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

The greetings from Local 600, signed by its four top officers read: "IT IS ENCOURAGING TO LABOR TO SEE SUCH A GREAT PEACE CONGRESS AS YOURS BEING HELD AND IF ALL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHO WANT PEACE WILL ONLY SPEAK UP AND JOIN THEIR EFFORTS TOGETHER PEACE CAN BE WON. IN BEHALF OF 60,000 MEMBERS OF LOCAL 600 YOU HAVE OUR BEST WISHES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE."

III. On Saturday morning, June 30th, there was a general assembly session of all the delegates to hear a discussion on "United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1951." Among the experts who addressed this session were: Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Prof. Robert Havighurst of the University of Chicago; Dr. Jerome Davis of the University of Colorado. Although these speakers differed on many aspects of American foreign policy and peace, they all agreed on the need for peaceful negotiations between the Big 5, and the possibility that the United States and the Soviet Union can live together in peace.

Harry Bridges said, among other things, "It's about time the rank and file of the people got into the 'great debate', instead of leaving it to the phoney 'bi-partisan politicians. "Bi-partisanship," continued Bridges, is "two groups of hot-air politicians, the ins and the outs, both working together to do a job on the American people. They're bi-partisan all right when it comes to doing a wrecking job on wages, prices, unions and security."

Bridges warned that "no labor union can win a fight these days without the support of the very same groups who are here because of their great interest in peace. The same people who fight hardest for world peace are those who also give the most sympathy, understanding and support to labor in its struggles."

IV. On Saturday afternoon, the delegates broke up into panels, based on their fields of work. These panels were, Labor, Women, Community, Farmer, Cultural, Veterans and Youth.

V. Approximately 1000 labor representatives took part in the Labor Workshop on the second day of the Congress. The Workshop was jointly chaired by Harry Bridges, President of the ILWU, an official delegate from his International Union, and Leon Beverly, President of the Armour Local of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, an official delegate from his Local, which sent 100 delegates to the Congress.

Labor Workshop

Michael Wood, President of the Cortland Forge Local 247, and President of the District Council of Blacksmiths, AFL, Chicago, affiliated with the Boilermakers' International Union, the Keynote speaker at the Workshop, made a plea for unity of all sections of the labor movement in the struggle for peace, irrespective of their union affiliation.

Wood stated: "There has been a myth spread over the years about the conservatism of the AFL. My mere presence here refutes such a generalization... Unity for peace of all workers and all unions must be achieved. Regardless of political or other differences, we share the common desire for peace and a better life.... Our job today is to recognize that to advance the interests of the organization we have got to have a world at peace and we must preserve our political independence at the same time."

Maurice Travis, International Secretary-Treasurer of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, presented a draft resolution in behalf of the labor sponsors of the Congress. More than 30 delegates took part in the discussion on this draft resolution. The Labor Workshop the Resolution, "Labor and Peace", as amended from the floor. The Resolution concluded:

1. Peace is not possible without labor's energetic participation in the expanding coalition for peace. That participation must flow from the common bond that unites all workers. The desire for permanent, lasting peace has always been part of the workingman's credo. To translate that desire into organization is our purpose.

2. Immediately we want the shooting stopped, the plans for war ended, the negotiations started.

3. Immediately we want to carry forward our traditional program of economic and political freedom for our members.

4. Immediately we want President Truman to end the "war emergency" with the cease-fire truce and to end all the by-products of the emergency including the wage-freeze, the scuttling of the fight for FEPC, discriminatory taxation, and all proposed restrictions of labor's and the people's constitutional rights.

The organization report was made by Marcel Scherer, Coordinator of the National Labor Conference for Peace. Pointing out that the Labor Workshop showed what could be achieved through an organized effort, he said that experiences have proved again and again the need for organized peace committees and peace groups, though varied in nature and flexible in form.

The Labor Workshop adopted the following organizational proposals:

(1) To set up a large national continuations committee of perhaps 100, to include all the groups and elements present at the Workshop, and to be the National Agency to help carry through the Congress proposals in labor circles. This National Continuations Committee to be unaffiliated, but to cooperate with the American Peace Crusade and to be open to all labor unions or labor peace groups which are ready to work together for peace, even if only on one single issue —as "cease-fire in Korea".

A sub-committee of 7 was approved to gather together all the nominations for the National Continuations Committee:

Jack Burch, UE, Chicago
John Flowers, MCS, San Francisco
Herb March, Packinghouse, Chicago
Maurice Travis, Mine, Mill, Denver
Edith Van Horn, UAW, Detroit
Michael Wood, Blacksmiths, AFL, Chicago
Marcel Scherer, Coordinator, National Labor Conference for Peace

(2) To set up Labor Peace Councils or Committees in each city or industrial area; such groups to seek the broadest possible representation from unions in the respective areas.

VI. A concert for peace was held at the Chicago Coliseum on Saturday evening.

VII. On Sunday, July 1, the closing plenary session was opened with interfaith devotional services. Thereafter reports from all the panels were presented, and a statement of policy, entitled The Chicago Plan, was adopted. In conclusion the Plan stated: "In recognition of these vital truths, we earnestly urge all men and women of good will to unite around this program:

Closing Plenary Session

1. The full restoration of peace in Korea.
2. Immediate negotiations among the major powers leading to settlement of all outstanding differences.
3. An agreed and controlled disarmament, and elimination of weapons of mass destruction.

Let it now be peace and not war that will extend throughout the world!

Maurice Travis, National Secretary-Treasurer of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, presented the findings of the Labor Workshop to the full Congress. Along with the Resolution "Labor and Peace", he proposed a wire to President Truman, calling for a rescinding of the War Emergency Declaration with the establishment of the cease-fire in Korea.

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A new national peace organization was set up, with an executive body made up of leaders in the fight for peace all over the country and in every field of work. The Co-chairmen elected were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Prof. Anton J. Carlson and Prof. Robert Morss Lovett.

EVALUATION OF THE CONGRESS.

There is no doubt that this Congress represented a tremendous milestone in the fight for peace. It is also undeniably true that this Congress, and movements like it, had a terrific effect on the opening of the cease-fire negotiations in Korea. The Congress was also historic in the great number of Negro delegates who attended and participated, and in the fact that the struggle for Negro rights and the need for Negro-white unity ran through all the panels and all the discussions. Another feature of the Congress was the outstanding participation of women delegates, demonstrating the leading role that American women are playing in the fight for peace.

Labor representatives played important roles throughout the meetings of the Congress. Harry Bridges delivered a major address on foreign policy at the opening session. William Hood, Vice-President of UAW Local 600 was Consultant to the Panel, "The Negro Citizen and Peace". Abe Feinglass of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union, who represented President Ben Gold, since the latter, as Chairman of the Strike Committee in New York, was unable to attend, chaired the Panel on "National Groups in the Fight for Peace". Ernie DeMaio, President of District 11 of UE, was the Chairman of the panel on the cost of living. Mrs. Rose Russell, Legislative Representative of the New York Teachers' Union, UPWA, was the keynote speaker at the panel on, "Educating our Children--for War or Peace?" Edwin S. Smith, Executive Director of the National Teachers Division was N.Y.State Chairman of the delegation. Rank and file participation in all gatherings in which labor was represented was a distinguishing characteristic of the Congress. This was true also of women, youth, farmers and other groups which held separate meetings of their own. The panel on the cost of living, which was largely labor in composition, had 60 speakers. More than 30 spoke at the Labor Workshop, when the meeting was adjourned because of the lateness of the hour. The chairman was holding a sheaf of speakers' names whom there was not time to hear.

But the real test of the value of the Congress will lie in the work that we do from here on -- in our shops, our Union, and our community -- to guarantee that a cease-fire is arranged in Korea and that peace is established all over the world.

Mention must here be made of the very exciting youth festival held on Sunday at the Packinghouse Center. It was a tribute to the talent, enthusiasm and ingenuity of the country's youth.

Issued by NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR PEACE, Room 329, 80 East 11 St., N.Y.C.

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LABOR and PEACE

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE LABOR WORKSHOP OF 1500 DELEGATES
FROM AFL, CIO AND INDEPENDENT UNIONS AT THE
AMERICAN PEACE CONGRESS AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JULY 1, 1951:

LABOR has a special stake in peace. It is labor that does most of the dying; most of the fighting, most of the paying. In every country of the world, it is the working people who have the least to gain from war, the most to gain from peace. It is the working people of each country who can most readily agree that war is unnecessary. Workers who do not profit from war have no incentive to make war on workers of different nationalities.

LABOR is against war because only under peace can the basic aims and purposes of the trade union movement be realized. A war situation strikes at the very heart of why our unions were organized. War establishes an official government policy of lowering the standards of living of the American people War brings wage freezes, compulsory arbitration of wages, and the drastic restriction of our rights as trade unionists. War undermines civil rights, especially of the Negro workers and workers of other minority groups. War abolishes free collective bargaining, the free choice of jobs, the freedom to use traditional weapons to achieve redress of grievances and speedup. War inevitably must impoverish the people.

In short, war endangers the very existence of trade unions by virtually suppressing every normal function of our organizations, all of which were founded for the well-being, economic security, and enlightenment of the working people.

LABOR AGAINST WAR

Labor is against war because we know from past experience that a nation cannot divert its resources to war production and not do irreparable damage to the people's security and happiness. We are against war because there is no need for war. The alternative is peace.

We hail, therefore, the instructions of our government to our military leaders to negotiate a truce in Korea. We hail the transfer of international differences to the conference table where they belong. As trade unionists we are in full accord with a policy of negotiation because we know the value of negotiations, the wisdom of "talking it over."

WE CONSIDER "cease fire" negotiations in the same light as we do contract negotiations. An issue most vital to our union memberships is as much at stake in the truce negotiations as the question of peace. That issue, of course, is the standard of living which we organized to improve. It is the economic impact of war on the working people which is one of the most alarming results of war.

WHO STOLE THAT HOUR AND A HALF?

As long ago as the first of this year, a copper miner had to work a full hour and a half longer to buy the same basket of food he bought in June of 1946. Who stole that hour and a half?

The answer is in the super-profits of American corporations who earned more than twice as much last year as their peak earnings in World War II. It is in the budget for a war economy. It is in the presence of corporation executives and generals at the head of every government agency who have arranged to squeeze the workers between frozen wages and rising prices, who very carefully managed to place the burden of taxation on those of us who lose the most in war -- the workers and their families.

The torpedoing of our living standards is accompanied by frantic propaganda to convince us that war is good for us. The will-o-the-wisp of war jobs is Wall Street's pain killer. It is the same false theory that Hitler used to soften the resistance of the German labor movement to his war. German workers learned too late that war is a bunco game and that they were the suckers. We American trade unionists do not propose to be suckers. We know that war is the incubator of economic calamity.

Perhaps not all of us will agree on this characterization of labor's stake in peace. Perhaps there are differences among the various sections of America's labor movement as to assessing the blame for international or domestic tensions. We feel certain, however, that there are no differences among us as to the common bond we share in peace. We feel certain that no single section of the population, no one grouping within the labor movement has a monopoly on the desire for peace and the better life for American workers that peace makes possible.

80 BILLION DOLLAR WAR BUDGET

The 80 billion dollar war budget, if spent in peaceful pursuits, would bring unprecedented prosperity to America. Valley authorities such as TVA, a nationwide housing program, a gigantic public roads program, the construction of thousands of new, badly-needed schools, new hospitals, new recreational facilities, new scientific facilities, improved transportation, and a thousand and one other peacetime projects would employ more workers than the war economy and would lead to the kind of life for American workers that war makes impossible.

PEACE is not possible without labor's energetic participation in the expanding coalition for peace. That participation must flow from the common bond that unites all workers. The desire for permanent, lasting peace has always been part of the working man's credo. To translate that desire into organization is our purpose.

Immediately we want the shooting stopped, the plans for war ended, the negotiations started. Immediately we want to carry forward our traditional program of economic and political freedom for our members. Immediately we want President Truman to end the "war emergency" with the cease-fire truce and to end all the by-products of the emergency including the wage freeze, the scuttling of the fight for FEPC, discriminatory taxation, and all proposed restrictions of labor's and the people's constitutional rights.

For the future we want a permanent end to wars, a world where unemployment and hunger are unknown, a happy, prosperous, free America.

WORKERS: ACT to safeguard labor and peace!

In your shop, in your union, urge wires to President Truman that with the enactment of the armistice in Korea, he issue an executive order cancelling the "war emergency declaration"; to end the wage freeze; and to rescind the new 12½% payroll tax.

Issued by NATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE FOR PEACE, Room 329, 80 East 11 Street
New York City

CONVOCATORIA

PARA LA CONFERENCIA POR LA PAZ DE LOS PUEBLOS AMERICANOS

La amenaza de guerra se cierne sobre la humanidad. Afecta profundamente la vida de los países americanos; significa la distorsión de nuestra economía, la violación de nuestra soberanía y la mengua de nuestras libertades;la participación de nuestros países en pactos agresivos, el empleo de unidades militares contra otros pueblos, la concesión de bases estratégicas, la deformación de nuestras culturas y la agravación de medidas de discrimanación racial.

La guerra que se libra en Corea puede incendiar el mundo si no unimos nuestras voluntades para exigir una solución pacífica del conflicto.

Frente a estos hechos, estimamos necesario efectuar una reunión de personalidades representativas del continente, que proceda a una amplia y libre discusión sobre los efectos de la actual tensión internacional en la vida de nuestros pueblos. Esta reunión debe trabajar, además, en el estudio de las mejores formas para el desarrollo del movimiento de la paz en América y contribuir del modo más eficaz a la lucha de todos los pueblos para lograr la reunión de las cinco grandes potencias con el objeto de que se concierte un pacto de Paz abierto a todas las naciones.

La conferencia se celebrará en la ciudad de México los días 3 al 8 de septiembre del presente año.

Invitamos a participar en esta conferencia a personas representativas de todas las actividades de nuestras naciones, culturales, económicas, femeninas, juveniles, políticas y sindicales, unidas en la común aspiración de consolidar la paz, cualesquiera que sean sus opiniones sobre las causas que engendran el peligro de guerra.

Estamos seguros de que nuestra voz será oída y América colaborará eficazmente al aseguramiento de la PAZ.

Is there any road to WORLD PEACE?

A community forum presenting:

ROBERT C. KIRKWOOD
Assemblyman

GEORGE D. COLLINS, Jr.
Assemblyman

Mrs. PAUL BRINK
Religious Society of Friends

SCOTT NEARING
Writer, Educator, Lecturer

Chairman

EDWIN J. OWENS
Dean, College of Law University of Santa Clara

THURSDAY, NOV. 20, 8 p.m.

SARATOGA GRAMMAR SCHOOL - Adm. Free

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
APRIL 8, 1954

ACTION URGED TO BAN H-BOMB AND TO KEEP U.S. OUT OF INDO-CHINA WAR

Declaring that the H-bomb tests which brought such great tragedy to the people of Japan make clear the awful menace of total destruction hanging over mankind, the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade has called for the greatest possible outpouring of expression in every form from the American people demanding an end of all H-bomb tests and a pledge that such weapons not be used pending international agreement to outlaw them.

The Board warned of the peril to the American people growing out of increasing United States involvement in the war in Indo-China. The lives of thousands of American boys are in danger, the Board said, and there is a serious threat that if the power of the United States is used to prolong or expand this war, it may become the trigger of an H-bomb war which would visit terrible destruction on our nation.

The Board called for an end of U.S. involvement in Indo-China and urged that the United States government seek a speedy cease-fire there and a peaceful settlement of the conflict at the Great Power Conference in Geneva on April 26th.

In view of the critical importance of foreign policy decisions now under debate in Washington, the Crusade Board stated that letters, wires and resolutions at this time to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, members of Congress and local state and city officials can make a real difference in saving our nation from another Korea and from atomic disaster.

The Board called especially for delegations to Congressmen and Senators while they are back home during the Easter recess from April 15th to 25th. It urged that individuals begin immediately to prepare such delegations by going now to neighbors and shopmates to urge them to take action.

(MORE)

The Board declared that the great strength throughout the world of the desire for a relaxation of international tensions had resulted in the agreement of the Four Great Powers at Berlin to meet with the People's Republic of China on April 26th at Geneva. The Board urged widespread support of the Geneva Conference to end the war in Indo-China and to assure peace in Korea and throughout Asia.

Another action of the Board called for early public hearings and favorable action by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Senator Langer's Resolution S.C.R. 71, reaffirming the Constitutional authority of Congress alone to declare war and thereby limiting the danger of the people of the United States being drawn into war without their consent.

The Board welcomed the proposal of the World Council of Peace for an International Meeting, to be jointly prepared by persons and groups seeking a relaxation of international tensions, which would permit a free exchange of all viewpoints and a serious study of possible solutions to pressing world problems. Such a meeting, the Board said, by bringing persons together across geographical and ideological boundaries and by deepening understanding and friendship between peoples, would be a step towards peace.

# # # #

EMERGENCY CAMPAIGN MEMO -- April 8, 1954

A. P. C. RESIDENT BOARD CALLS FOR ACTION!

HALT H-BOMB! - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - STOP INDO-CHINA WAR!

You will find enclosed a press release on the April 5th Resident Board meeting of the American Peace Crusade. Also enclosed is the text of Senator Langer's resolution.

The H-bomb menace and the danger of the U.S. going to war in Indo-China are arousing millions of Americans to the need of assuring peace. Millions are ready to respond to peace leadership at this time. The APC and peace workers around the country must find the ways to give this leadership and to supply instruments for action and expression by the people.

WE SUGGEST CONCENTRATED EFFORTS BEGINNING IMMEDIATELY ALONG 2 MAIN LINES:

I. ACTION DIRECTED TOWARD GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS:

A) We stress especially the importance of arranging delegations to visit Congressmen while they are home for the Easter Holidays -- April 15 to 25th.

Most Congressmen have not yet decided on their position about U.S. involvement in Indo-China. In this election year they will respond to pressures now from their constituents. They can be made to go on record on the H-bomb menace and opposing further U.S. involvement in Indo-China, especially opposing U.S. troops being sent there

Congressmen should be urged to contact the President and make public statements on these issues. Senators especially should be asked to press for immediate public hearings on Senator Langer's resolution and to vote for the resolution in the Senate.

B) Visits to local, city and state officials and governmental bodies can also be fruitful at this time.

They should be urged to make public statements on the H-bomb and Indo-China issues. Governmental bodies, such as city councils should be urged to memorialize the President and Congress on these issues.

II. ACTION DIRECTED TOWARD AROUSING THE PUBLIC:

A) We stress the importance of beginning this emergency campaign by first mobilizing our own forces. We urge the immediate organization of meetings, large and small, among peace workers and friends of peace for the discussion of these issues and for the adoption of plans of action.

B) Particular emphasis should be placed upon the distribution of leaflets and sale of post cards at factory gates, and at meetings of labor and other organizations.

Enclosed is a sample post card. They sell for 2¢ each for orders up to 100, 1½¢ for orders from 100 to 1,000 and 1¢ each for orders over 1,000, plus postage.

We will send you a sample leaflet on the H-bomb next week. You have already received a sample leaflet on Indo-China, which we will be bringing up to date soon.

(OVER)

C) It is possible to evoke a positive response at this time from labor, religious and other community leaders for action on these issues, either in cooperation with local peace groups or independently. We urge that you include in your plans of action visits to such leaders. We stress especially the importance of sitting down for serious discussions with trade union leaders.

D) Letters to newspaper editors should be stimulated.

The NEW YORK TIMES of April 5th devoted the whole of its letter column to letters on the H-bomb.

E) With warm weather in most sections of the country, we urge the use of tables on street corners, shopping centers and other busy places to bring these issues to the public.

* * * *

We are planning a special issue of the Peace Reporter, which will be available at the opening of the Geneva Conference. This special issue was designed to give peace workers a valuable instrument to aid in the stimulation of activity and discussion on the pertinent issues now before the entire world, some of which will be dealt with at the Geneva Conference.

A major feature of this issue will be an article by Dr. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist, on the H-bomb menace.

Other articles will deal with Indo-China, the Langer Resolution, reactions to the H-bomb development and the Caracas Conference. Finance permits the printing of only a limited number of copies. Please place your order immediately, as we are going to press on April 15th.

Even though personnel and resources may be limited in some of your committees, we want to stress the absolute necessity of securing whatever motion and activity is possible immediately.

The American Peace Crusade will seek in every way to help the American people to express themselves on these grave issues - to end the H-bomb menace, to get a cease-fire in Indo-China and to assure the success of the Geneva Conference.

To carry out this responsibility we need your help. Let us know what you are doing. Help us financially by sending whatever you can spare immediately.

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dpo

SENATE CONCURRING RESOLUTION #71
(Introduced by Senator William Langer, Republican, North Dakota, on March 22, 1954-
Referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.)

T E X T

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring): That the Congress hereby reaffirm its exclusive power to declare war and that pursuant to the Constitution, vesting that power in the Congress, the Armed Forces of the United States shall not be ordered into action against the territory or armed forces of a foreign nation without a prior declaration of war, except to the extent necessary to repel an armed attack against the United States or any of its territories or possessions."

Senator Langer made the following statement to the Senate when he introduced the above Bill:

"Mr. President:

"Last week the Secretary of State, in the course of a speech he made, gave the impression that war could be declared without the consent of Congress.

"I now submit a concurrent resolution, for which I request appropriate reference reading as follows:"

We Declare:

The Attorney General's charge that JAFRC is a Communist-front organization is false.

In the best interests of our country and the people of the world and on the basis of our own judgment, JAFRC vigorously campaigns against the fascist Franco government—as have most thinking people throughout the world—and we shall continue to do so.

Millions of Americans have expressed their opposition to Franco and outstanding people in every walk of life have supported the cause of aid to the exiled victims of Franco terror.

WITH THIS CAUSE WE PROUDLY ASSOCIATE OURSELVES!

The Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, and himself a target of "pro-Communist" charges, states:

"I have never supported any cause which, on its own merits, was unworthy of support by an independent Christian citizen of this country who is sensitive to human situations.

"If, in any instance, Communists, unknown to me and for their own reasons, were interested in the same cause, that does not invalidate the importance of the cause, nor does it make me responsible for any casual coincidence in my interests and theirs.

"I am not ashamed of any document I ever signed or any cause I ever sponsored, whether it was in the interests of Republican Spain, or in favor of Spanish refugees from Fascist tyranny, or to advocate the repeal of the McCarran Act."

You Can Act NOW To Stop McCarthyism

The McCarran Act is *not* a "registration" law. It is a suppression law that violates all democratic tradition and destroys constitutional liberties. It was enacted over the veto of President Truman. He called it a "thought-control" measure and stated: ". . . the application of registration requirements to so-called Communist-front organizations can be the greatest danger to freedom of speech, press and assembly since the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798."

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee is determined to fight every step of the McCarran effort to destroy it. This is a fight to save not just a committee, but the conscience of Americans. Will the American people keep faith with the earliest victims of fascism —the brave Spanish people?

WON'T YOU JOIN THE FIGHT?

PROTEST to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., and to President Eisenhower by telegram, letter or resolution. Ask that McCarran Act proceedings against JAFRC be dropped. (Send us copies of your protests.)

URGE REPEAL. Write your Congressman and Senators urging them to introduce and support legislation for repeal of the thought-control McCarran Act.

CONTRIBUTE generously to help defray expenses in the fight of JAFRC to exist and to carry on its work.

WE WILL WIN WITH YOUR SUPPORT!

JOINT ANTI-FASCIST REFUGEE COMMITTEE
23 West 26th St., New York, N. Y., MU 4-0381

IN SPAIN

you're for FRANCO

. . . . or ELSE!

McCarran-Franco Handshake

Is this now a RULE FOR AMERICA?

McCarran Brain-Washing Threat!

UNDER THE McCARRAN ACT, the Attorney General has petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to register as "subversive." As proof, the Government cites the Committee's "opposition and campaign against the Franco Government of Spain."

IS OPPOSITION TO FRANCO DANGEROUS? Has support for Spain's democratic cause become an un-American activity? This, without doubt, is the aim of theMcCarrans and McCarthys.

REFUGEE RELIEF RECORD

Since 1942, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee has aided in the relief and rehabilitation of Spanish Republicans, fighters in the first great battle against fascism in 1936-1939.

It has raised over $1,500,000 for relief, medical care, hospitalization and other services for the 500,000 men, women and children forced to flee Spain and live a tormented existence in other lands. This aid was supplied without regard to political or religious affiliation of the refugees.

Licensed by the President's War Relief Control Board, JAFRC sent relief to France, No. Africa, Mexico, Portugal, Switzerland, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Venezuela, the Netherlands.

In France, the funds supported two hospitals, two convalescent homes and a children's home. In Mexico, they maintained a hospital, clinic and rest home.

The Unitarian Service Committee, an organization that administered JAFRC funds in France, said:

"The USC wishes to acknowledge the generous support of Spanish Republicans by JAFRC . . . It is a real pleasure to work so closely with a group such as yours, which has never in our entire working experience put any strings on the expenditure of funds for relief except that they be spent to relieve the sufferings of Spanish Republicans."

As pro-Franco lobbyist, Sen. McCarran's service is distinguished. He campaigned for full diplomatic relations with Franco, and for military and dollar aid.

For this, McCarran was voted the "Great American" by Generalissimo Franco, who has just awarded him one of Spain's highest decorations: the Grand Cross of the Order of Isabela la Catolica.

McCarran paved the way for the pact through which the U. S. will now pour billions into Spain to bolster the graft-ridden Franco regime and make Spain a U. S. fortress for a third world war. This immoral alliance with Franco is a threat to the entire democratic world!

Ever since—for reasons of "high strategy"—the U. S. government abandoned its opposition to Franco, JAFRC has campaigned to prevent American betrayal of the Spanish people's cause. The Administration, now embracing Franco, is attacking the JAFRC as "subversive."

The Right to be Anti-Franco

The right of JAFRC to exist, to speak against Franco and to relieve the sufferings of Franco's victims, is directly threatened by the McCarran Law. But the McCarran Act is aimed at outlawing ALL American anti-Franco sentiment and the right to express it.

The McCarran Act is the statutory embodiment of McCarthyism; it follows the repressive patterns of fascist Germany and Franco Spain.

MOST AMERICA IS ANTI-FRANCO

Most Americans hate Franco and all he stands for. They have always opposed dealings with his fascist regime as immoral and damaging the true interests of America.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee has campaigned to give effect to this overwhelming sentiment.

- **ON THE UN BOOKS STANDS THIS WORLD CONDEMNATION:**

  "In origin, nature, structure and general conduct, the Franco regime is a fascist regime patterned on, and established largely as a result of aid received from Hitler's Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Fascist Italy."

- **TOP U. S. LABOR BODIES:**

  AFL: An alliance with Franco Spain "is weakening the democratic world." "Democratic labor can never forget that in Falangist Spain trade unions are prohibited, their activities outlawed and their advocates imprisoned and even executed."

  CIO: "Reiterates its policy that our government should not take any steps in appeasement of the Franco regime."

- **FORMER PRES. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT:**

  "Having been helped to power by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany and having patterned itself along totalitarian lines, the present regime in Spain is naturally the subject of distrust by a great many American citizens."

- **400 PROTESTANT MINISTERS PETITION FORMER PRESIDENT TRUMAN:**

  They asked him "to withhold further financial aid to the Spanish government, and that no consideration be given to an alliance between that government and the U. S. until full civil rights and freedom of faith and worship are established in Spain." (November, 1952)

- **AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION:**

  "If we helped Franco Spain, we would hurt nobody but ourselves and the Spanish people. We would lose friends and influence throughout the democratic world."

CAN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AFFORD TO ACCEPT McCARRAN'S BRAIN-WASH? CAN WE PERMIT THE McCARRANS AND McCARTHYS TO DECIDE THE LIFE OR DEATH OF ORGANIZATIONS?

an evening of song and dance
saluting the Chicago Peace Congress

American Women for Peace presents

PEACE FESTIVAL

PAUL ROBESON

"SINGING OF WOMEN"
an historic musical

AI-YE TRIO
african interpretative dancers

LAURA DUNCAN

BETTY SANDERS

OSBORNE SMITH

ERNIE LIEBERMAN

and many others

A People's Artists Production

Friday, June 15, 1951, 8:30 P.M.
Manhattan Center, 34th Street & 8th Ave.

Tickets: *Orchestra $1.80; $1.20; Balcony 60c; Boxes (15 seats) available*
1186 Broadway, N. Y. • Room 330 • MU 3-1524

ORDER BLANK

American Women for Peace
1186 Broadway, Room 330
New York 1, N. Y. MU 3-1524

Enclosed please find $.....for tickets indicated below to the PEACE FESTIVAL June 15, 1951 at Manhattan Center.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

(Boxes of 15 seats available. Call for information)

☐ Orch. @ $1.80
☐ Orch. @ 1.20
☐ Balc. @ .60
(tax incl.)

PEACE ACTION MEMO

IMMEDIATE PEACE ACTION NEEDED TO SAVE PEACE IN KOREA!

There is a real danger that a cease-fire in Korea may be blocked unless the American people move quickly into the picture to insist on a truce.

Three things are obvious about the situation in Korea: First, there can be no peaceful settlement of the over-all problems in Korea unless there is a cease-fire. Secondly, there can be no true cease-fire unless all parties to the conflict stop shooting. Thirdly, the Syngman Rhee government cannot continue the war without assistance from the United States.

This situation places enormous responsibilities for saving the truce on the American people and on peace workers here, as well as on the United States government as the head of the United Nations forces in Korea. What is happening in Korea not only threatens the negotiations there, but also the very process of negotiation for the peaceful settlement of differences elsewhere in the world.

Congress and President Eisenhower must hear from the American people in unmistakenly clear terms that they want the problems in Korea to be settled peacefully and not through further bloodshed, that they therefore want the truce terms carried out immediately as already agreed to by both sides in Korea, and that, to this end, they insist that the United States government withdraw from the Rhee government all assistance which would be used to prolong the fighting.

ORGANIZE PEACE ACTION IN CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

The Lobby for Peace (see enclosed press release) showed that Congressmen want to hear from their constituents on peace and that many are hesitant to act on peace unless they feel full support back home. Determined peace action now, organized on the basis of Congressional districts to make the individual Congressman feel that his people expect him to act to save the truce in Korea, can bring concrete results.

The following actions should be undertaken where possible immediately:

1. Hold an immediate meeting of your local peace forces to map out a plan of action for getting letters to Congress and the President quickly on this matter.

2. In every locality which sent delegates to the Lobby for Peace, these mobilization meetings should be report-back meetings on the Lobby so that the experience of the Lobby can be utilized in carrying forward the work into the Congressional districts.

3. Peace Lobby delegates have a big role to play in stimulating others back home. They should speak to all sorts of groups - public meetings or house gatherings - and call on all sorts of persons - organization leaders, clergymen, etc. - to tell about the Lobby and the need to get in touch with Congressmen now. They should also contact peace-workers in near-by communities to arrange visits to localities which had no Lobby delegates.

4. Visit persons mailed Lobby Calls and others contacted in Lobby preparations. Get the support of local Lobby Sponsors in your plans to arouse action toward Washington.

5. Draw up a leaflet or open letter which can be mailed or distributed to fellow-citizens in order to stimulate letter-writing to Congress and the President.

6. Where Congressmen come home for week-ends, organize even broader delegations to them than were sent to Washington to insist that they act to save peace in Korea.

7. Write letters to local newspapers urging people to write to Washington. Lobby delegates especially should do this, telling something about the Lobby as well.

8. At report-back and mobilization meetings, take a collection and send what you can (every dollar helps) to the APC to help cover the Lobby costs and further action.

9. Use the APC printed bulletin Peace Lobby Facts to arouse peace action. Use it as well to start collecting subscriptions for THE PEACE REPORTER (the APC monthly printed bulleting starting this month with a report of the Lobby). If you do not have a copy of Peace Lobby Facts, get a copy from your local peace office or write to us for one.

10. Send us orders for Albert E. Kahn's new book on the disastrous effects of the cold war on America's children: The Game of Death ($1 per copy; 20% off on orders of 20 or more). Every peace-worker should have a copy of this book.

LOBBY FOR PEACE
3d Floor - 125 W. 72nd Street
New York City 23, N.Y.
SU 7-5160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 27, 1953

WASHINGTON, D.C., -- June 25th -- In a message to President Eisenhower, delegates from thirteen states lobbying for peace on Capitol Hill on June 25th, the third anniversary of the Korean War, urged him "to fulfill the deep desire of the American people that our nation be first in its contribution to peace among the nations of the world."

Coming from California to Massachusetts, from Michigan to Georgia, the delegates asked the President, as they had asked their Senators and Representatives, to take every action for a speedy truce in Korea and for face-to-face talks between the leaders of the Great Powers.

In their message to the President, the peace lobby delegates stated: "The United States, as the head of the United Nations forces in Korea, must assume responsibility for the conduct of Syngman Rhee and for guaranteeing the fulfilment of the truce terms. To this end, we call upon you, Mr. President, to press for an immediate truce in Korea; we ask you to with-hold all military supplies from the South Korean forces if the Rhee regime continues to block the completion of the truce negotiations and the wider negotiations for the peaceful settlement of the problems in this tortured land; and we urge you to order a full investigation, once the truce is effected, of the forces behind this sudden sabotage of the truce. The honor of our country is at stake in this matter, as well as the lives of countless human beings."

The message also asked the President to ensure that the Bermuda Conference on July 8 "will speed the holding of face-to-face talks between the leaders of the Great Powers" which world peace requires.

The delegates came to Washington to the Lobby for Peace in answer to a Call from 100 prominent Americans that there is an urgent need for the voices for peace from the people back home to be brought directly to individual Congressmen to encourage them to act for peace. The Reverend Kenneth Ripley Forbes of Philadelphia, one of the initiators of the Lobby, led the delegates to Capitol Hill, where the delegates spent the morning and early afternoon of June 25th keeping appointments with their Congressmen or buttonholing them in the corridors of the Capitol.

In the late afternoon at the plenary session of the Lobby held at the Odd Fellows Auditorium, in Washington, D.C., the delegates reported on the results of their lobbying and came to the conclusion that many Congressmen who want a speedy truce in Korea and who realize that Great Power talks are essential for world peace will not take concrete action on behalf of these objectives unless they have visible evidence that their constituents want them to act and will support them in such actions. The delegates therefore pledged to carry on the lobbying for peace back home by arousing their fellow citizens to the need for letting their Congressmen and the President know that they expect them to press for a speedy truce in Korea and for face-to-face talks with Great Power leaders as vital to world peace.

A number of delegates reported that there seemed to be an attitude among Congressmen that since the Executive Branch of the government got the United States involved in the Korean War, it was now responsible to get us out of it and that there was little that Congress could do.

Yet the delegates reported that in their talks with such Congressmen as Senators George and Russell of Georgia, Hendrickson of New Jersey, Lehman of New York and Cooper of Kentucky, and Representatives Kean of New Jersey, Seely-Brown of Connecticut, Lanham of Georgia, Shelley of California, Hoffman of Michigan, they found the Congressmen deeply disturbed by the events in Korea threatening a speedy truce there.

The delegation to Senator Hendrickson said that he promised to press for an investigation of the Rhee regime's sabotage of the truce negotiations. The delegates who saw Senator Russell reported that he felt that since the new government of China represented the Chinese people, it would have to be present in any Great Power negotiations.

Delegates reported that a number of Congressmen visited favored Great Power Talks and felt that the Bermuda Conference should lead to such talks, including Senators Hendrickson, George, Russell, Lehman and Representatives Kean, Seely-Brown, Lanham and Frances Bolton of Ohio.

(more)

The Georgia delegates reported Rep. Lanham as saying that the United States should press for Great Power talks without waiting for further deeds from the Soviet Union. Congressmen refused, however, to commit themselves to give legislative form to their support of Great Power talks, even though some of the Congressmen visited had given their support to Senate Resolution 32 on World Disarmament and Development.

The delegates to the Lobby for Peace were representative of the many sections of the American communities where there is a heightened concern for peace in Korea and for ending the burdens of the cold war. Many of the delegates were from families which have suffered from the Korean war.

The plenary session of the Lobby was opened by a Korean War veteran, just two months returned from the battlefront, who told the delegates that the soldiers at the front consider peace as the most important issue and want the American people to make peace their fight.

A Michigan businessman, whose son has been a P.O.W. since 1950 brought a car-load of delegates with him. A young Negro woman from Michigan had lost a brother in Korea recently. One of the delegates from Connecticut is the wife of a P.O.W. and the mother of two children. From Ohio were a mother and father whose son is missing in action in Korea. Actress Karen Morley, whose son has just passed his physical examination for the Army, told how mothers give thanks to those who fight for peace, and deeply moved the delegates with her readings of anti-war poems.

Among the delegates to the Lobby were many representatives from the ranks of labor, including rank-and-file members of unions in such industries as auto, steel, textiles, fur, pulp, sulphite and paper mills.

John Gojack, President of District Council 9 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America sent a message to the Lobby, as did Fred Stover, President of the Iowa Farmers Union, who said a delegation of farmers would visit Washington the following week.

A delegate from Cincinnati, Ohio, the Reverend M.F. Hardin, a member of the Peace Commission of the Lexington Conference of the Methodist Church, told his Congressman of his church's concern for peace. Another Ohio delegate, a Romanian-American worker, gave expression to the deep feelings of the foreign-born, among the first victims of cold war repression, for peace and the well-being of their adopted country.

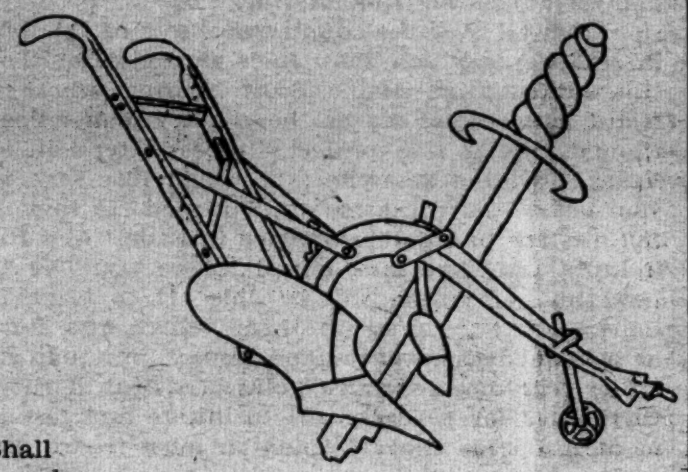
A white woman delegate from Atlanta, Georgia, painted a graphic picture of the hardships and dangers imposed upon those who would give expression to their desire for peace. The virtual police-state control, plus threats of Ku Klux Klan action, imposed great difficulties on the conduct of peace campaigns. "But despite the threats and beatings," she told the delegates, "we in the South will never let up for a moment in fighting for that which serves our nation best -- peace."

Mr. Thomas Richardson, Co-Director of the American Peace Crusade, which had given its support to the Lobby for Peace, proposed to the plenary session that a series of concrete steps be taken to extend the peace drive. He urged the delegates, when they return home, to report to the people in their communities about the Lobby for Peace and stir their fellow-citizens to speak out to their Congressmen and to the President for an immediate truce in Korea and for Great Power talks. He informed the delegates that the American Peace Crusade was planning to launch a non-partisan, factual, community-by-community Survey on the war costs and peace needs of the American people, the final results of which would be presented to Congress and the President, as well as to United Nations delegations.

Mr. John T. Bernard, former Farmer-Labor Congressman from Minnesota, closed the plenary session by calling for a constant, systematic, untiring campaign to mobilize the bulk of the American people to off-set the actions of those who prolong the cold and hot wars. "Those who want war are few, but they are extremely vocal," he told the audience. "We must open our mouths and make the will of the overwhelming majority of the people determine the course of our Government."

Peace Lobby Facts

84 Special Bulletin of the American Peace Crusade, 125 West 72nd Street, New York 23, N.Y. June, 1953



... And they Shall
beat their swords.
into plough share.

ISAIAH 1,2

CALL to a Lobby for PEACE

WASHINGTON, D. C. JUNE 25, 1953

No doubt if it, peace is in the air. It is not coming easily after three years of bitter war in Korea and eight years of cold war over the whole world. But it is coming.

Prime Minister Churchill notes in London the new possibili-

THE AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE HAILS LOBBY FOR PEACE

The whole world hails the prospect of peace in Korea. Negotiations have brought a solution of the prisoner of war question.

Now the killing can stop. Now the longing of loved-ones to be re-united can be fulfilled.

We can rejoice that the mounting expression of the popular will to peace has blocked the extension of hostilities and hastened the progress toward a truce.

But the full victory for peace has not yet been won.

Still more vigorous action by the people is required to assure the immediate ending of hostilities so that not another life will be lost in this terrible war. No new obstacles can be allowed to delay the signing of the truce and the return of the soldiers to their homes.

Our tasks will not be ended with the signing of a truce.

Negotiations are succeeding in Korea. They can settle all problems in Asia peacefully. They can succeed everywhere else in the world. Negotiations on the highest level between the Great Powers can end international tensions threatening the world with atomic war and bring relief to a cold-war weary humanity.

Soon there will be the Bermuda Conference. The leaders of Great Britain and France are coming to this Conference with a clear mandate from their people to work for peace in Asia and to prepare the way for face-to-face talks with Soviet leaders. Let our President go to Bermuda with a clear mandate from the American people that our nation join the other nations of the world in going further along the road of international negotiations now bringing peace in Korea.

In view of these tasks, the American Peace Crusade welcomes the Lobby for Peace called in Washington on the third anniversary of the Korean War by a group of prominent Americans.

This Lobby comes at a time when the voice of the people for peace must be heard in Washington to counter the voices of discord if the present possibilities for great new advances to-

PROMINENT AMERICANS SPONSOR PEACE LOBBY

Some 100 individuals from 32 states have joined in sponsoring the Lobby for Peace in Washington, including 23 clergy, 15 educators, labor, Negro, women and farm leaders, businessmen, scientists, writers, and artist.

Included among the sponsors are: Rev. William T. Baird, Secretary of the Illinois Committee for Peaceful Alternatives; Rev. J. E. Bowen, Harlan, Ky.; Rev. J. R. Case, Vergennes, Vt.; Florence Converse, Wellesley, Mass.; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, Prof. Emeritus, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.; Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Evans, Pastor, Metropolitan Community Church, Chicago, Ill.; Fyke Farmer, attorney, leader in the World Federalist Movement, Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Secretary, Episcopal League for Social Action, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Royal France, civil liberties attorney, New York City; Hon. Clemens France, former State Commissioner of Public Welfare, Providence, R. I.; Elizabeth P. Frazier, Protestant Episcopal lay woman, Philadelphia, Pa.; John T. Gojack, President,

No doubt if it, peace is in the air. It is not coming easily after three years of bitter war in Korea and eight years of cold war over the whole world. But it is coming.

Prime Minister Churchill notes in London the new possibilities for peaceful settlement. Premier Nehru of India welcomes the new spirit of compromise. Premier Melankov of the Soviet Union affirms that disputes can be resolved by peaceful means. Pope Pius XII pronounces a meeting of the big powers as "the indispensable condition of peace." Can any American forget the eloquence with which our President placed before us all the terrible costs of war and the great blessings of peace for the lives and fortunes of people everywhere? Statesmen reflect the cry for peace from the hearts of the people.

Although influential voices in Congress call for compromises leading to an equitable peace, there are also discordant voices in Congress blocking peaceful negotiations.

These facts define our task.

Let us bring to as many Congressmen as possible the message that their constituents want the great new hopes for peace to come to fruition. The voice from back home is the best guide for a member of Congress. He is encouraged to act for peace when he feels the support of men and women from his own state and his own district, who can tell him how peace will mean life for their sons; how peace can convert a precarious armament production into a secure, expanding economy; and how it can halt the voices of bigotry and dissension.

To that end we all Americans throughout the land to a Lobby for Peace.

We urge no partisan program. We place no restriction on the participants and their views. We go to Washington on June 25 at the third anniversary of the Korean War to urge Congress to use its influence to achieve 1) a prompt truce in Korea; 2) a face-to-face meeting of the leaders of the great powers to begin the wider negotiations for which the world now waits.

We want to be sure that representative groups of citizens, of the widest possible range of ideas and from all the great communities of interest in American life, visit with members of Congress.

If you believe in these aims, if you think that the attitude of Congress is the key to the issues of the day, if you share our respect for the deep tradition of the dignity of personal petition in representative government, you should come to Washington. The Lobby for Peace needs your participation.

Opportunity was never greater. History today has placed the issues of life and death into the hands of the American voter. In your voice and in your views, and those of the people of your state and your district, lie the resources or democracy. If used, they can bring peace. If they are left untapped, we face the futile desolation of atomic war.

We have the faith that our people will not fail in carrying on the best and noblest traditions of mankind for the achievement of peace on earth and good will to men.

---

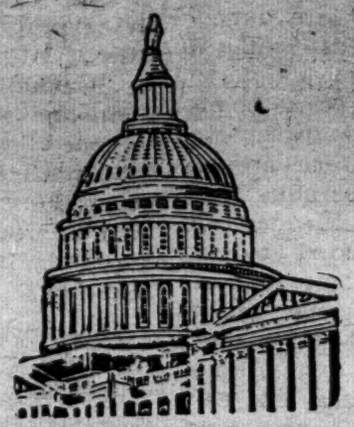
the Lobby for Peace called in Washington on the third anniversary of the Korean War by a group of prominent Americans.

This Lobby comes at a time when the voice of the people for peace must be heard in Washington to counter the voices of discord if the present possibilities for great new advances toward peace are to be realized.

In the decisive days leading to the Lobby, a heightened expression of peace sentiment from all parts of the country to the President and Congress can help to win a quick end of the killing in Korea and to assure that the Bermuda Conference contributes to further progress toward world peace.

The Lobby itself, by bringing directly to Washington delegations that are representative of the great will to peace of the American people, will encourage members of Congress to act for peace.

For those reasons, the American Peace Crusade pledges its full support to this vital action: the Lobby for Peace in Washington on June 25th, the third anniversary of the Korean War.



PROGRAM OF LOBBY FOR PEACE

9:00 A. M.—10:30 A. M.
Registration.

10:30 A. M.—4:00 P. M.
Visits with Congressmen and Senators. Appointments should be arrenged in advance by each delegation.

4:00 P. M.—6:30 P. M.
Plenary session and report meeting.

Headquarters for the Lobby for Peace will be at Odd Fellows Auditorium, 9th and T Streets, N. W., Washington, D. C., Thursday, June 25th, 1953.

All delegates are urged to report at Odd Fellows Auditorium first to register. There will be no admission to sessions without registration card. Registration fee will be $1.50.

All delegates should bring with them reports of peace sentiment and activities in their respective states and communities.

mens France, former State Commissioner of Public Welfare, Providence, R. I.; Elizabeth P. Frazier, Protestant Episcopal lay woman, Philadelphia, Pa.; John T. Gojack, President, District Council 9, UERMWA, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes, Cambridge, Mass.; Alfred C. Kuchler, Educational Director Northeast Dairy Farmers Union, Ogdensburg, N. Y.; Rev. Warren Jackson, Sheridan, Mich.; Prof. Oliver Loud, physicist, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, O.; Dr. Sol Londe, M. D., St. Louis, Mo.; Prof. George V. Moore, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky.; Prof. Philip Morrison, nuclear physicist, Ithaca, N. Y.; Rev. Arthur W. Moulton, Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Salt Lake City, Utah; Scott Nearing, author and lecturer, Cape Rosier, Maine; Axel Nielsen, businessman, St. Josephs, Mich.; Thomas F. Ogilvie, lawyer and publisher, Atlantic City, N. J.; Rev. George L. Paine, Fellowship of Reconciliation leader, Cambridge, Mass.; Hon. Willard R. Ransom, former President, Indiana State NAACP, Indianapolis, Ind.; Bertha C. Reynolds, social worker, Stoughton, Mass.; Thomas Richardson, Director, American Peace Crusade, New York City; Dr. John G. Rideout, educator, Pocatello, Idaho; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Secretary, South Carolina State Conference of Branches of the NAACP, Columbia, S. C.; Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, Winchester Center, Conn.; Leon Straus, Executive Director, Joint Board, Fur Dressers & Dyers Union, New York City; Dr. Alva Taylor, educator, Nashville, Tenn.; Rev. J. C. Thornton, Menifee, Ark.; Dr. Willard Uphaus, Director of World Fellowship, New Haven, Conn.; William Wallace, Secretary, District 4, UERMWA, Newark, N. J.; Rev. Albert J. Wilson, Portland, Ore.

(Organizations listed for identification only.)

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The Great Debate Is On

As international developments toward peace in Korea and toward Great Power talks for a truce in the cold war have come to a head, concern abroad and in this country about the conflicting elements in Washington has risen greatly. People are asking: Who will win the Great Devate?

America has been witnessing in the past months a great debate on foreign policy. It is a debate over many issues: How large should our armament program be? Should we ever recognize "Red" China? How can we achieve peace in Korea? Should we negotiate with the leaders of the Soviet Union? Can we negotiate a peaceful solution of the German problem? Should we start planning now for a full peace economy?

The results of this debate will determine decisions vitally affecting the future of the American people. The American people have the key role to play in outcome of this debate. It is the climate of public opinion created by the voices of the people—or created by other voices if the people are silent—which is and will be decisive.

Western Europe Looks at U.S.

This situation was analyzed by the Chief of CBS Radio's European News Staff, Howard K. Smith, in his broadcast from London on May 24th. Reporting "the present confused condition of western purposes", he said: "It's being alleged with unusual bluntness here that the main responsibility at the moment falls to the United States...

"Here... is the case put by the overwhelming majority of professional observers—labor, powerful people who steadfastly oppose the talks...

is that it is a minority of in Europe draw from all this

"Commentators of all political shades here have never stated so bluntly as in the past week their suspicions that something peculiar is happening in the United States. That "something peculiar" being what is called government by intimidation. The Conservative, usually soft-spoken, always pro-American British periodical, **the Spectator**, said yesterday: There is a poison at work in the United States, which, unless it can be eradicated, may become dangerous... If our Allies felt that President Eisenhower and the American people are pursuing present policies due to their own sober judgment there would no doubt be less alarm here. It is fear that the President and the people are losing control, that a minority of extremists possess the operative influence, that disturbs our Allies."

U. S. Labor Issues Warning

A major policy statement of the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers, C. I. O., addressed itself to need for the people to take action at this time:

"What are the key challenges and some times even in agreement—big business has driven far toward these objectives. It it vital that labor reexamine its role before it is too late and reassert its fundamental right, perform its fundamental duty, to promote and insist upon the fullest discussion of those issues so vital to our very life."

Another spokesman from labor, Mr. Frank Edwards radio news analyst for the American Federation of Labor, in his nation-wide broadcast Wednesday evening, May 27th, asked whether a small, but highly vocal group will be permitted to prevent President Eisenhower from exploring fully the road to peace with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union and said: "Now more than ever before the President needs the support of the American people. Now is the time to stand up and be counted."

An American Church-Leader Expresses Concern

The Rev. Dr. Frederick Nolde, director of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, stated at the annual meeting of the United States Conference for the World Council of Churches at Atlantic City on April 21st: "If President Eisenhower's goals for world peace are to be achieved, there

THE PEOPLE IN THE DEBATE: PREPARATIONS FOR THE LOBBY

"The responsibilities of these times are weighty matters. I cannot afford to neglect those for World Peace." So writes the Rev. Joseph M. Evans of Chicago, Illinois, endorsing the Lobby for Peace which will go to Washington on June 25th, the third anniversary of the Korean War.

From all over the country, sponsors of this lobby are sending in statements which show their awareness of the importance of this action. From Maine, Scott Nearing, whose voice has been heard many times across the country demanding peace, writes: "Sounds like a fine project. Success attend it." From Houston, Texas, Fred Loville writes: "I would like very well to be with you. I don't have the money. Say send me some credentials and tell me how to organize a Peace Crusade." And from Los Angeles, California Mr. and Mrs. John F. Clewe say: "We hope that somehow this convention will be able (1) to bring to bear on key Congressmen the pressure of individuals who, for either personal. or political reasons, command respect, or (2) to stir in the legislators fear of prospective political defeat if they do not bestir themselves for peace, or (3) to initate and foster a mass-movement for peace that Washington must regard as compelling."

Axel Nielsen, a business man and father of a P. O. W. writes from St. Joseph, Michigan, "I think this is a very good idea, and I believe I can get three or four more people to come." The Rt. Reverend Arthur W. Moulton of Utah, reminds us: "There is a lobby for everything else. Why not a lobby for the most important thing in the whole wide world?" "Some people," writes Hollis M. Mosher of Milton, Mass, "will say that this is the right time to call for Peace. The right time is anytime that the people are strong enough; only in our strength can we demand peace. Let's hope that we will all work for that strength and end this blood bath." From Columbia, South Carolina, from Chicago, Illinois and Prescot, Wisconsin, come enthusiastic statements. From the Reverend Albert J. Wilson of Portland, Oregon, one of the lobby's sponsors, comes not a statement but a report that "After prayer in Morning Service for Peace, passed out addressed post cards to those present to sign and mail to Senators, expressing desire for peace negotiations."

Meantime work is gong forward at a rapid pace in order to insure attendance and prepare for the work to be done in Washington. Throughout the country, not only to be done in Washmade for delegations, but peace committees are making appointments with their own Congressmen and collecting material on the effects of the war on the people of their community, to be used in discussions with those Congressmen. In New York, the campaign committee is preparing fact sheets for use in Washington, pertaining to the effect of the war on the schools, labor,

alleged with unusual bluntness here that the main responsibility at the moment falls to the United States...

"Here... is the case put by the overwhelming majority of professional observers—labor, middle-road and conservative...

"Nine weeks, nearly a quarter of a year, has now passed since Malenkov altered Russia's tone and indicated he would like to have a talk; yet outside of Korea, no known step has been taken by the West to find out what's on his mind or to test his sincerity...

"Those who oppose entering into talks with the Russians put forward two arguments which deserve to be examined separately. The first argument is we agreed to bargain from strength, they say, and we have not got the strength to justify bargaining. The answer given to that is that no authoritative persons in America has ever used that argument because is is not so...

"The other argument... is that we must have proof of their sincerity before we talk. They must show by deeds, not words, that they are sincere... The trouble... is the nature of the deeds we have demanded. President Eisenhower, in his famous foreign policy speech... sounded very much as though he was demanding, as Churchill put it, that everything be settled before we agree to sit down and discuss the settlement...

"Observers here find it hard to believe that President Eisenhower, if left to his own judgment,, would refuse talks outright. A Gallup Poll this week gives good indication of that and neither is it American public opinion that is peventing a talk... The question asked was whether people were in favor of top-level talks with the Russians as Churchill proposed. The answers were: 77% of the people asked in Britain favored the talks; 78% of the people asked in America favored them... The conclusions that observers

the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers, C. I. O., addressed itself to need for the people to take action at this time:

"What are the key challenges posed for the labor movement at this point in world history?

"In our daily work we strive for higher wages, the security of the guaranteed annual wage, of a health and welfare program and a decent pension plan, protection against speed-up. In our national life, we fight for better housing, expanded social security, a decent education for our children, an end to discrimination, the opportunity for our children, an end comfort, freedom and happiness.

"But what good are our efforts in these fields—while we live in the shadow of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, when our sons are transported from our homes to the miseries of war in Korea, perhaps to an early death; when our increased wages are decimated by the high levels of a war economy or the high taxes needed to finance a war machine; when the social security plans, housing programs, funds for education are cut off and sidetracked to permit the war express to move full speed ahead, or when life itself is lost or maimed on the battlefields of Korea; and, perhaps basic to all other items, when discussion of questions such as these in the press, on the campus—yes, let's face it, even in our union halls—is stifled, hemmed in just as surely as if by a ring of bayonets, by the pressures and threats of discharge, name-calling, black-listing and public hounding?

"Spokesmen for big business and their organizations have not been intimidated or repressed in their drive toward their objectives—profiteering, control of world markets, suppression of protest at home or abroad. And with labor silent—

Affairs, stated at the annual meeting of the United States Conference for the World Council of Churches at Atlantic City on April 21st: "If President Eisenhower's goals for world peace are to be achieved, there seems little question that we shall have to have a considerable conversion—and I include the religious and political meanings of conversion — of large segments of American opinion, both within and outside the Government."

The Lobby for Peace is Badly Needed

Major decisions will be made in coming weeks. With the ending of the war in Korea, will our government now make decisions that will assure our living peacefully with the new China? At the coming meeting in Bermuda, will our government make decisions to move in concert with its allies for the talks with Soviet leaders which our allies seek in order diminish international tensions and lessen the harsh burdens of the cold war?

The answer to these questions lie with the American people. The Lobby for Peace in Washington offers an opportunity for the people to give the answers which will bring peace.

An American Businessman Speaks For World Trade

Clinton H. Crane—Chairman of the St. Joseph Lead Company—in his remarks to the annual meeting of the Stockholders on May 11th in New York—as reported in the trade journal, American Metal Market (May 12th issue): "The cold war has placed embargoes on the normal shipments of machinery from West to East. Should peace come, or even a truce, which would make the removal of these embargoes possible, a boom would come such as business has not seen for many years."

ington. Throughout the country, not only to be done in Washmade for delegations, but peace committees are making appointments with their own Congressmen and collecting material on the effects of the war on the people of their community, to be used in discussions with those Congressmen. In New York, the campaign committee is preparing fact sheets for use in Washington, pertaining to the effect of the war on the schools, labor, women, farmers, youth, as well as a sheet giving the voting records of Congreemen on peace issues.

Connecticut is preparing for a sizable delegation representing labor, women, the Negro people, youth, and leaders of civic organization and including relatives of Korean soldiers. The West Coast expects to send to Washington a small but representative delegation, which will also include parents of soldiers now fighting in Korea and of Korean veterans.

New York is engaging a train to take two hundred peace lobbyists to Washington; in preparation for this, a truce-mobile is touring the industrial areas of the city, as well as some of the most thickly populated localities, handing out leaflets calling for immediate truce. Among local actions in the city of New York, Allerton Women for Peace have held a fund raising luncheon.

Both Detroit and Chicago are looking forward to the visit of Thomas Richardson, Co-Director of the Crusade, who will see people in the field of religion, Negro life, labor and peace activity in preparation for the lobby. Similarly, the Reverend John Darr, Jr. is going into six cities in Ohio and Kentucky. Other field trips are being planned in the next two weeks, not only in preparation for the lobby, but also, in all these trips, to stimulate peace statements and activities from individuals and groups who may not be able to come to Washington.

CANADIANS ARE CONFERRING FOR PEACE

To the Greater Toronto Conference on Peaceful Alternatives (May 9-10) came 696 registered participants, 51 representing various trade unions.

Of great interest were the steps taken to guarantee free participation for every point of view. After former Squadron Leader E. M. Aplin opened the conference for the sponsoring committee, the delegates elected their own conference committee which met and then proposed a procedure to open wide discussion. Everybody had a chance to share in the drafting of the documents produced by three panels and an elected drafting committee.

Drafted with some give and take in the discussion, the main resolution as finally adopted represents a fair consensus of important sections of Toronto opinion and it is now being circulated widely. It speaks of "the fabulous development that lies ahead for Toronto and Ontario if a durable peace can be secured." At stake in the struggle for peace is "this future of economic security, of spiritual and cultural wealth, of happiness and safety for ourselves and our children."

It dwelt on the need for agreement among the five great powers, and, "while supporting every demand for a meeting of the heads of states," proposed a meeting of the Big Five to "negotiate a pact of general settlement of the issues of the cold war" — a Pact of Peace.

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ISSUES IN THE GREAT DEBATE: PEACE AND THE WELFARE

Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote in the New York Times (5—13): "We are listening to an international discussion of the most momentous issue now before the world. There is no need to labor the fact that the future of mankind depends upon the evolving relationship between the Communist and the democratic states."

At the heart of this international discussion is the question of whether the nations will take the road for the peaceful co-existence of nations with different social and economic system—the road of negotiation of differences between nations as established in the Charter of the United Nations—or whether nations will take the road of power conflict between nations.

"ISOLATION" or "LIBERATION"?

Senator Taft, in his speach of May 26th, put his finger on the key of the problem when he pointed out that American policy "is not a policy of working through the United Nations, but is a policy of military alliance". Because a policy of military alliance is incompatible with the aims and methods of the United Nations, Mr. Taft prefers to "go it alone" without the United Nations.

Other Senators, such as Senator Knowland of California and Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin, are ready not only to go it alone without any allies—and even to sink British ship if Great Britain is not willing to join the United States in opposing the People's Republic of China.

President Eisenhower, in his press conference of May 27th, said that no single free nation can live alone in the world and that if you are going to go it alone one place, you of course have to go it alone everywhere. General Ridgway and other government and military leaders have spoken out against the idea of "going it alone". As the New York Times editorial on Mr. Tafts speech put it (5/28: "Americans cannot at one and the same time be isolationists and liberators."

Mr. Taft made clear in his comments of June 4th on his earlier speech that he was not recommending that the United States isolate itself from world affairs, but only that U. S. goals could be achieved through a policy of military alliance and not through the United Nations.

Thus it seems that no leading political figure is asking that the U. S. withdraw from world affairs. Yet the United States

VOICES OVER THE WORLD FOR GREAT POWER TALKS

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER (March 5th press conference) reaffirms his willingness to go half-way to a meeting with Soviet leaders if it is the wish of the American people.

PREMIER MALENKOV (March 15th): "At the present there is not one disputed or undecided question that cannot be decided by peaceful means... (with) all states, among them the United States."

PRES. EISENHOWER (Apr. 16) in his foreign policy speech spelled out the waste of an arms race and the benefit of a peace economy and the terms for a settlement with the Soviet Union.

PRAVDA (April 25th) called for a "serious businesslike discussion of problems both by direct negotiations and, when necessary, within... the U. N."

TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL (April 27th): "The next step must surely be a conference attended by President EIEsenhower, Premier Malenkov, Sir Winston Churchill and possibly others. Peace is not likely to be obtained from the exchange of statements at the distance separating Washington from Moscow..."

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE announces (April 30th) that its letters transmitting the Address to the Five Great Powers for a Pact of Peace adopted by the Congress of the Peoples for Peace at Vienna in December has been replied to favorably by the governments of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and that the British Government has acknowledged the demarche of the Commission. (See adjoining column.)

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL (May 11th): "I believe that a conference on the highest level should take place between the leading powers without delay."

POPE PIUS XII (May 12th): "We can only express the hope—if we may use that word—that we may see a frank and loyal discussion take place between powers. Although this would not yet mean that peace was assured, it is at least the first and indispensable condition of peace..."

"FRENCH PARLIAMENT'S powerful Foreign Affairs Commission urged the government to make specific proposals for a big power parley on world issues" (N. Y. World Telegram, 5/14).

"NEHRU favors... Churchill's parley idea." (N. Y. Times, 5/16).

GERMAN PARTY LEADER, Dr. Hans Joachom von Merkatz,

Address to the governments of the Five Great Powers

"The necessity of renouncing the use of force as a means of settling international conflicts becomes daily more urgent.

"Six hundred million men and women throughout the world have already put their names to a demand that the Five Great Powers should negotiate and conclude a Pact of Peace.

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace, meeting in Vienna, December 12th, expressing the will of mankind, solemnly invites the Governments of the United States of America, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the People's Republic of China, of Great Britain and of France to open the negotiations on which peace depends.

"Agreement between the Five Great Powers and the conclusion of a Pact of Peace will put an end to international tension and will save the world from the greatest misfortune.

"This is the demand of all the peoples."

The above address was adopted by the 2000 delegates from 85 countries to the Vienna Congress of the Peoples for Peace who included persons of widely different backgrounds; such as the French writer Jean Paul Sartre; a spokesman for the

States isolate itself from world affairs, but only that U. S. goals could be achieved through a policy of military alliance and not through the United Nations.

Thus it seems that no leading political figure is asking that the U. S. withdraw from world affairs. Yet the United States is becoming isolated from the rest of the world. Mrs. McCormick writes in the New York Times (5/23) of "the resentful uneasiness against American leadership that is spreading over Europe" and says: "In some respects this is the greatest danger in the world today and it is time it is forthrightly dealt with." Walter Lippmann, after returning from a trip to Europe, reports (New York Herald Tribune, 5/21) that "American influence is declining precipitously... I am not talking about the unpopularity of Americans abroad, but of something far more significant—of the loss of confidence and respect which has developed among those very people in Europe who wish most to believe in the United States and to work with it."

ISOLATION OR NEGOTIATION

Walter Millis indicates the real source of the growing isolation of the United States from the rest of the world when he points out (New York Herald Tribune, 5/25) that the split in Western unity stems from the fact that the European leaders like Churchill want to negotiate with the Soviet Union while the United States does not. He goes on to stay that this chasm between the Allies cannot be closed "merely by peremptory demands on our part that every one else must play by our rules or else we will pick up our marbles and go home... Our big economic contribution gives us a certain power to guide or lead this policy; it is impossible for us to dictate it, and it is growing more and more impossible with each passing month."

It thus appears that the alternatives before United States policy makers are not between "isolation" or "liberation" as the New York Times editorial posed it, but between isolation (whether we like it or not) or negotiation. As Mr. McCormick put it in her New York Times column of May 13th: "The proposal of an 'unconditional' meeting on the highest level of the leading Powers expressed not only English but European popular sentiment. This feeling is so trong that it constitutes a factor in the present world situation that has to be reckoned with by all democratic governments."

This popular sentiment for Great Power negotiations has been expressed in the recent statements of world leaders, such as Prime Minister Churchill, Premier Nehru, and Pope Pius XII. (See adjoining column on page 3.) How widespread is this sentiment can be seen in the reports from all over the world that organizations of all sorts are mobilizing the people to press for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers.

If the United States tries to follow a course that runs counter to the powerful insistence of the peoples the world over for the end of the cold war through Great Power negotiations, America will become more and more isolated from the family of peace-loving nations. The rejection of negotiations in order to pursue policies of military alliance, with or without the United Nations, will leace the United States in the position of "going it alone."

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FOR NEGOTIATION

That the American people agree with President Eisenhower that no single free nation can live alone in the world is indicated by the rising tide of public opinion in America favoring that the United States go along with the rest of the world in exploring the way to ending the cold war through international negotiations. The Gallup Poll showing 78% of the American people favor Big Power talks is an example. Other examples are given on page 4.

mission urged the government to make specific proposals for a big power parley on world issues" (N. Y. World Telegram, 5/14).

"NEHRU favors... Churchill's parley idea." (N. Y. Times, 5/16).

GERMAN PARTY LEADER, Dr. Hans-Joachom von Merkatz, in the Govenrment coalition, "appealed for new talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, Britain and France on Germany's future." (New York Times, 5/18.)

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS of Norway, Sweden and Denmark issued a joint statement for a "top level personal meeting of the leaders of the Great Powers." (5/20.)

PRAVDA (May 24th): "The appeals contained in Churchill's speech for the settlement of at least some of the main problems, thus easing the situation in the international arena, are quite realistic in the present conditions."

ERIC OLLENHAUR, head of the West German Social Democratic Party... took the position that the reunification of Germany could be brought about only through four power discussions and agreement..." (N. Y. Times, 6/1).

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH "to strengthen Sir Winston's hand at the projected Bermuda meeting, ...made it possible for him to tell Gen. Eisenhower that (they) support his call for talks with Russia without delay and without difficult conditions". (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6/3).

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE EDITORIAL (June 5th): after commenting on the stand of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers: "There is a good deal to be said for clearing the air with a meeting" (with Soviet leaders).

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR. (N. Y. Post, 5/17): "The call for such a conference recently uttered by Mr. Churchill... and seconded by Pope Pius has much to commend it at this moment."

SENATOR HUNT (Democrat of Wyoming): "I think we should meet Malenkov half-way on anything he suggests which could lead to peace. I would like to see the President get hold of Prime Minister Churchill and ask him to get hold of Malenkov and see if a three-way conference can be held in London."

Devere Allen, Editor of World-Over Press, in his column of June 5th, after citing the record of Soviet deeds in the past 90 days, asks: "What do you think of it? Are you prepared to go along with those Americans who insist that nothing of any significance has happened? The present writer, for one, just cannot take that view. The changes are not only too many to ignore, but the are meaningful and, for such a brief period, startling. It is hard to see how so many Washington politicians, from the President down, can continue saying that they must have 'deeds', not 'words'... If the leaders of American opinion are honestly convinced that the moves emanating from Moscow are nothing but gestures, they will have to make some gestures of their own, and see what happens. If they expect Moscow to grant them everything they want, without so much as a face-to-face talk about it, they, and the world, are in for disappointment."

If American public opinion in favor of Great Power talks to settle international differences causing the cold war can find effective enough expression to influence Washington, the outcome of the Great Powar debate will be in favor of negotiation and in favor of world peace. The Lobby for Peace on June 25th offers a chance for the American people to enter into the Great Debate by bringing to Washington representatives of the many currents of public opinion for peace through reconciliation and negotiation. The Lobby for Peace will help to ensure that our nation stay in the family of peace-loving mankind.

gress of the Peoples for Peace who included persons of widely different backgrounds: such as the French writer Pean Paul Sartre; a spokesman for the German churchman Pastor Martin Niemoeller; the wife of the founder of the Chinese Republic Mme. Sun Yat Sen; the national hero of Venezuela General Gabaldon; the Secretary-General of the African Democratic Assembly Gabriel D'Arboussier.

The Congress elected an International Commission charged with the mission of acting on behalf of all peace-loving peoples in pressing the governments of nations to settle their differences peacefully. The International Commission includes: Mme. Isabelle Blume, Socialist member of the Belgium Parliament; General Edgard Buxbaum of Brazil; Pierre Cot, former French Minister of the Air; Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer; Rev. James Endicott of the United Church of Canada; Mrs. Monica Felton, British Cooperative Movement leader; James B. Figgins, recently retired as General Secretary of the British National Union of Railwaymen and as member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress; Pastor Ragnar Forbeck, minister of the central cathedral of the State Church of Norway; Jaroslav Iwaszkiewicz, Polish Catholic writer; General Heriberto Jara, former Minister of the Navy of Mexico; Frederic Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize winning atomic scientist and President of the World Council of Peace; Goro Hani, member of the Upper House of the Japanese Diet; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Indian Congress Party leader; Ma Yin Chu of China; Mao Dun, Chinese writer; Mme. Geza Nabarawi, Moslem women's leader of Egypt; Pietro Nenni, socialist member of the Italien Parliament and former Minister; Giuseppe Nitti, Liberal Party member of the Italian Parliament; Nicolai Tikhonov, Soviet writer; and Dr. Joseph Wirth, former Chancellor of Germany (United States members to be named).

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AMERICA SPEAKS UP FOR PEACE

AMERICAN LABOR AND PEACE

Hugo Ernst, President, AFL Hotel, Restaurant and Bartender's International Union wrote in 1952 "Who has the wisdom, the courage, the political power—to deflect the nations from their present course into a direction, which holds some promise of an eduring peace...? It seems to me the labor movement in America has all three." Growing numbers of important unions, CIO, AFL and independent are giving expression to this "wisdom, courage and power" within labor's ranks; they have stated in convention resolutions, editorial and policy declarations that labor's interests demand peace and the road to peace is through negotiations, not force.

The foreign policy resolution of the recent CIO Auto workers' convention warned against "reckless military adventurers" and said "the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union should sit down and talk concrete cases."

The Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, in a hardhitting challenge to the entire labor movement (see page 2), placed the fight for peace as labor's number one objective.

Hugo Ernest reiterated in his Union's paper his message that what is needed above all today is the give and take of negotiations "which serves so often in labor relations to reduce the tensions, in which settlement of outstanding differences is possible."

Articles and editorials in "LABOR", journal of 15 railroad unions with a million circulation, nas reminded Congressmen that "they were elected to represent the interests of the American people, not to let Chiang and the China Lobby dictate the foreign policy of the U. S."

As vast military s, ending continues undermining labor's living standards, while depression fears haunt American worker all sections of labor are saying it is time to plan for peace-time employment.

Indicative of the peace sentiment among the rank and file of labor unions in the U. S. are beginning to perform what the United Packinghouse Workers described as "the historically progressive function, which is properly assigned to organizations of working people."

AMERICAN WOMEN AND PEACE

Ten American women, including two Negro women, went to the World Congress of Women held in Copenhagen, June 5th to June 12th. The United States Committee for Participation in the Congress was headed by Mrs. Mabel G. Kingsbury, Dr. Mary Terrell, Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney, Mrs. Eslande G. Robeson and Miss Mary Drieir. Delegates to the Congress took with them presents individual message on each one, Paul Robeson record albums, tea aprons, American dolls, and a poem by Beulah Richardson.

The leaders of the U. S. Committee said in a letter to American women inviting their participation in the Congress: "We live today in one world. As the givers of life and the protectors of future generations, we have a common bond with all women and cannot solve our

tion adopted a platform recognizing that "genuine peace in the world is of the utmost importance to the welfare of children and youth." The delegates pledged to advance the idea that peace begins in our streets, house and communities and to foster the belief that peace among nations is possible if enough people are willing to search out and accept the responsibilities that peace brings.

THE NEGRO PEOPLE AND PEACE

The Baltimore AFRO-AMERICAN, which every day prints in a box with a picture of the Liberty Bell the motto: "Let us pray each day for peace", published a front-page editorial recently:

"It was probably more than a coincidence that the first exchanged prisoner who reached 'Freedom Village' in Korea was colored... So, the Communists undoubtedly reasoned, here for once a colored American shall be first. That man, a litter case, was Pfc. Robert C. Stell, of Baltimore. The enemy knew that in his native city, Pvt. Stell was not a first class citizen. They knew that he and others like him were in Korea fighting for a democracy they could not fully share at home. They knew that despite his heroic sacrifice for his country, he would continue to be dispised, segregated, discriminated against and denied a better job merely because his skin was not white. They must have known his family was ousted from their little home in East Baltimore to make way for a housing project which will house white tenants only. They must have known that his aging mother was in poverty-stricken circumstances; that his family was crowded into two filthy rooms virtually bare of furniture, with no heat and other accepted comforts of the American way of life. So they accorded him an honor his country could not deny him."

With the Urban League petitioning President Eisenhower to oppose the cruel racism of the Malan Government and with the churches, press nad other Negro organizations following closely the events in Africa, there will be interest in Negro communities that a National Peace Congress of the Union of South Africa will be held from July 24th to 26th in Johannesburg, sponsored by such leaders as Mr. Nhlapo, Editor of BANTU WORLD, Mr. W. Siscilu, General Secretary of the National African Congress and Mr. Y. Cachalia, Secretary of the South African Indian Congress.

RELIGIOUS GROUPS AND PEACE

The American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) of San Francisco organized an all-day conference May 16th on "Can We Have Prosperity Without A War Economy?" The conference heard and discussed reports by outstanding economists on the themes: "Is Full Employment Dependent on Military Expenditures?, "What Is the Cost of a War Economy?" and "What Are the Alternatives to a War Economy?"

The Northern New York Methodist Conference, held in Utica, N. Y., on May 16th, adopted a resolution which condemned what

bury, Dr. Mary Terrell, Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney, Mrs. Eslande G. Robeson and Miss Mary Drieir. Delegates to the Congress took with them presents for other Congress delegates from women all over the United States. The presents included 67 silver "peace-dove" pins, a peace quilt, hand-embroidered table-clothes, two afghans, 120 chiffon hankies with an

can women inviting their participation in the Congress: "We live today in one world. As the givers of life and the protectors of future generations, we have a common bond with all women and cannot solve our problems in isolation from the rest of the women of the world."

Meeting in Yakima, Washington, in May, the 40th Annual Washington Congress of the Parents and Teachers Convention

that peace begins in our streets, house and communities and to foster the belief that peace among nations is possible if enough people are willing to search out and accept the responsibilities that peace brings.

A member of the W. I. L., who calls herself "Peace Pilgrim", is walkong across the United States. She began her march on January 1st in San Diego to carry her peace message everywhere.

AMERICAN YOUTH AND PEACE

An American youth, Corporal Walter J. Slatoff, wrote this from Korea:

"War is more terrible than a man's mind can comprehend. It is the corpse of a friend; one moment ago a living human being with thoughts, hopes and a future—just exactly like yourself—now, nothing. It is cities—labor of generations lost—now dusty piles of broken stones and splintered wood—dead. It is the total pain of a hundred million parted loved ones—some for always. When it is in your mind so strongly that you can never forget, then seek how you can best keep peace." (From the cover of the CHURCHMAN, January 15th, 1953.)

On the Initiative of the American Youth Peace Crusade, representatives of youth organizations, young artists, actors and workers have formed a committee to encourage the participation of American young people in the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship to be held in Bucharest from August 2nd to 16th. The committee hailed the Festival because its theme "expresses the thoughts and hopes, which are in the heart of every young person. The Festival is being put forward in the midst of new and inspiring events which give hope of an end to the killing in Korea and the beginning of peaceful negotiations between the Great Powers." U. S. plans for the Festival include stimulating pre-Festival activity, local festivals, carnivals, film shows, letter and gift exchanges with young people in other countries, culminating in a series of local Festivals from August 2—16.

AMERICAN FARMERS AND PEACE

The 10th Convention of the Eactern Division of the Farmers Union, meeting in Trenton, N. J., on January 31st, 1953, adopted Resolutions stating:

"Recognizing the main problem of the world as hunger on a staggering scale, we dedicate ourselves to a program of full production and constructive building. Living, as we are, in the shadow of war, which becomes increasingly terrifying with the unleashing of weapons of mass destruction, and which threatens all of civilization, we urge our Government to explore every possible avenue of negotiation for peace. We will lend our efforst to a program which will utilize the genius of mankind for the good of mankind rather than for its destruction...

"We do not think that differences among nations are so great that they cannot be resolved in a peaceful manner withous resort to arms. We do not see how the devastation of huge areas and the destruction of millions of lives by A-bombs or H-bombs can be regarded as a 'solution' to the world's problems...

"In keeping with the original principles of the United Nations, as set forth by President Roosevelt, we believe that power and responsibility for negotiating the peace lies in the hands of the five major nations. Without their agreement, there can be no lasting peace. We urge that no offer of peace go unexplored and that our own govenrment take the initative in calling together, to meet with us, representatives of England, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Government of China, so that remaining barriers to peace my be resolved and to the end that these nations shall cooperate in building a better world."

Have Prosperity Without A War Economy?" The conference heard and discussed reports by outstanding economists on the themes: "Is Full Employment Dependent on Military Expenditures?, "What Is the Cost of a War Economy?" and "What Are the Alternatives to a War Economy?"

The Northern New York Methodist Conference, held in Utica, N. Y., on May 16th, adopted a resolution which condemned what it called "prosperity built upon the foundation of human blood even in wartime. We grieve over the evidence given to us when a peace feeler went out from Russia and the stock market in New York took a tumble."

A recent editorial of ZIONS HERALD, Methodist national weekly published in Boston, said: "What are we going to do about this peace move? Are we going to slink back into some partisan attitude hatched up in the past by a stand we took for something or other or to a vote we cast for or against somebody? If we are really Christian in our response, we will join with all peace-loving men and women everywhere in a challenge to make this a time of greatness and gird ourselves for a mighty effort to wage a campaign for world peace."

Rabbi Zev Zahavy of Congregation Zichron Ephraim, New York, said in a recent sermon: "It is not befitting to besmirch the divine concept of peace by dentifying Russion conciliatory proposals as a 'peace offensive' or 'peace propaganda'. Peace is a word to be revered and cherished. It is a term too precious to be bandied about in a disparaging fashion. Contrary to its present unpopular connotation, a 'peace offensive' should be the goal of every right thinking person."

AN AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN FOR PEACE

Mr. DonG. Mitchell, President of the Sylvania Electric Products Company, told a St. Louis Chamber of Commerce meeting on April 21st: "We don't need defense order to bolster the volume of business. We don't need a war in Korea, or elsewhere, to keep us prosperous. Let's have peace, and let's have it soon." (Cleveland Plain Dealer, 4/24)

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